Sources of Slavic Pre-Christian Religion

Edited by

Juan Antonio Álvarez-Pedrosa

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Sources of Slavic Pre-Christian Religion

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Abbreviations

Index of Abbreviations of East Slavic Texts

PVL	*Povest' vremennykh let, Tale of Bygone Years*
A	Copy from the Moscow Academy
H	Hypatian copy
Kh	Khlébnikov copy
L	Laurentian copy
R	Radzivil copy
T	Trinitarian copy

Miscellaneous:

Izm1	1st edition of *Izmaragd* (Ms RGB Coll. Tr., № 204) (16th century)
Izm2	2nd edition of *Izmaragd* (Ms RGB Coll. Tr., № 202) (16th century)/(Ms GBL, Coll. Tr., № 91) (15th century, incomplete)
KhlS	*Khludovskij Sbornik* (Ms GIM Coll. Khludov № 30)
PS	*Paisevskij Sbornik* (Ms RNB Coll. Cir.-Bel. (Collection 76103), № 4/ 1081) (14th century)
VS	*Vygolenskij Sbornik* (Ms RGB Coll. Muz., № 62) (12th century)
ZC	1st edition of *Zlataja Cep* (Ms RGB Coll. Tr., № 11) (14th century) [known as *Troickij spisok*]
Zl	*Zlatostruj*

Libraries:

SAL	Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Библиотека Академии наук СССР, Отдел редкой и рукописной книги)
LSL	V.I. Lenin State Library of the USSR (Государственная Библиотека СССР им. В. И. Ленина), nowadays called the Russian State Library (Российская Государственная Библиотека)
SPL	M.E. Saltykov-Ščedrin State Public Library (Государственная Публичная Библиотека им. М. Е. Салтыкова—Щедрина), nowadays called the National Library of Russia (Российская Национальная Библиотека)
SLR	State Library of Russia (Российская Государственная Библиотека)
NLR	National Library of Russia (Российская Национальная Библиотека)

Collections of manuscripts:

Coll. Kir.-Bel.	Collection of the Kirillo-Belozersky Monastery (Кирилло-Белозерское Собрание) in RNB (Collection 76103)
Coll. Egor.	Collection of E.E. Egorov (Собрание Е.Е. Егорова) in RGB (Collection 98)
Coll. Muz.	Collection of the Museum (Собрание Музейное) in RGB (Collection 178)
Coll. Pogod.	Collection of M.N. Pogodin (Собрание М. П. Погодина) in RNB (Collection 583)
Coll. Rum.	Collection of N.P. Rumjancev (Собрание Н.П. Румянцева) in RGB (Collection 256)
Coll. Syn.	Synod (formerly Patriarchal) Collection (Синодальное Собрание) in GIM (Collection 80370)
Coll. Soph.	Collection of the Library of Saint Sophia (Собрание Софийская библиотека) in RNB (Collection 728)
Coll. Sol.	Collection of the Solovetsky Monastery Library (Собрание Соловецкая Библиотека) in RNB (Collection 717)
Coll. Tr.	Collection of The Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius (Собрание Троице-Сергиевой Лавры) in RGB (Collection 304.1)
Coll. Uvar.	Collection of A.S. Uvarov (Собрание А.С. Уварова) in GIM (Collection 4911, 80269, 80270, 80271)
Coll. Volok.	Collection of the Joseph-Volokolamsk Monastery (Собрание Иосифо-Волоколамского монастыря) in RGB (Collection 113)
HM.SMS.	Slavic Manuscript Collection, Hilandar Monastery
VMČ	Menology of Metropolitan Macarius (Velikie Minei Čet'i)

Journals:

AAĖ	*Akty arkheografičeskoj Ėkspedicii*
AI	*Akty Istoričeskie, sobrannye i izdannye Arkheografičeskoju Komissieju*
BLDR	*Biblioteka Literatury Drevnei Rusi*
PSRL	*Polnoe Sobranie Russkix Letopisej*
PS	*Pravoslavnij Sobesednik*
RIB	*Russkaja Istoričeskaja Biblioteka*
RZ	*Rossiiskoe zakonodatel'stvo X–XX vekov*
TODRL	*Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoj Literatury Instituta Russkoj Literatury* (*Puškinskij Dom, RAN*)
SKKDR	*Slovar' knižnikov i knižnosti Drevnej Rusi*
PLDR	*Pamjatniki Literatury Drevnej Rusi*
Čtenija OIDR	*Čtenija v Obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskikh*

Other Abbreviations

ms.	manuscript
fol.	folio
Coll.	collection
col.	column

CPG	*Clavis Patrum Graecorum*
SSPCR	Sources for the study of Slavic pre-Christian religion
PG	*Patrologia graeca*
PL	*Patrologia latina*

Introduction

1 Objective of This Anthology of Texts[1]

Sources of Slavic Pre-Christian Religion (henceforth, *SSPCR*) brings together, for the first time in a Western European language, the edition and translation of all the medieval texts which refer to Slavic pre-Christian religion.

The reconstruction of Slavic religion prior to Christianization rests fundamentally on three pillars: the references to non-Christian practices, which we find in medieval authors, whether Christian or Muslim; archaeological testimonies; and, finally, the deductions, which can be drawn from folklore, understood as a kind of degraded paganism.

Of these three pillars, only archaeology offers us proof of a direct nature regarding the religious practices of the pagan Slavs, but archaeological testimonies are difficult to interpret without the help of textual support, which allow us to interpret the remains of cultural spaces or idols.

On the other hand, the reconstruction of a pre-Christian religion with the support of folkloric materials always runs the methodological danger of considering inherent to Slavic pre-Christian religion folkloric practices of a universal nature associated with agrarian rites, which are found in nearly all types of civilization. Furthermore, romanticism has led many of these practices to be interpreted as traits that differentiate peoples, linked to nationalist ideologies, and has recreated many folkloric practices from an ideological perspective, thereby casting much doubt of the methodological legitimacy of using folklore as an effective tool for reconstructing religious practices of the past.

For their part, not all of the textual accounts compiled here are of the same value when it comes to using them to reconstruct Slavic paganism.

The most valuable texts appear to be those that refer to a moment in history when paganism is alive. Of this group of texts, the writings by authors who are contemporaries of this living paganism stand out the most. However, the vast majority of these authors are Christian (some of them are Muslims) and, in general, they describe pagan religion from the perspective of superiority inherent

1 This book has come about as the result of the work of three financed research projects: *Fuentes de la religión eslava precristiana* (BFF2003-04440, completed in 2007); *Cosmogonía y escatología en las religiones del Mediterráneo Oriental: semejanzas, diferencias, procesos* (HUM2006-09403/FILO, completed in 2011); and *La reconstrucción de la religión eslava precristiana. Los testimonios textuales y comparativos* (FFI2010-16220, completed in 2013).

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to all monotheistic belief systems, conveying an idea of disdain for pagan practices, in the firm conviction that it is a religion which needs to be eradicated, even by means of practices of conversion based on violence, as it can only lead to the eternal damnation of souls.

Nevertheless, there are some exceptions to this type of ideology. There are authors who reveal a certain anthropological curiosity towards other religious customs. This current begins with Procopius of Caesarea (text in 1.2.1.), following on from a Greek tradition with roots going back to Herodotus himself. Among the authors who write in Greek, this attitude is patent in the *Strategikon* attributed to Emperor Maurice (text in 1.4.1.) or in the writings of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (text in 1.8.1.). These texts appear to be neutral from an ideological point of view, but they have a clear strategic purpose: the information that they convey is intended to provide a better knowledge of the enemy and this stockpiling of materials includes data of a religious nature. Of the authors writing in Latin, the one who reveals the greatest anthropological curiosity is Adam of Bremen (see 2.11.), who follows on from an ethnographic tradition going back to Tacitus.

Another notable group of authors who impart valuable information about Slavic paganism are motivated by their missionary zeal, the idea that it is necessary to have knowledge of the ideological sphere in which missionary work is to be engaged in: this is the predominant attitude in the replies sent by Pope Nicholas I to the questions posed by the Bulgarians (see 2.3.) or of Helmold of Bosau (see 2.22.), whose experiences as a missionary under the orders of Saint Vicelinus offered crucial material for all of his writing. Other authors, such as the biographers of Saint Otto of Bamberg (see 2.19., 2.20. and 2.21.), write to extol the virtues of the great missionaries and thus bear eternal witness to the difficulty of their undertaking.

However, the majority of this type of authors express a clearly disdainful attitude towards the paganism of the Slavs and are prone to justifying any kind of activity, including violence, as a means to eradicating paganism. Notable examples of this position can be read in the fragments of Thietmar of Merseburg (see 2.8.) or Saxo Grammaticus (see 2.28.). Alternatively, they strongly criticise political stances of an opportunist nature, which lead Christian rulers to ally themselves with pagans for strategic reasons (see, for example, the letter from Saint Bruno of Querfurt to Henry II, in 2.7.)

Another group of texts refers to a living paganism, but the author is not a contemporary of the events that he narrates. The most outstanding example of this group would without doubt be the first chapters of the *Tale of Bygone Years* (a.k.a. *Primary Chronicle*, see 4.1.), which recounts the history of the principality of Kiev before its princes were converted to Christianity. The chronological dis-

tance between the events narrated and the date the text was written obliges us to adopt a more critical approach to the data presented in this type of sources.

Finally, a last group of materials refers to practices which we can describe generically as "pre-Christian", but which do not correspond to a living paganism but rather the continued existence of pagan practices within the context of a more or less Christianized society. These texts are more difficult to evaluate because they provide extremely valuable data about magic or agrarian rituals, for example, but they may also offer information of a folkloric nature, with the all disadvantages mentioned above, or constitute homiletic invectives of foreign origin (this is a recurring problem in all East Slavic homiletics, see texts 4.6. to 4.41.).

In summary, the sources presented here constitute, to a very small extent, an "objective" description of Slavic pre-Christian religion and extremely critical judgement must be exercised when reading them. The purpose of this anthology is not to engage in a reconstruction of Slavic religion prior to Christianization, but rather to offer, in the broadest and most informed manner possible, all the texts which permit such a reconstruction, so that a specialist in ancient religions can read the texts, evaluate them critically and engage in that reconstruction using all the materials compiled together in a convenient manner.

Some of the selected texts may seem to a specialist in the history of religions not relevant to the concept "Pre-Christian Slavic Religion": This is the case of texts that deal with extremely labile concepts, such as sacred hospitality, the "minstrels" and their role in the transmission of religious traditions, references to customs typical of popular religiosity throughout Europe, or the so-called *interpretationes graecae* or *romanae*. It was a difficult decision, but we preferred to keep them in the selection. Our purpose is not make judgments for other scholars but provide the evidence they need to make such judgments for themselves.

Similarly, we have included texts with a vague reference to concepts such as paganism, idol, rejection of Christianization, etc., that are present in other anthologies. In the same way, it is up to the specialist in the history of religions to determine whether these texts are useful for the reconstruction of the pre-Christian Slavic religion.

2 Chronology of the Texts

As we have already stated, the texts compiled and translated here are medieval texts which date from the oldest account, a fragment from Priscus of Panium (5th c.) to the most recent, from *The Book of One Hundred Chapters* or *Stoglav*

(16th c.). This is a span of eleven centuries in which, clearly, the concept "medieval" needs to be defined in somewhat more detail.

The Slavs appeared on the historical stage at the beginning of the so-called Great Slavic Expansion when they first encountered the "civilized" states from which our information about them derives. The Great Slavic Expansion took three directions, which gave rise to three large Slavic dialectal groups: South, West and East. As they encountered the corresponding state formations to the South, West and East, the Slavs began to create their first national entities, based on the models they had encountered in each of the three directions described.

In the course of their expansion to the South, which began in 527 A.D. when the Slavs and the Avars crossed the Danube, they came up against the Byzantine Empire, and for that reason the oldest accounts of the Slavs and, therefore, of their religion, come from the Byzantines and are written in Greek (see texts 1.1. to 1.11.). However, the rapid Christianization of the first South Slavic state, the Bulgarian Empire, and the strong acculturation suffered by the Slavs in the face of the powerful cultural and religious Byzantine model, means that the number of accounts of Slavic pre-Christian religion is very scarce after the early Christianization of the South Slavs. The latest text that we have included in this linguistic and cultural tradition dates from the 14th century (Callistus I of Constantinople: 3.4.).

In their expansion towards the West, the Slavs shaped their nations based on the frontier-state model that the Carolingian Empire and its successors had created to the East. The Principality of Moravia was the first Slavic state to assume Christianity as its "official" religion. This was when the first Slavic language in history, which we know as Old Slavonic, was set down in writing. However, given that the objective of this language was to translate Christian liturgical texts for the purpose of evangelizing Moravia, we do not conserve any account from that time that refers to the religion that existed prior to this process of Christianization.

However, it is in this sphere where paganism is going to constitute an "official" reality and where the number of sources that are contemporary with living pagan practices are going to be the highest. The Slavic expansion to the West reached as far as the mouth of the River Elbe. The Slavs who settled on the shores of the Baltic created a series of independent states, structured on three levels of political evolution: the tribal federation, characteristic of the Lutici after the rebellion in the year 983; the theocratic monarchy, established among the Rani, in which the priests dominated the assembly of the elected representatives of the people and controlled tax-collecting and war booty; and thirdly, the patriarchal city, which evolved in the area of Pomerania, governed by an

assembly which controlled military and priestly power. The last independent pagan state was the island of Rügen, which was conquered and Christianized by the Danes in 1168. There are a large number of Latin chroniclers of Germanic origin, reaching up to the beginning of the 13th century, who offer us their vision of a still living paganism (see the majority of the texts from 2.5. to 2.38.). There is even a source from the same period written in Old Icelandic, which describes the destruction of the pagan sanctuaries on the island of Rügen (*Saga of Cnut's Descendants*, 6.1.).

Of the West Slavs,—and we contrast to the Slavs who settled on the shores of the Baltic—, Bohemia and Poland were Christianized very early on (middle of the 10th century). The forming of their respective national states led to the creation of historical chronicles of both kingdoms in which their pagan pasts were presented as the foundation stone of the new countries and adorned with legendary trimmings, which to a large extent recorded myths and literary motifs from the pre-Christian era, detectable by comparison with similar elements in other Indo-European traditions. This current encompasses the *Chronicle of Bohemians* (also called *Chronicle of the Czechs*) by Cosmas of Prague (see texts in 2.13.), to which one of the first literary works in Czech, the so-called *Chronicle of Dalimil* (see text 5.1.), is indebted, and the *Chronicle of the Poles* by Vincentius of Cracow (2.27.). The very process of Christianization in Bohemia, with the martyrdom of King Saint Wenceslaus and his grandmother Saint Ludmila,[2] gave rise to an extremely long-lasting hagiographic literary current which began with the Anonymous Christian Monk (2.4.) and produced the Latin hagiographies[3] *Oportet nos fratres* (2.10.) and *Oriente iam sole* (2.34.) and even a version in Old Church Slavonic (see 3.5.). Each version adds more details to the truculence of the persecution against Saint Wenceslaus, reinforcing the role of Drahomíra as a wicked pagan, which means that the information they convey regarding paganism in the area of Bohemia is of doubtful historical reliability. In any event, all of these texts speak of a period in the past and a religion that had long since ceased to exist.

After the fall of the last independent pagan state, the island of Rügen (1168), the texts we have compiled focus mainly on condemning religious practices

2 Saint Wenceslaus was the son of Vratislaus I, Duke of Bohemia, and Drahomira. His paternal grandmother, Saint Ludmila of Bohemia, raised him in the Christian faith. Hagiography presents Drahomira as a recalcitrant heathen, jealous of Ludmila's influence on her grandson. Finally, Drahomira caused Ludmila to be killed. Years later, Wenceslas was assassinated by a noble conspiracy, but tradition presents him as a martyr to the Christian faith.

3 As usual in the study of medieval Latin, these works are known by the Latin words that begin them, their *incipit*.

which do not sit well with Christianity, above all in the area of Poland, although there are also texts which refer to Bohemia (see texts 2.39. to 2.52.). These consist of the practising of magic, or rituals of an agrarian nature, or even incipient theatrical representations (see above all the *Letter* by Pope Innocent III: 2.32.). It is extremely difficult to define the concept "pre-Christian religion" with only the help of this kind of text because the Christian preachers of the 13th to 15th centuries considered that any practice that deviated from Catholic orthodoxy fell under the generic concept of "paganism". We have included this type of texts with a view that the critical judgement of the reader will know how to determine which parts are of value when it comes to reconstructing Slavic religion.

In any event, the chronological limit we have established for texts referring to the West Slavs is the end of the 15th century, with the arrival of the Renaissance in Central Europe.

The expansion of the Slavs to the East would generate a state model based on that of the commercial settlements, which the Scandinavians created in order to control the route of the large rivers which linked the Baltic with the Black Sea and commerce between Northern Europe and Byzantium.

There are a series of texts in Arabic (see Chapter 7.) that record religious practices in this area and are extremely interesting, though they present serious problems regarding attribution. Are the Arab travellers referring to the Scandinavians living on the banks of the Volga or to the Slavic inhabitants of the same area? In any event, they are texts that refer to a geographical sphere where the first East Slavic state was developed, the Principality de Kiev (or rather as has been suggested by Rafffensperger 2017—Kingdom of Rus', a state deeply integrated with medieval Europe), and they are contemporary with the events they describe (10th century), and this makes them of great interest to us.

The Christianization of the princes of Kiev occurred in 988 and initiated a slow process of acculturation which took Byzantine Orthodox Christianity as its model. It was Christian authors who wrote the history of the Principality de Kiev and to whom we owe our information regarding the pre-Christian period of that state (see *Tale of Bygone Years*: 4.1.). We encounter once again the thorny problem of what is properly Slavic in origin, what forms part of the religious universe of the Scandinavian élites and what is inherent to the Baltic tribes or those of Central Asian origin. However, given that they are practices recorded in Slavic political entities, we considered it our duty to record them, translate them and comment on them.

After the process of "official" Christianization had taken place, the new religion coexisted for centuries with religious practices which were not strictly orthodox. The eastern Slavic apologists used to present some phenomena typical of popular religion as a heretical deviation: it is what is known as "double

faith".[4] In the East Slavic literary traditions, especially in homiletics (see texts 4.7. to 4.41.), we find a complex mixture of accounts of authentic vestiges of paganism, folkloric practices of an agrarian nature, sympathetic magic and cult references in a Baroque language (frequently misinterpreted) to Greek pagan practices, testified to in the Greek text on which the East Slavic text is based.

The deadline we have proposed for compiling materials within the East Slavic tradition is the *Council of One Hundred Chapters* or *Stoglav* (1551, texts in 4.42.), when we can say that Russian Orthodoxy defined itself clearly and forcefully.[5]

It is clear that the time limits we have proposed for each of the Slavic dialectal groups are by no means comparable: the South Slavs underwent acculturation very early on and ceased to provide information about pre-Christian practices also very early on (14th century). In the case of the West Slavs we have proposed, as the cut-off point, an arbitrary point in time (end of the 15th century) which coincided with a cultural movement which propounded a whole new anthropocentric vision. In contrast, for the East Slavs, the point in history which we have proposed as the end point for our compilation of material is a major political and religious act of self-definition which took place in the middle of the 16th century. Although it is a subject subject to academic discussion (see Hurwitz 1978), we consider that, among the East Slavs, the Middle Ages lasted up until the end of the 17th century. Overall, however, we can state that the materials are encompassed perfectly within a period we can define without problems as "medieval".

3 Anthologies of Texts Prior to This One

There are two anthologies prior to this one which compile texts from the medieval era about Slavic pre-Christian religion.

The first of them is the one by V.J. Mansikka (1922) which deals solely with the East Slavs. Mansikka's aim was to publish two or more volumes devoted to reconstructing the religion of the East Slavs but he only published the sources

4 The idea of ditheism or *dvoeveria* has been challenged quite convincingly recently (Rock 2007): What was defined as "double belief" is no longer perceived as a specific phenomenon of the Eastern Slavs, but as manifestations of popular religiosity, common to the whole of Europe.

5 In fact, Keenan (1974) suggets than the "Muscovite" period (ca. 1450–ca. 1650) is most apt for comparison to the Western Middle Ages, due to the configuration of the sources, the method required in their study and some striking similarities of historical writings of this period to those of rather early medieval historians in the West.

and one brief chapter, now very outdated, on archaeological material. He compiled the texts from the editions available at the beginning of the 20th century and translated them almost exclusively into German. He began with a chapter about the chronicles of the Rus', including very late references to the Principality of Kiev which we can find in a number of Polish chroniclers who worked with very secondary sources. He then provided a selection of texts from Medieval Russian homiletic and apologetic literature. In this respect, we should mention that his anthology reaches up until the end of the 17th century. He also included testimonies from other types of literary genre. He follows this with a chapter devoted to foreign accounts of the Slavs, which include texts in Greek, several texts in Arabic and Persian, other chronicles in Latin and Polish written by Polish travellers, and bibliographical notes. It is quite a difficult book to read, though very comprehensive in several aspects, and it compiles a number of materials which are of doubtful utility when it comes to reconstructing East Slavic pre-Christian religion. In any case, it is not at all clear why accounts referring to the East Slavs are separated so radically from those which deal with the West Slavs, as if they were two completely differentiated realities and did not both stem from a single linguistic and cultural unit in existence until the beginning of the Great Slavic Expansion in the 6th century and which, inevitably, shared cultural elements inherited from that earlier period.

The second anthology is that of C.H. Meyer (1931). It forms part of the large collection of sources for the history of religions directed by C. Clemen. The texts are ordered on the basis of linguistic criteria. It includes texts in Greek, in Latin, in Old Icelandic (translated into Latin), German translations of Arabic texts and a brief and not very informative text in medieval Persian in the original language with a translation into German. The Greek and Latin texts are never accompanied by a translation. It does not include any texts in Old East Slavonic, as the Latin introduction to the edition makes clear, though it does not justify this in any way. It is possible, though uncertain, that Meyer's anthology displays a greater interest in the Slavs living on German soil (it is impossible to disregard the date when this anthology of texts was published) and that this is the reason for the manifest lack of interest in the East Slavs, although this may also be due to the position defended by Brückner which claimed that the West Slavs had been influenced much earlier by the Germans and had established a religion which mirrored the Christianity imported from Germany. However, the inclusion of Arabic texts which clearly refer to the East Slavs is inconsistent with this approach. It may be the case that Meyer's anthology was intended to be complementary to that of Mansikka, but he did not state this at any time.

4 Advantages of *SSPCR* over Previous Anthologies

The above-mentioned anthologies are very hard to find nowadays. Furthermore, we have already mentioned the methodological problems entailed by separating accounts which refer to East and West Slavs as if they were two irreconcilable realities. In the 1930s it was understandable that a German scholar would publish without translation a large selection of texts in Greek and above all in medieval Latin, some of which are extremely difficult to comprehend, even for seasoned Latinists, but nowadays this anthology is completely unmanageable for anyone wishing to acquire a greater knowledge of the reality of Slavic pre-Christian religion from disciplines other than Classical Philology, such as Slavic or Medieval European Studies, the history of religions or anthropology. Furthermore, while Mansikka does provide comments (perhaps in a somewhat disorderly manner) about the texts which he edits and translates, Meyer restricts himself to ordering them chronologically, which means that readers are deprived of crucial information which would allow them to contextualize the text within the work of an author and within the history of medieval literature of which it forms part.

Being aware of all these problems, the coordinator of this anthology and all his collaborators have gone to great efforts to translate, comment on and contextualize as fully as possible all the texts which they have decided to include in *SSPCR*. As it is impossible nowadays for a single person to have all the linguistic knowledge required to meticulously introduce, translate and comment on the texts which inform us about Slavic pre-Christian religion, appearing as these do in seven different languages (Greek, Latin, Old South Slavonic, Old East Slavonic, medieval Czech, Old Icelandic and Arabic), it was decided to undertake the project on a team basis and attempt to ensure that the criteria for including, translating and commenting on texts were as homogenous as possible.

5 Structure of the Book

The basic structure of the book is arranged by languages while, within each language, the texts are arranged as far as possible in chronological order, though this chronological order is occasionally tentative, as in the case of West Slavic literature. Each language has been assigned a chapter number: 1. texts in Greek; 2. texts in Latin; 3. texts in Old South Slavonic; 4. texts in Old East Slavonic; 5. texts in medieval Czech; 6. texts in Old Icelandic; and 7. texts in Arabic. We have reserved the number 8. for Doubful Texts. The Bibliography is

general for the whole work. The References has followed the criterion known as the Harvard system.

Furthermore, we have created a specific chapter, Chapter 8, entitled *Doubtful Texts*, for those texts which contain references to Slavic paganism, but which are extremely doubtful, either because they are very old, because they may not refer to the Slavs but to another people, because they are based on a highly questionable interpretation or simply because they probably constitute a fanciful account. However, as they are accounts which are sometimes frequently quoted, such as that of Herodotus (8.1.) or that of Długosz (8.5.), it did not seem appropriate to simply exclude them.

6 Structure of the Chapters

Thus, each chapter contains the accounts in each different language arranged in chronological order. Occasionally this chronological criterion is merely approximate, as in the case of the majority of the texts written in Old East Slavonic. In any event, we have based the order on the date each text was written, according to the most reliable philological proposals. The introduction to each text states the date of composition or compilation of each text. There are texts whose author we know for certain, but many other texts are simply attributed and many more are anonymous. In this latter case, the text is cited using the title it is best known by. Each author, or, in the absence thereof, each work is assigned its own second number, which corresponds with the texts grouped under each author or text. Thus, for example, if the first number 2. refers to Latin texts and the second number 8. corresponds to the work of Thietmar of Merseburg, all the texts grouped under 2.8. are quotes from that author, while all the texts with the number 4.1.are quotes from *Tale of Bygone Years*, for which it is difficult to attribute authorship.

The chapter on *Doubtful Texts* reproduces the linguistic arrangement of the rest of the book, and therefore begins with the Greek texts and so on.

7 Internal Arrangement of Each Chapter

Each author or work is arranged in the same way. The name of the author, when this is known, and the title of the work are given first, while bearing in mind that in the case of many authors and titles we are faced with a lack of scientific tradition which has obliged us to take drastic decisions with regard to the transcription of their names or the translations of their works. If there

is no problem whatsoever when it comes to citing, for example, Procopius of Caesarea, the matter is not so clear-cut in the case of medieval Latin authors of Germanic origin. In the case of Slavic names from the Western tradition, there is no problem with Wenceslaus and therefore by analogy we have transcribed Pribizlaus. For the names of the authors from the East Slavic tradition we have frequently resorted to Hellenizing them and transcribing them accordingly, although in some cases we have preferred to retain the older variant: this is the case of Prince Volodimir of Kiev (rather than Vladimir), a transcription which highlights the Scandinavian origin of the first rulers of the Principality of Kiev. For the Arab authors we have adopted the most usual system of scientific transcription.

When doubts arise in the translation of the works, the original title is given. As the original texts appear in many different alphabets, we have chosen to transcribe the literal quotes, which we attempt to limit as far as possible. Thus, Arabic and Cyrillic are transcribed using the scientific systems most accredited by international scientific tradition: Cyrillic is transliterated following ISO/R9 system, with the exception that in the transliteration of ancient Cyrillic ъ and ь are preserved as such;[6] Arabic is transliterated following *EALL* System.[7] We have not been so strict with Greek, due to the cultural tradition of Greek in the West.

After that, each author or work is presented by means of an "Introduction", which provides the most important general data pertaining to the historical, social, cultural and literary context which produced the work in question. If there is any special problem relating to the work, this is stated in the "Introduction". In this way, in contrast to previous anthologies, the fragment on Slavic paganism can be integrated in the context in which it was created, rather than be cited in a decontextualized manner, as this can give rise to many errors when attempting to reconstruct Slavic pre-Christian religion.

After the "Introduction" there is a bibliography, arranged in three headings: the edition which was the source of the text in the original language which each editor take the text; other editions of the same text and, where applicable, other translations into various European languages; and a third heading which provides the most important general bibliography regarding the text in question.

Next, the fragment or fragments of the author or work in question are arranged numerically according to their order of appearance in the text. Thus, each text is assigned obligatorily three numbers, which are those which enable

6 Published in *Slavic and East European Journal* (2003) 47, 4 "Back Matter".

7 Reichmuth (2009).

us to quote it: the first number corresponds to the language in which it was written; the second refers to the author or the work which is being quoted; and the third number refers to the fragment containing relevant information on Slavic pre-Christian religion. If the author or work provides only one fragment, this is assigned the number 1.

Each fragment has then been given a particular introduction which is one of the most novel contributions of *SSPCR*. This explains where the fragment appears in the work as a whole, which is extremely useful as, for example, it illustrates the point in history at which the chronicler situates the action he is describing, or the biblical quote which serves as a homiletic for launching a tirade against paganism, or the set of rules containing an ecclesiastical canon against a specific practice found in pagan practices.

This is followed by the specific reference which tells us where the fragment is situated if it forms part of a work which is sufficiently extensive to warrant a rapid search. In the case of an annalistic work, the context will normally give the year under which the fragment appears.

Last of all comes the fragment in question. The texts are accompanied by explanatory notes, mainly of three types: *realia*, i.e. notes which explain little-known historical or cultural facts; notes which inform the reader when the text contains a quote from another author, above all biblical quotes, and notes which provide lectures and translations of manuscripts which are important for understanding the text. When the text is accompanied by scholia or contains interpolations, the translations thereof have also been included in a footnote.

8 Inclusion and Exclusion of Texts

As we have already stated, the objective of *SSPCR* is to collate all the medieval texts which contain a reference to Slavic pre-Christian religion. Clearly, the two concepts, "reference" and "Slavic pre-Christian religion" would benefit from a clearer definition.

By "reference" we understand any kind of description of any practice of the said religion, whether official or private, any explanation of a concept inherent to the sphere of Slavic non-Christian religious, or any explicit reference to a Slavic theonym. By contrast, all generic references to "paganism" which do not specify how it manifests itself, how it is practiced, and the contents which the concept encompasses, are excluded.

Indeed, medieval literature is full of vague references condemning Slavic paganism which we have decided to exclude as they do not contribute in any

way to reconstructing that religion. They simply inform us that such a religion existed before Christianization, or even existed side by side with Christianity once the later had become officially recognised, but this fact is so well known that it does not require an avalanche of supporting documentation from medieval texts.

By "Slavic pre-Christian religion" we understand the set of religious beliefs, whether public or private, which existed in the territory inhabited by speakers of the Slavic language, whether they were of Common Slavic origin or of foreign provenance, during the period prior to Christianization and those which survived in the Slavic area up until the time limits proposed for this anthology, i.e. the Renaissance in the West and 1551 (date of the Council of One Hundred Chapters) in the East.

The inclusion of private religious practices which existed after the official process of Christianization has led us to include references to practices normally defined as "popular religion" or classified as "magic" or "vulgar superstition". Medieval authors considered that any practice which deviated from orthodoxy could be labelled as "pagan". We decided to dispense with these criteria due to their subjective nature and include all references to this group of religious practices (provided that they are not allusions of a generic nature) because we understand that private religious practices form part of the overall set of elements which are inherent to a given religion.

Whenever there is doubt regarding the Slavic origin of a given religious practice, we mention this in the introduction to the work or in the contextualization of each fragment.

In any event, it is for the scholar who approaches these texts for the purpose of partly or wholly reconstructing Slavic pre-Christian religion to evaluate each individual text.

9 Texts in Greek

As we have already seen, Meyer's anthology includes texts in Greek. We have included these texts but, unlike that anthology, we have assigned a text by Herodotus (8.1.1.), in which he describes the religion of the Neuri and the Budini, to the *Doubtful Texts* section as there is no certainty as to whether or not those peoples were proto-Slavs.

However, we have found a number of important texts which were not included in that anthology, as follows: the oldest text, by Priscus of Panium (1.1.1.), which most probably refers to the Slavs at the beginning of the Great Slavic Expansion, refers to their hospitality, which was understood to be a

sacred duty; a second fragment from Procopius of Caesarea (1.2.2.) with a clear reference to human sacrifices; a text from Pseudo-Caesarius of Nazianzus (1.3.1.) with extremely interesting references to the customs of the Slavs, which include phenomena such as lycanthropy; a text from the *Strategikon* attributed to Emperor Maurice (1.4.1.) which refers to the ritual suicide of widows and the sacred hospitality of the Greeks; and a fragment from a letter by Patriarch Nicholas I Mystikos (1.6.1.) about the performing of sacrifices for sealing agreements.

10 Texts in Latin from the Era of the Independent Pagan States

We have included nearly all of the texts from Meyer's anthology with the exception of the text by Ebo II, 18, because it merely mentions a raid by Bolesław against the pagans and provides no further information about the religion of the Slavs. Another fragment included by Meyer, Saxo Grammaticus 14.30.6 has been included in the *Doubtful Texts* section (text 8.4.1.) as it seems likely that the Latin word *penates* which appears in it is simply a metonym for "household" rather than a reference to household deities.

We have added a large group of new texts compared to the above-mentioned anthology, as follows: six new passages from *Responsa Nicolai ad consulta Bulgarorum* by Pope Nicholas I (see 2.3.) which addresses the issues of the use of talismans in battle, ritual feasting, bigamy, healing by means of sacred stones and amulets, and sword oaths. Meyer only included a fragment concerning military rituals. We have also added fragments from a letter by Saint Boniface regarding the self-immolation of widows (2.1.1.); from the *Life of Saint Adalbert of Prague* by John Canaparius about the cult of trees and rocks (2.6.1.); from the *Deeds of the English Kings* by William of Malmesbury (2.16.1.) regarding a fertility ritual similar to the one described in detail by Saxo Grammaticus; from a *Diploma* granted by Henry the Lion concerning the intended restoration of paganism among the Slavs (2.18.1.); from the *Book of Miracles* by Herbert of Clairvaux regarding a pagan idol found by two monks in the middle of a sacred forest (2.24.1.); from the *Treatise on the Capture of the City of Brandenburg* by Henry of Antwerp about a three-headed idol in that city (2.25.1.); from the *Chronicle of the Poles* by Vincentius of Cracow, which tells the legend of the founding of Krakow (2.27.1.); and a new passage from Saxo Grammaticus about sacred oaths (2.28.2.).

11 Latin Texts from the 14th and 15th Centuries

Compared with Meyer's anthology, the main difference is the addition of a fragment from Długosz concerning the origins of the Principality of Kiev which is included, however, in Mansikka's anthology (text in 2.46.2.). Nevertheless, the most famous text from this same author, in which he lists the gods of the primitive Poles, has been moved to the *Doubtful Texts* section, because it contains fanciful elements, invented theonyms and appears to simply respond to the desire to recreate a national pantheon in imitation of Roman mythology (text 8.5.1.).

We have improved the comprehension of the texts of this era which contain words in Medieval Polish about aspects of popular religion by adding a footnote to explain many of the etymologies of those words.

12 Texts in Old South Slavonic

In their respective anthologies, both Mansikka and Meyer forgot to include accounts in Old South Slavonic. They did include, on the other hand, Greek texts (and Meyer, as we have seen, included a fragment of the la *Responsa Nicolai*, in Latin) which refer to the religion of the South Slavs, which demonstrates a certain inconsistency.

We have discovered probable references to Slavic paganism in the following texts: three passages from the *Life of Constantine the Philosopher*, two of which correspond to the *Doubtful Texts* section, because it is not totally clear if they refer to pagan practices inspired by those of the Slavs or rather correspond with Arabic or Khazar customs (see 8.6.); a third text, however, which refers to the cosmogonic vision of the Slavs, appears more certain (text 3.1.). In *The Liturgy of Saint Naum of Ohrid* (3.2.), we find a mention of the wooden and stone idols of the Slavs of Pannonia. Presbyter Cosmas' *Sermon against the Bogomils* (3.3.) contains some information about music and dance in pagan rituals. A text attributed to Callistus I of Constantinople appears to attest to the survival of the cult of trees as late as the 14th century. Lastly, alongside the *Vitae* composed in Latin, we have a *Life of Saint Wenceslaus* (second version in Church Slavonic, text in 3.5.1.), which provides information on paganism in Bohemia.

13 Texts in Old East Slavonic

These texts constituted the most difficult group from which we had to select, both due to their contents and to the editions we were obliged to work with.

With regard to contents, this was the group where we had to discard the greatest number of texts as they constituted vague references to paganism as a censurable custom or because they simply reproduced the condemnations found in the Greek texts which they translated or were inspired by. They are all texts by Christian authors and really only one of them, the *Tale of Bygone Years* (or *Primary Chronicle*, texts in 4.1.), refers explicitly to a point in history when paganism was alive. The other texts, deriving from homiletics or Eastern Orthodox Slav apologetics, are full of condemnations of practices denounced as proof of an incomplete or imperfect Christianization of society of the Rus'. Some of these practices were inherited from true paganism, while others could simply be grouped under what we understand as popular religion or agrarian rituals of a universal kind. Each account needs to be evaluated separately and carefully.

As far as the editions on which the study is based are concerned, the situation varies greatly. The most important text of all, the *Tale of Bygone Years* (4.1.), has a recent, exemplary edition which constitutes an extremely reliable source. However, other texts rest on non-critical editions, i.e. they are based on a single manuscript, which means that the translators of those texts have at times had to take difficult decisions as to which textual variant to translate. Many of the texts from the East Slavic tradition have suffered from interpolations over time and these interpolations tend to express additional condemnations of paganism, so that, frequently, it is the most recent version which provides the most information but is probably the least reliable. This current anthology even includes texts which have never been published and were translated from the manuscript version. This is the case of *Conversation of the Three Saints* (4.21.), or *Saint John Chrysostom's Commentary of the Gospel of Saint Matthew* (4.31.). In short, we recommend reading the introduction to each work carefully.

Many of the works which we have compiled in this book originally appeared in collective works, because East Slavic homiletics never constitutes an isolated element and much of the terminology used in the introductions to each of the works requires a prior explanation. Thus, we find sermons which form part of *sbórniki*, i.e. "miscellaneous", anthologies of fragments from diverse works, generally of a religious content and didactic purpose; or of *pareméiniki*, i.e. books of paroemias, which in the Eastern monastic tradition corresponds to Vespers readings. Other important compilations are the so-called *Kórmčaia*

kniga "Book of the Helmsman", *Zlátaia Cep'* "Golden Chain" and the one known as *Izmaragd* "Emerald". Several copies exist of the *Kórmčaia kniga* and the content can differ significantly from one to the other, but it is in any case a work originating in Byzantium and is the equivalent to the *Nomokanon*, the book which contained the rules governing ecclesiastical organisation and approved by both the Church itself and the civil authorities. The *Zlátaia Cep'* is also an anthology, prone to modification, similar in content to the *sbórniki* and also appearing frequently in the ecclesiastic literature of the South Slavic territories. In contrast, the *Izmaragd*, also a work of an anthological nature and subject to numerous major modifications, contains more fragments which address Christian morality and was intended above all for the private domestic reading of the élites and for monastic instruction.

14 Texts in Medieval Czech

This chapter also constitutes a novelty compared with previous anthologies. In the poetic work known as *Chronicle of Dalimil* (5.1.), we discovered interesting references to paganism in Bohemia. The ideological reasons for those references and the sources from which this text took its inspiration are analysed in detail in the introduction and the notes.

15 Texts in Old Icelandic

Meyer's anthology contains, with a translation into Latin, a couple of fragments from the *Saga of Cnut's Descendants* (6.1.), which provide interesting details about paganism on the island of Rügen before it was conquered by the Danes. Mansikka, for his part, also includes a text from the *Great Saga of Óláf Tryggvason* (6.2.), which gives us information about the pagan practices of the princes of Kiev before Christianization.

16 Texts in Arabic

The texts by Arabian travellers prove extremely interesting for three reasons. Firstly, because they are contemporary with the events they describe, i.e. a time when the East Slavs had not yet been Christianized. Secondly, because they were composed from a perspective which was different from that of all the other fragments, which were written by Christian authors. Monotheistic

Islam expressed great repugnance towards pagan polytheism, but it placed emphasis on matters which Christian authors found less interesting, such as ritual funerary practices. Lastly, we are constantly faced with the controversy as to whether the religious practices which those Arab travellers described are Slavic or Scandinavian in origin. In any event, they refer to something which occurred in a territory which had already been Slavicized at the time when the authors wrote and was clearly of interest. As we have stated on more than one occasion, it is for the reconstructor of Slavic religion to decide to what extent he or she will make use of these texts.

On the other hand, we have been more selective than Mansikka or Meyer when it came to compiling texts in Arabic. We have discarded many general references to "fire worshippers" which does not imply an actual veneration of fire as if it were a deity but is rather the generic Arabic term for "idolater". Furthermore, we have discarded several second-hand references based on texts which we have included as they come from travellers who really were eyewitnesses to the events they describe.

Consequently, we have limited the accounts in Arabic to three authors, Ibn Rusta, Ibn Faḍlān and al-Masʿūdī (see Chapter 7.)

17 List of Authors and Collaborators

A work of the complexity and scale of *SSPCR* was only possible through the combined efforts of a group of specialists in a wide range of languages who have performed an exhaustive work of philology and translation which, on occasions, required the skills of a detective.

The list of authors and the work which each of them has contributed is as follows:

Juan Antonio Álvarez-Pedrosa was in charge of coordinating the work as a whole, wrote the general introduction and was responsible for the translation, introduction and notes of texts 2.1. to 2.37. (with the exception of the texts contained in 2.28.), 4.3. and 4.40., the introductions to texts 2.39. to 2.52. and the translation of text 2.46.2.

Matilde Casas Olea translated, introduced and wrote the notes for texts 4.12, 4.14.–4.16, 4.18.–4.20., 4.26.–4.30., 4.33.–4.37., 4.39., 4.41–4.42., and 8.8. and 8.9.

Pilar Fernández Álvarez and Teodoro Manrique Antón are jointly responsible translating and writing the introduction and notes for the fragments contained in 6.1. and 6.2.

Inés García de la Puente is the author of the introduction, translation and notes for texts 4.1. and 8.7.

Enrique Gutiérrez Rubio translated, introduced and annotated the passages of 5.1.

Eugenio R. Luján Martínez translated, introduced and wrote the notes for fragments 1.1. to 1.11., 8.1. and 8.3. (the latter in collaboration with Enrique Santos).

Julia Mendoza Tuñón translated, introduced and wrote the notes to 2.28. and 8.4.

Aránzazu Minguet Burgos is responsible for the translations, introductions and notes for 7.1., 7.2. and 7.3.

Sandra Romano Martín translated the texts from 2.39. to 2.52., and 8.5.

Enrique Santos Marinas translated and wrote the introduction and notes for 3.1. to 3.5. and 4.2, 4.4.–4.11., 4.13., 4.17., 4.21.–4.25., 4.31.–4.32., 4.38., 8.2. and 8.6. and, in collaboration with Eugenio Luján, text 8.3.

Lastly, we are grateful to Carlos Molina Valero and Ricardo Dorado Puntch, Irene Serrano Laguna and Marta Lezcano for their proofreading, to Mario Rodríguez Polo for her assistance in drawing up the final bibliography, to José Andrés Alonso de la Fuente for his invaluable etymological annotations to the medieval Polish, to Susana Navarro Agustí for her clarifications of the terminology used in the East Slavic compilations, and to César Hernández García and Marcos David Kahle Armbruster for their support in managing and organising the research group.

CHAPTER 1

Texts in Greek

Eugenio R. Luján Martínez

1.1 Priscus of Panium, History

Priscus, a Goth, was born in the Thracian town of Panium during the reign of Theodosius II, probably between 410 and 420 A.D. He was a historian and sophist who formed part of the embassy sent by Theodosius II under the command of Maximinus to the court of King Attila in 448 and he participated in missions to Arabia and Egypt during the reign of Marcian.

Priscus was the author of letters and declamations but he is best known for writing a *History* in eight books which probably encompassed the period from Attila to Zeno i.e. approximately 433 to 474 A.D., although the exact year in which the work begins is the subject of debate. His work has been lost and only fragments and accounts of it remain, mainly handed down in Constantine's *Excerpta de legationibus* and by the historian Jordanes, whom it must have reached indirectly via other historians.

From what we know and the remaining fragments, the work focussed mainly on matters relating to the Eastern Empire, above all relations with the barbarian tribes which constituted a threat to the region of the Balkans and the Danube, particularly the Huns. The passage which refers to the journey to the court of Attila and the description thereof—events which Priscus witnessed first hand—are especially well known.

We have included this passage for being one of the oldest testimonies about the Slavs and for making a small allusion to hospitality that could be understood as a sacred duty.

Edition used: Blockey (1981–1983).
Other editions: de Boor (1903), Dindorf (1870), Gordon (1960), Müller (1851).
References: Blockey (1981: 48–70), Browning (1953), Bury (1958), Holzer (2006: 41–42) Kuranc (1958).

1.1.1 Fragment *11.271–280* (= *Constantine Porphyrogenitus,* Excerpta de legationibus Romanorum ad gentes *3*)

During his journey to the court of Attila in 448, accompanying Maximinus, who went in his capacity as ambassador the Emperor Theodosius II, and after trav-

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elling through Serdica (Sofia) and Niš in the direction of the Istros (Danube), they came to a wooded plain inhabited by barbarians who made dugout canoes (*monóxyla*). Priscus does not expressly assert that these tribes were Slavs, but scholars have identified them as such on the basis that this type of vessel is considered characteristic of the Slavs in Byzantine literature.[1]

ἐνθένδε ἐπορευόμεθα ὁδὸν ὁμαλὴν ἐν πεδίῳ κειμένην ναυσιπόροις τε προσεβάλομεν ποταμοῖς, ὧν οἱ μέγιστοι μετὰ τὸν Ἴστρον ὅ τε Δρήκων λεγόμενος καὶ ὁ Τίγας καὶ ὁ Τιφήσας ἦν. καὶ τούτους μὲν ἐπεραιώθημεν τοῖς μονοξύλοις πλοίοις, οἷς οἱ προσοικοῦντες τοὺς ποταμοὺς κέχρηνται, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ταῖς σχεδίαις διεπλεύσαμεν, ἃς ἐπὶ τῶν ἁμαξῶν οἱ βάρβαροι διὰ τοὺς λιμνάζοντας φέρουσι τόπους. ἐχορηγοῦντο δὲ ἡμῖν κατὰ κώμας τροφαί, ἀντὶ μὲν σίτου κέγχρος, ἀντὶ δὲ οἴνου ὁ μέδος ἐπιχωρίως καλούμενος. ἐκομίζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ ἑπόμενοι ἡμῖν ὑπερέται κέγχρον καὶ τὸ ἐκ κριθῶν χορηγούμενον πόμα· κάμον οἱ βάρβαροι καλοῦσιν αὐτό·

From there we travelled along a rough track which ran across a plain and we crossed navigable rivers, of which the biggest, after the Istros,[2] were the ones called Drecón and Tigas and Tiphesas.[3] And these we crossed in vessels made of a single tree trunk like the ones used by the people living along the rivers, while the rest sailed across them on the rafts which the Barbarians bring on carts through the marshes. In the villages they gave us provisions:[4] instead of wheat, millet[5] and instead of wine, what they call in these parts *médos*.[6] The servants who accompanied us also brought mead and the drink obtained from barley. *Kámon*,[7] the Barbarians call it.

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1 See, for example, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* IX. Information on the ability of the Slavs to navigate rivers thanks to this kind of vessels can be found in Holzer (2006: 40).

2 The Ancient Greek name for the Danube.

3 The identification of these rivers is not certain. The names given to them by the historian Jordanes (*Get.*34.178) are *Tisia, Tibisia et Dricca.* In *Excerpta de legationibus* the name of the first varies between Δρήκων and Δρέγκων and might be the modern-day Bega. As for the Tigas and the Tiphesas, assuming that the envoys to the court of Attila crossed the Danube near Viminacium, they might be the Timeşul and Theiss, respectively. See Blockey (1983: 384, n. 43), Thompson (1948: 121–122) and Browning (1953: 145).

4 Regarding the duties of hospitality understood explicitly as a religious duty (σέβας) see the text from Maurice's *Strategikon* (§ 1.4.1.).

5 For the description of millet as a typical cereal of these peoples see also the account in Maurice's *Strategikon* (§ 1.4.1.).

6 This must refer to the alcoholic beverage called in Common Slavic *medъ* "mead", the consumption of which is well documented among the Slavic peoples from the date of this account and throughout the whole of the Middle Ages. See, *inter alia*, Conte 1986: 175.

7 Although it is not certain, the word may have a Slavic etymology if we relate it to the word **kamъ* "peel/skin (of a fruit)", which was used to distil a kind of strong spirit (Holzer 2006: 42).

1.2 Procopius of Caesarea, *History of the Gothic Wars*

Procopius of Caesarea was born at the end of the 5th century and died in the middle of the 6th. In the year 527, after training as a *rhetor*, he became secretary and legal advisor (*adsessor*) to Belisarius, Emperor Justinian's general, alongside whom he participated in the wars against the Persians, the Vandals and the Ostrogoths. This provided him with first-hand information about events, which he took full advantage of to compose a monumental work, *De bello Gothico*, in eight books, which constitutes the key historical source of knowledge of the era. He also wrote a treatise *On Buildings*, which describes the construction work carried out by Emperor Justinian, and a *Secret History*, in which he criticises and satirises the emperor, his wife Theodora and even Belisarius himself and his wife.

Edition used: Haury (1963).
Other editions: Dewing (1957), Meyer (1931),[8] Veh (1966).
References: Barford (2001: 193–194), Benedicty (1965), Cameron (1985: 218–219), Curta (2001: 36–38), Fine (1983: 27–28), Holzer (2006: 35–39), Luján (2008), Reiter (1973: 190).

1.2.1 History of the Gothic Wars *3.14.22–30*

The description of the customs of these peoples falls within the context of his account of the problems he had to deal with while enduring his mission on the frontiers of the Empire in Justinian's time. The objective was to prevent these peoples from crossing the Danube and, therefore, to maintain this river as the border, but skirmishes and battles were frequent on both banks, not only between these peoples and the Byzantines, but also between each other.

τὰ γὰρ ἔθνη ταῦτα, Σκλαβηνοί τε καὶ Ἄντας, οὐκ ἄρχονται πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἑνός, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ ἐκ παλαιοῦ βιοτεύουσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀεὶ τά τε ξύμφορα καὶ τὰ δύσκολα ἐς κοινὸν ἄγεται. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὡς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα ἑκατέροις ἐστί τε καὶ νενόμισται τούτοις ἄνωθεν τοῖς βαρβάροις. θεὸν μὲν γὰρ ἕνα τὸν τῆς ἀστραπῆς δημιουργὸν ἁπάντων κύριον μόνον αὐτὸν νομίζουσιν εἶναι, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ βόας τε καὶ ἱερεῖα πάντα· εἱμαρμένην δὲ οὔτε ἴσασιν οὔτε ἄλλως ὁμολογοῦσιν ἔν γε ἀνθρώποις ῥοπήν τινα ἔχειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὰν αὐτοῖς ἐν ποσὶν ἤδη ὁ θάνατος εἴη, ἢ νόσῳ ἁλοῦσιν ἢ ἐς πόλεμον καθισταμένοις, ἐπαγγέλλονται μὲν, ἢν διαφύγωσι, θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ

8 Only for the first passage as the second is not included by this author.

ἀντὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτίκα ποιήσειν, διαφυγόντες δὲ θύουσιν ὅπερ ὑπέσχοντο, καὶ οἴονται τὴν σωτηρίαν ταύτης δὴ ταῖς θυσίας αὐτοῖς ἐωνῆσθαι. σέβουσι μέντοι καὶ ποταμούς τε καὶ νύμφας καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα δαιμόνια, καί θύουσιν αὐτοῖς ἅπασι, τάς τε μαντείας ἐν ταύταις δὴ ταῖς θυσίαις ποιοῦνται. οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἐν καλύβαις οἰκτραῖς διεσκηνημένοι πολλῷ μὲν ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων, ἀμείβοντες δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τὸν τῆς ἐνοικήσεως ἕκαστοι χῶρον. ἐς μάχην δὲ καθιστάμενοι πεζῇ μὲν ἐπί τοὺς πολεμίους οἱ πολλοὶ ἴασιν ἀσπίδια καὶ ἀκόντια ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες, θώρακα δὲ οὐδαμῇ ἐνδιδύσκονται. τινὲς δὲ οὐδὲ χιτῶνα οὐδὲ τριβώνιον ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ μόνας τὰς ἀναξυρίδας ἐναρμοσάμενοι μέχρι ἐς τὰ αἰδοῖα, οὕτω δὴ ἐς ξυμβολὴν τοῖς ἐναντίοις καθίστανται. ἔστι δὲ καὶ μία ἑκατέροις φωνὴ ἀτεχνῶς βάρβαρος. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ τὸ εἶδος ἐς ἀλλήλους τι διαλλάσουσιν. εὐμήκεις τε γὰρ καὶ ἄλκιμοι διαφερόντως εἰσὶν ἅπαντες, τὰ δὲ σώματα καὶ τὰς κόμας οὔτε λευκοὶ ἐσάγαν ἢ ξανθοί εἰσιν οὔτε πη ἐς τὸ μέλαν αὐτοῖς παντελῶς τέτραπται, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπέρυθροι εἰσιν ἅπαντες. δίαιταν δὲ σκληράν τε καὶ ἀπημελημένην, ὥσπερ οἱ Μασσαγέται, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχουσι, καὶ ῥύπου ἧπερ ἐκεῖνοι ἐνδελεχέστατα γέμουσι, πονηροὶ μέντοι ἢ κακοῦργοι ὡς ἥκιστα τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, ἀλλὰ κἀν τῷ ἀφελεῖ διασώζουσι τὸ Οὐννικὸν ἦθος. καὶ μὴν καὶ ὄνομα Σκλαβηνοὶ τε καὶ Ἄντας ἓν τὸ ἀνέθακεν ἦν. Σπόρους γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν ἀμφοτέρους ἑκάλουν, ὅτι δὴ σποράδην, οἶμαι, διεσκηνημένοι τὴν χώραν οἰκοῦσι. διὸ δὴ καὶ γῆν τινα πολλὴν ἔχουσι· τὸ γὰρ πλεῖστον τῆς ἑτέρας τοῦ Ἴστρου ὄχθης αὐτοὶ νέμονται. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὸν λεὼν τοῦτον ταύτῃ πη ἔχει.

Indeed, these peoples, the Sclavs and the Antes,[9] are not governed by a single man, but rather have long lived in democracy and that is why they deal with issues, both favourable and problematic, on a communal basis. All else, to sum up, is also the same for both the Barbarian peoples mentioned and they have the same customs. Indeed, they believe that a single god, creator of the lightning bolt, is the sole lord of all things and they offer him sacrifices of cows and all manner of victims.[10] The idea of destiny is unknown to them nor do they believe that it has any influence over men, but when death is at their heels,

9 The Antes are mentioned for the first time by Procopius; they occupied the lower part of the Danube, called *Scythia Minor*. The archaeological culture of Pen'kovka tends to be associated with them, more spread towards the east but similar to the culture of Korčak (5th–7th century AD), which is linked to the Slavs (Conte 1986: 163–165, Holzer 2006: 21–22), though for some scholars, the identification of that archaeological culture or another in the area with the Antes cannot be considered totally certain (Gojda 1991: 13–15, Barford 2001: 63). Their name is of Iranian origin, linkable to *anta*—"border", and thus means "the people of the border" (Holzer 2006: 43).

10 Although Procopius does not provide the name of the deity, we can safely deduce that it was Perun. See, *inter alia*, Brückner (1923: 58–80), Niederle ([1926]1995: 46–51), Pisani ([1950]1995: 73–75), Benedicty (1965: 71–72), Reiter (1973: 189–191, esp. p. 190), Puhvel (1987: 234–235), Mikhailov (1995: 174–177), Barford (2001: 193–195).

because they have fallen sick or are preparing for war, they promise that, if spared, they will immediately offer a sacrifice in honour of the god in exchange for their life and, once they have been spared, they sacrifice whatever they have to hand and believe they have bought their salvation with this sacrifice. Nevertheless, they also venerate rivers,[11] nymphs[12] and other divine beings and make sacrifices to them too and perform practices of divination during those sacrifices.[13] They live in miserable huts which they build a long way from each other, each of them frequently changing the place they live. When they are preparing for battle, the majority of them march against the enemy on foot, carrying shields and spears, but they never wear armour. Some do not even have a tunic or a cape but rather, covering their private parts with breeches, they go to face the enemy. Both peoples also share the same, carelessly barbaric language. Nor does the way they look differ between them. They are all, indeed, extremely tall and courageous and, as regards their body and hair, are neither excessively white nor blond nor are they completely dark but are rather ruddy in appearance. They have a hard life without comforts, the same as the Massagetae,[14] and are constantly dirty, but as it happens they are wicked nor villainous in the least possible manner and likewise in their simplicity they retain the character of the Huns. So also was there, in the beginning, a single name for the Sclaveni

11 The cult of various natural elements reappears in other accounts of Old Slavic paganism, such as in Saint John Chrysostom's *Commentary of the Gospel of Saint Matthew* (§ 4.31.1.), the Opatovice Homiliary (§ 2.14.1.), Helmold (§ 2.22.6.) or the cults the introduction of which is attributed to Tethka in the *Chronica Boemorum* (§ 2.13.2.). On this question, see Pisani ([1950]1995: 76–78). For the survival of these cults in later popular traditions see, *inter alia*, Barford (2001: 189–192). Nevertheless, apart from the general question of the cult of natural elements, it is worth recalling the Slavic tradition relating to the existence of the "Waterman", a demonic being who lives near water, especially in those places which hare most dangerous for people, whom he attempts to drown. Offerings are made to placate these beings; for example, in the region of Arkhangelsk, in the north of Russia, a well-fed horse was sacrificed in spring by drowning it in water after tying a large stone to its neck. In Poland a chicken was sacrificed every year and the inhabitants of the banks of the Danube offered a chicken, a lamb and a mouse. Cf. Reiter (1973: 206–207, *s.u. Wasserman*).

12 This can perhaps be interpreted as a reference to the *Vily* in later Slavic traditions, female beings frequently associated with the forest (cf. Reiter 1973: 203–204, *s.u. Vila*) or perhaps with the *rusalki* and *beregini*, associated with water (Brückner 1923: 176–181, Benedicty 1965: 72–73).

13 Thietmar of Merseburg also provides information on practices of divination during sacrifices (see *infra* § 2.8.5.) and, according to Helmold (§ 2.22.7.), the oracular ability of the god Sventovit was rewarded by the Rani with an annual human sacrifice.

14 The Massagetae were an Iranian people, mentioned for the first time by Herodotus (1.125–126), who described their harsh living conditions.

and the Antes. Indeed, in the past both were called Spores because, I believe, they lived in huts scattered all over the country.[15] This is why they also have much land, because they occupy the greater part of the far bank of the Istros. This, then, is all I have to say about this people.

1.2.2 History of the Gothic Wars *3.38.17–23*

An army of Slavs crosses the Danube and defeats the Byzantines in a number of battles, after which it pillages Thrace and the Illyricum and succeeds in capturing the city of Topirus on the Thracian coast.

Ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτοὺς πλήθει βελῶν οἱ βάρβαροι βιασάμενοι ἐκλιπεῖν τε τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἠνάγκασαν καὶ κλίμακας τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐρείσαντες κατὰ κράτος τὴν πόλιν εἷλον. ἄνδρας μὲν οὖν ἐς πεντακισχιλίους τε καὶ μυρίους εὐθὺς ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν καὶ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἐληΐσαντο, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν ἀνδραπόδων πεποίηνται λόγῳ. καίτοι τὰ πρότερα οὐδεμιᾶς ἡλικίας ἐφείσαντο, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοί τε καὶ ἡ συμμορία ἡ ἑτέρα, ἐξ ὅτου δὴ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέσκηψαν χώρᾳ, τοὺς παραπίπτοντας ἡβηδὸν ἅπαντας ἔκτεινον. ὥστε γῆν ἅπασαν, ἥπερ Ἰλλυριῶν τε καὶ Θρᾳκῶν ἐστι, νεκρῶν ἔμπλεων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀτάφων γενέσθαι. ἔκτεινον δὲ τοὺς παραπίπτοντας οὔτε ξίφει οὔτε δόρατι οὔτε τῳ ἄλλῳ εἰωθότι τρόπῳ, ἀλλὰ σκόλοπας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πηξάμενοι ἰσχυρότατα, ὀξεῖς τε αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ποιησάμενοι, ἐπὶ τούτων ξὺν βίᾳ πολλῇ τοὺς δειλαίους ἐκάθιζον, τήν τε σκολόπων ἀκμὴν γλουτῶν κατὰ μέσον ἐνείροντες ὠθοῦντές τε ἄχρι ἐς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἔγκατα, οὕτω δὴ αὐτοὺς διαχρήσασθαι ἠξίουν. καὶ ξύλα δὲ παχέα τέτταρα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐς γῆν κατορύξαντες οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι, ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν τε χεῖράς τε καὶ πόδας τῶν ἡλωκότων δεσμεύοντες, εἶτα ῥοπάλοις αὐτοὺς κατὰ κόρρης ἐνδελεχέστατα παίοντες, ὡς δὴ κύνας ἢ ὄφεις ἢ ἄλλο τι θηρίον διέφθειρον. ἄλλους δὲ ξύν τε βουσὶ καὶ προβάτοις, ὅσα δὴ ἐπάγεσθαι ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἤθη ὡς ἥκιστα εἶχον, ἐν τοῖς δωματίοις καθείρξαντες, οὐδεμιᾷ φειδοῖ ἐνεπίμπρασαν. οὕτω μὲν Σκλαβηνοὶ τοὺς ἐντυχόντας ἀεὶ ἀνῄρουν. ἀλλὰ νῦν αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ τῆς ἑτέρας συμμορίας, ὥσπερ τῷ τῶν αἱμάτων μεθύοντες πλήθει, ζωγρεῖν τὸ ἐνθένδε ἠξίουν τῶν παραπεπτωκότων τινὰς, καὶ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ μυριάδας αἰχμαλώτων ἐπαγόμενοι ἀριθμοῦ κρείσσους ἐπ᾽ οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν ἅπαντες.

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15 Procopius explains the name Σπόροι on the basis of the adverb σποράδην "scattered, dispersed", which relates to the type of scattered settlement which he referred a little earlier when describing the way of life and customs of the Slavs. Attempts have been made to explain the ethnonym as Slavic, associating it with the old Russian word *sporъ*, meaning "abundant, which multiplied", whereby the name of this people would mean something like "the many"; however, this etymology presents phonetic difficulties, because in the era referred to in Procopius' text, the phonetic evolution *a* > *o* in Slavic had not yet occurred, so we would expect **Sparos* (cf. Holzer 2006: 43–44).

But finally, the Barbarians,[16] beating them back with a rain of projectiles, forced them to abandon the battlements and, leaning ladders against the wall, took the city[17] en masse. They killed all the men, as many as fifteen thousand, and seized the things of value, and reduced the children and the women to slavery. Previously, in contrast, they had not left anybody of any age alive, but rather these and those of the other group,[18] from the time they had penetrated into the territory of the Romans,[19] had killed all whom they had encountered, regardless of their age, so that the entire land of the Illyrians and the Thracians was completely littered with unburied corpses.

They killed those they encountered not with the sword or the spear or with any of the usual methods but, ramming stakes firmly into the ground and sharpening them as much as possible, sat the poor victims on top of them with much force, inserting the point of the stakes between their buttocks up until the entrails of the men in question, as they believed this was the right way to execute them.[20] Likewise, these Barbarians stuck four thick pieces of wood into the ground and tied the hands and feet of the prisoners to them, and then struck them ceaselessly on the temples with maces thus putting an end to them like dogs, snakes or other beasts.[21] Others they shut into their huts along with the cows and sheep they could not take back with them and there they burned them without mercy.[22] Thus did the Sclaveni kill all those they encountered. However, now these and the other group, as if they were already sated on so much blood, deemed it suitable to begin to make prisoners of some of those who fell into their hands and therefore they set off for home taking thousands of prisoners with them.

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16 I.e., the Slavs who are attacking the city.

17 The city of Topirus, according to what Procopius states a little earlier. It is the modern-day Çorlu.

18 As we stated in the introduction to the passage, according to Procopius the Slavs split into two groups as soon as they had crossed the Danube.

19 I.e. the Byzantines.

20 Note that they do not kill enemies in any manner but by following a precise ritual.

21 Although Procopius could not have a precise idea of what he was describing, this detailed narrative reveals a ritualized way of applying the death penalty which follows well-established procedures. On the ritualization of the death penalty among Indo-European peoples see Winn (1995: 45–48). On vindictive victory in Indo-European tradition see West (2007: 492–493).

22 Neither in this case does Procopius' reference appear banal. It must be borne in mind that the text by Nicholas Mystikos (§ 1.6.1.) talks of holocausts with the sacrifice of dogs, cattle and sheep, so we may be dealing with a similar type of sacrifice here, with the difference that it also includes human beings.

1.3 Pseudo-Caesarius of Nazianzus, *Dialogues*

The *Erotapokriseis* or *Quaestiones et responsiones* are traditionally attributed to Caesarius of Nazianzus, the younger brother of Gregory of Nazianzus, who lived in the 4th century AD. However, it appears in reality to be a work written in the 6th century by a monk of the Monastery of the Acemites in Constantinople. The author witnessed the attacks of the Slavic tribes in the Balkans which occurred during the reign of Justinian I (527–565).

The work consists of a compilation of questions and their corresponding answers which, in the Greek version which has reached us, add up to a total of one hundred and ninety-seven.[23] It addresses a broad spectrum of topics ranging from religious life to astrology and pagan practices, as well as geographical and anthropological matters, including a number of references to the Slavs.

Edition used: Riedinger (1989).
Other editions: Migne, *PG* 38.851–1190, Riedinger (1969).
References: Curta (2001: 43–44), Dujčev (1957, 1965a), Morfakidis—Casas (2005: 31–34), Riedinger (1959 and 1969).

1.3.1 *Ps. Caes.* Dial. *2.110* (= *Migne 38.935*)

Details about the customs of the Slavs are included as part of the response to a question which the author of the text asks, in the context of the astronomical theory of the seven planets and the seven terrestrial "climates", as to how it is possible that peoples with such different customs live side by side in the same region; the cannibalistic Indians; the Brahmin, who are vegetarian and practice fasting; the Babylonians, prone to incest; or, in a different region, the Slavs and the Physonites, whose customs are so different.[24]

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23 The Slavic version, in contrast, consists of two hundred and twenty, which appears to tally better with the information about this work provided by Patriarch Photius in his *Biblioteca* 168b (Dujčev 1965a:23–24).

24 Ultimately, this passage is an adaptation of a text attributed to Bardaisan of Edessa (154–222), but probably the work of a later disciple of his, originally written in Syriac, a treatise on destiny known as *Liber legum regionum*. It is unlikely that the Pseudo-Caesarius would have known this text directly, but rather one or several of the Greek and Latin adaptations thereof which existed. Thus, we encounter it in *Recognitiones* attributed to Pope Clement I (Ps.Clem.Rom. *Recogn*.9.19–29), in Eusebius' *Praeparatio Euangelica* (Eusb. *PE* 6.10.1–48), etc., cf. Jacoby *FGH* 719, fr. 3, pp. 648–656. However, there is no mention of the Slavs in any of these other texts and we must therefore consider this to be an original contribution by the Pseudo-Caesarius. See Dujčev (1965a: 31–33).

πῶς δ᾽ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τμήματι ὄντες οἱ Σκλαυνοὶ καὶ οἱ Φεισωνῖται, οἱ καὶ Δανούβιοι προσαγορευόμενοι, οἱ μὲν γυναικομαστοβοροῦσιν ἡδέως διὰ τὸ πεπληρῶσθαι τοῦ γάλακτος, μυῶν δίκην τοὺς ὑποτίτθους ταῖς πέτραις ἐπαράττοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ τῆς νομίμης καὶ ἀδιαβλήτου κρεοβορίας ἀπέχονται; καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπάρχουσιν αὐθάδεις, αὐτόνομοι, ἀνηγεμόνευτοι, συνεχῶς ἀναιροῦντες, συνεστιώμενοι ἢ συνοδεύοντες, τὸν σφῶν ἡγεμόνα καὶ ἄρχοντα, ἀλώπεκας καὶ τὰς ἐνδρύμους κάττας καὶ μονιοὺς ἐσθίοντες καὶ τῇ λύκων ὠρυγῇ σφᾶς προσκαλούμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀδηφαγίας ἀπέχονται καὶ τῷ τύχοντι ὑποτατόμενοι καὶ ὑπείκοντες.

How is it possible that the Sclaveni and the Physonites[25] (who are also called Danubians), who are found in another region, the ones[26] devour with great pleasure the breasts of women because they are full of milk,[27] dashing unweaned babes against the rocks like rats,[28] while the others[29] abstain even from the licit and irreproachable consumption of meat? What is more, the

25 The demonym "Physonite" derives from the name of the river Φισών (graphic variants: Φύσων, Φεισων, Φεισσών), which, according to *Genesis* 2, 11, was one of the four rivers which watered Paradise. It tends to be identified with one of the four great rivers in India, the Indus or the Ganges. However, as shown by another passage in the same book (Ps.Caes. *Dial.* 3.144 = Migne, *PG* 38.1093), the author believed the River Physon (Φεισσών) to be the one called Istros (Ἴστρος) by the Greeks, Danube (Δανούβης) by the Illyrians and other peoples close to the Istros, and Dunaute (Δουναῦτις) by the Goths. According to Dujčev (1965a: 35) and Malingoudis (1990: 88), this would be the same people which were called "Antes" in other sources (cf. *supra* Procopius, § 1.2.1.).

26 I.e. the Sclaveni.

27 Dujčev (1965a: 40–42) believes that these reports of eating women's breasts and infanticide may have echoed the myth of the Amazons, who were thought to inhabit the same region as the Slavic peoples. He also states that it is frequent in the Greek and Byzantine tradition to attribute the custom of eating women's breasts to enemy tribes and could be considered, in this context, as an exaggerated indication of the fierce and savage nature of the Slavs. However, a belief in demons which fed on the milk of women who have just given birth has survived in Slavic and Greek folklore up until modern times (Stewart 1991: 99–101). With regard to the report transmitted by our source, it is striking that the Slavs believed in demons, with a variety of names, which are, in reality, the spirits of children who died as soon as they were born or even at their mother's breast and which prefer to attack women who are pregnant or have just given birth or small children and which, according to Serb and Croatian traditions, steal the milk from lactating animals (cf. Reiter 1973: 188–189, *s.u. Navi*).

28 There are other references to the sacrifice of children among the Slavs; see the texts by Leo the Deacon (§ 1.9.1.), the Homiliary of Opatovice (§ 2.14.3.), and the passage concerning the gods of Kiev in *PVL* (§ 4.1.8.), to whom the inhabitants of the city sacrificed their sons and daughters. Furthermore, Herbord (§ 2.20.3.) also informs us of the custom of killing the newly born when there were too many babies and it was difficult to feed them.

29 I.e. the Physonites.

ones are arrogant, independent, ungovernable, frequently eliminating their own chieftain in the course of a banquet or a journey, eat foxes, wild cats and wild boar and howl to each other like wolves,[30] while the others abstain from gluttony and submit to and obey anybody.

1.4 *Strategikon*, Attributed to Emperor Maurice

The *Strategikon* is a military training manual in twelve books aimed at middle-ranking officers and, in the majority of the manuscripts preserved, is attributed to Emperor Maurice (582–602), though the Medicean-Laurentian Codex 55,4, which is the text's best witness, attributes it to Urbicius.

From what we can deduce from the work itself, its author must have been someone experienced in military matters and with experience of combat on several fronts. The text is written in a style with a certain tendency towards the colloquial, but with a mastery of military technical vocabulary. Several proposals have been put forward with regard to identifying the author, of which the most plausible appear to be the general and later emperor Heraclius, or Phillippicus, a general and Maurice's brother-in-law, but the work cannot be attributed with any certainty. In any event, the link with Maurice can be maintained even if we assume that, as was common, he did not write the work personally but merely commissioned or oversaw it.

Scholars of the text tend to accept that the work dates from the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century, as it contains no reference to the Muslim attacks which began in the third decade of the 7th century.

In addition to the military, tactical and strategic knowledge it contains, the work is of great interest due to the information of an ethnographic nature which it provides about the different peoples in conflict with the Byzantine Empire, among them the Slavs.

Edition used: Dennis (1981).
Other editions: Mihăescu (1970).

30 The reference to lycanthropy in relation to the Slavs is a *topos* in the relevant literature and is even found in what could be the first mention of their religious customs, provided that the passage from Herodotus (4.105) [see 8.1.1.] about the Neuri alludes to Slavic peoples. Malingoudis (1990: 90) considers that the text by the Pseudo-Caesarius refers to the existence among the Slavs of priests who dressed in wolfskins and howled when performing rites and also relates it to a possible initiation rite of warrior brotherhoods.

References: Aussaresses (1906), Dennis (1984), Holzer (2006: 27–30), Morfakidis—Casas (2005: 47–54), Whitby (1988: 80–83), Wiita (1977), Zástěrová (1971).

1.4.1 Strategikon *11.4*

Chapter 4 of Book 11 of the *Strategikon* is entitled "Dealing with the Sclavs, the Antes and the like" and includes a description of the customs and character of those peoples, as well as a range of tactical and strategic advice on how to fight them. As the author of the treatise states at the end of his ethnographic digression on the Slavs, the information he provides about them is based on his own experience and on earlier treatises.

Τὰ ἔθνη τῶν Σκλάβων καὶ τῶν Ἄντων ὁμοδίαιτά τε καὶ ὁμότροπά εἰσιν καὶ ἐλεύθηρα, μηδαμῶς δουλοῦσθαι ἢ ἄρχεσθαι πειθόμενα, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ χώρᾳ, πολύανδρά τε καὶ τλητικὴ, φέροντα ῥᾳδίως καὶ καύσωνα καὶ ψύχος καὶ βροχὴν καὶ σώματος γυμνότητα καὶ τὴν τῶν δαπανημάτων ἔνδειαν.

Εἰσὶν δὲ τοῖς ἐπιξενουμένοις αὐτοῖς ἥπιοι καὶ φιλοφρονούμενοι, αὐτοὺς διασώζουσιν κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον, οὗ ἂν δέονται· ὡς εἴγε δι' ἀμέλειαν τοῦ ὑποδεχομένου συμβῇ τὸν ξένον βλαβῆναι, πόλεμον κινεῖ κατ' αὐτοῦ ὁ τοῦτον παραθέμενος σέβας ἡγούμενος τὴν τοῦ ξένου ἐκδίκησιν. τοὺς δὲ ὄντας ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀορίστῳ χρόνῳ, ὡς τὰ λοιπὰ ἔθνη, ἐν δουλείᾳ κατέχουσιν, ἀλλὰ ῥητὸν ὁρίζοντες αὐτοῖς χρόνον, ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ αὐτῶν ποιοῦνται, εἴτε θέλουσιν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀναχωρῆσαι μετά τινος μισθοῦ ἢ μένειν ἐκεῖσε ἐλεύθεροι καὶ φίλοι.

Ὕπεστι δὲ αὐτοῖς πλῆθος ἀλόγων παντοίων καὶ γεννημάτων ἐν θημωνίαις ἀποκείμενον, καὶ μάλιστα κέγχρου καὶ ἐλύμου. σωφρονοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὰ θήλεα αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν φύσιν ἀνθρώπου, ὥστε τὰς πολλὰς αὐτῶν τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἀνδρῶν τελευτὴν ἴδιον ἡγεῖσθαι θάνατον καὶ ἀποπνίγειν ἑαυτὰς ἑκουσίως οὐκ ἡγούμενας ζωὴν τὴν ἐν χηρείᾳ διαγωγήν.

The peoples of the Sclavs[31] and the Antes have a similar way of life and similar customs. They are free and will not submit to servitude or be dominated in any way, especially in their own country. They are rich in men and hardy, enduring with ease the heat, the cold, the rain, the nakedness of the body and the lack of food.

They are agreeable and friendly to strangers in the midst and conduct them safely and soundly to wherever they have to go because if the guest should suf-

31 Although the most frequent term in Greek sources when referring to the Slavs is Σκλαβηνοί, in the *Strategikon* we find Σκλάβοι.

fer some harm due to the negligence of his host, the one who commended him to that person's care will declare war against the host, as he considers it a sacred duty to avenge the stranger.[32] They do not keep their prisoners of war in perpetual slavery, as do other peoples but for a set period of time, after which they allow them to choose whether they wish to return home on payment of a ransom or remain there as free men and friends.[33]

They possess an abundance of animals of all kinds and of grain stored in heaps, especially millet and spelt. The sound judgement of their women also surpasses all human nature to the point where the majority of them consider the death of their husbands to be their own death and they drown[34] themselves because they believe that to be a widow is not to live.[35]

1.5 Theophylact Simocatta, *History*

We know little about the life of Theophylact. He must have been born around the year 580 and, from the scant personal information revealed in his *History*, he was Egyptian and perhaps had been educated in Alexandria. His arrival in Constantinople should have occurred shortly before or after the deposing of Phokas and the beginning of the reign of Heraclius, in whose administration Theophylact carved out a career for himself, reaching the posts of *ex-praefectus* and *antigrapheus*. His nickname, *Simocatta*, appears to mean "snub-nosed cat", which is normally interpreted as a reference to his physical features.

Theophylact Simocatta wrote his *History* during the reign of the Emperor Heraclius (610–614), as a continuation of the work of earlier historians, specifically Procopius, Agathias and Menander Protector, who had narrated the events which occurred between the accession of Justinian I to the throne in 518 and the death of Tiberius in 582. In his *History*, Theophylact addressed the reign of the Emperor Maurice (582–602). In addition to this work, another three by the same author have been preserved: *Quaestiones Physicae*, *Ethical Epistles* and *On Predestined Terms of Life*.

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32 On the importance of hospitality among the Slavic peoples from the oldest accounts to recent times, see Conte (1986: 275–278).

33 This custom, however, was not preserved in later times because, for example, Kiev was a major centre for the slave trade as early as the 10th century (Conte 1986: 182–183).

34 The offering of sacrifices, including human sacrifices, by means of drowning is well known from other sources. See *infra* the passage from Leo the Deacon (§ 1.9.1.) and the notes to the text by Procopius (§ 1.2.1.).

35 On the sacrifice of widows on the husband's pyre, attested to in other Slavic sources, see Conte (1986: 249–250).

We have included this fragment because it contains an interesting testimony of vagabond poets who were the custodians of the poetic and religious tradition among the Slavs.

Edition used: de Boor-Wirth (1972).
References: Barford (2001: 59–60), Conte (1986: 379–382), Whitby (1988), Whitby-Whitby (1986).

1.5.1 History *6.2.10–16*

During the reign of Maurice, the Avars and the Slavs attacked in the Balkans. After a raid by the Slavs in the year 588/589, the Emperor Maurice decided to launch an expedition to Anchialos, on the coast of the Black Sea, in the autumn of 590, an exceptional event given that the emperors had rarely left Constantinople during the course of the 6th century. This expedition enabled him to inspect the situation on the ground and undertake repairs of some of the damage caused.

Τῇ δὲ ὑστεριαίᾳ ἄνδρες τρεῖς Σκλαυνοὶ τὸ γένος μηδέν τι σιδήρου περιβαλλόμενοι ἢ ὀργάνων πολεμικῶν ἑάλωσαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως ὑποσπιστῶν· κιθάραι δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ φορτία, καὶ ἄλλο τι οὐδὲν ἐπεφέροντο. ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς διηρώτα τί τὸ ἔθνος αὐτῶν, καὶ ποῖ τὰς διατριβὰς ἐκληρώσαντο, τήν τε αἰτίαν τῆς περὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαϊκοὺς τόπους ἀναστροφῆς. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἔθνος ἔφασαν πεφυκέναι Σκλαυηνοὶ πρὸς τῷ τέρματί τε τοῦ δυστικοῦ ᾠκηκέναι Ὠκεανοῦ, τὸν δὲ Χαγάνου μέχρι τῶν αὐτόθι πρέσβεις ἐκπέμψασθαι ἐπὶ συλλογῇ μαχίμου δυνάμεως δῶρά τε πολλὰ τοῖς ἐθνάρχαις φιλοτιμήσασθαι. τοὺς μὲν οὖν δεξαμένους τὰ δῶρα τὴν συμμαχίαν αὐτῷ ἀπανήνασθαι, ἀποκναίειν τε αὐτοὺς τὰ μήκη τῆς ὁδοιπορίας διισχυριζομένων, ὡς δὲ τὸν Χαγάνον ἐπαποστείλασθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους τοὺς ἑαλωκότας ἀπολογίας ὑπόθεσιν ἔχοντας· πεντεκαίδεκά τε μησὶ τὴν ὁδὸν διανύσαι. τὸν δὲ Χαγάνον ἐπιλαθόμενον τοῦ νόμου τῶν πρέσβεων δογματίσαι κωλύμην αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀναζεύξεως. αὐτούς τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔθνος ἀκηκοότας ἐπί τε πλούτῳ καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ λίαν, ὡς ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, εὐκλεέστατον, ἐμπορευσαμένους τὴν εὐκαιρίαν πρὸς τῇ Θρᾴκῃ ἀναχωρῆσαι. κιθάρας τε ἐπιφέρεσθαι διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐξησκῆσθαι ὅπλα τοῖς σώμασι περιβάλλεσθαι, τῆς χώρας αὐτοῖς ἀγνοούσης τὸν σίδηρον κἀντεῦθεν τὸν εἰρηναῖον καὶ ἀστασίαστον παρεχομένης τὸν βίον αὐτοῖς, λύραις τε καταψάλλεσθαι περιλαλεῖν οὐκ εἰδότας ταῖς σάλπιγξιν· οἷς γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος ἦν ἀνιστόρητος, εἰκότως ἂν ἔφασκον ἀγρότερά πως ὑπεῖναι τὰ τῆς μουσικῆς μελετήματα. ὁ μὲν οὖν αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥηθεῖσι τὸ φῦλον ἀγάμενος φιλοξενίας ἠξίου ἐκείνους αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐντετυχηκότας αὐτῷ, θαυμάσας τούτων τῶν σωμάτων τὸ μέγεθος τό τε μεγαλοφυὲς τῶν μελῶν ἐς τὴν Ἡράκλειαν τούτους παρεπέμπετο.

The next day the Emperor's guard captured three men of Sclav ethnicity who were not carrying any iron objects or military equipment; zithers were their only baggage and they were not transporting anything else.[36] Thus, the king interrogated them about which was their people and where they lived and what was their reason for being in Roman territory.[37] They said they were Sclaveni, that they lived on the edge of the Western Ocean[38] and that the Khagan[39] had sent ambassadors to their region to assemble a fighting force[40] and had honoured the chiefs of their people with many gifts. These accepted the gifts but refused to ally with him, insisting that the distance involved deterred them, but they sent before the Khagan those very men who had been captured[41] to offer their apologies and they had made the journey in fifteen months, but the Khagan, forgetting the law relating to ambassadors, had decreed that they not be allowed to return. They, having heard that the Roman nation was by far the most famous for its wealth and generosity, had made the most of the opportunity and retired to Thrace. They carried zithers because they were not in the habit of strapping weapons to their bodies, as there was no iron in their country and they were provided with a peaceful life there, free of alarums. They played zithers because they did not know how to sound trumpets, as they would rightly say that the musical practices available to those who know not war are of a ruder nature.[42] And so the Emperor, feeling admiration for this people based on what they had said, considered that those Barbarians he had encountered were worthy of his hospitality and, astounded by the size of their body and the greatness of their members, sent them to Heraclea.[43]

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36 For the link between the anecdote narrated by Theophylact and the *guslari* and *kobzari* of the 19th century, see Conte (1986: 379–382).

37 I.e. within the borders of the Byzantine Empire.

38 They must therefore have been West Slavs who lived in the area of the mouth of the Elba. Migrations towards this area must have been encouraged first by the movements of the Gothic peoples and then by the invasion of the Huns towards the middle of the 4th century (cf. Conte 1986: 51–53). However, many scholars (e.g. Barford 2001:59–60) deny any historical basis for this story.

39 The chieftain of the Avars.

40 There is evidence that the Avars allied with the Franks and Lombards in the year 601, so this may have been an earlier attempt to obtain the cooperation of these Western peoples.

41 I.e. the same Slavs who were declaring before the emperor.

42 The meaning of the passage is not very clear. Perhaps what is meant is that those who do not practise the art of war do not master all the possibilities of musical instruments either, but it is a strange turn of phrase. Furthermore, the Vulgate of the Greek manuscripts reads αἱρετώτερα "preferable" instead of ἀγρότερα "wild". Cf. Whilby (1986: 160–161, n. 12).

43 The city also known as Perinthus situated on the coast of the Sea of Marmara at Marmara Eğlisi.

1.6 Nicholas I Mystikos, Patriarch of Constantinople

Nicholas, who had been born in Italy into an important Byzantine family, belonged to the circle of the Patriarch Photius. When Photius fell from grace, Nicholas fled to Chalcedon, where he became a monk. The epithet "Mystikos" was given to him due to the political post he held as imperial secretary (*mystikós*) to the Emperor Leo VI (886–912), who called him to the court. Upon the death of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Antony II, in the year 901 Nicholas was appointed to this post, from which time he would have to play an active part in the political structure of the Empire. In the year 907, after a series of obscure episodes and given that Nicholas was probably part of a conspiracy to depose the emperor, the latter demanded that he renounce the post, thereby giving rise to an internal dispute within the Orthodox church, which would take years to resolve, between the supporters of the new Patriarch, Euthymius, and those of Nicholas.

Nicholas regained his position in the year 912, probably with the accession to the throne of Alexander, Leo's successor. On the death of Alexander in 913, and given that Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus was underage, Nicholas became the *de facto* regent of the destinies of the empire for a few months until, in 914, the emperor's mother, Zoe, succeeded in removing him from power. Relations between them thawed and Nicholas came once again to play a fundamental role after the coup by Romanos I.

Throughout his life, Nicholas was interested in re-establishing good relations with the Western Church and played an important role in international politics, especially with regard to the Bulgarian Tsar Simeon. In addition to his letters, his most important written work was *Life of Euthyimius*.

Edition used: Jenkins—Westerink (1973).
Other editions: Migne (1863)
References: von Arnim (1933), Beševliev (1933), Dujčev (1950), Grumel (1936), Grumel (1937), Grumel-Darrouzès (1989).

1.6.1 *Letter 66*

We no longer know the name of the person to whom this letter from Patriarch Nicholas I was written, though we can deduce from its contents that it was somebody high up in the government and scholars have suggested that it may have been Constantine Paroikoumenos. Neither is it dated, though the references it contains to the emperor being underage, and the connections which can be established with others of Nicholas' missives and with historical information, point clearly to the year 915–916, the time when the Empire launched

a great counter-offensive against the Bulgarians, who had declared war on it. For that enterprise, the Empire had the Pechenegs and the Turks as allies, as recorded in Nicholas' own correspondence (Letter 183) and in the historical information provided in the chronicle written by Teophanes Continuatus (*De Constantino* 7). In this context, the patriarch reproached the addressee for having permitted an agreement to be reached with the Pechenegs in the ratification of which pagan sacrifices were performed, though the patriarch had to be content with imposing a light penitence to avoid the scandal which would have arisen had knowledge of this pagan rite, which was essential in order to conclude the treaty, come to light.

Τέκνον μου ἠγαπημένον, πρᾶγμα ἐγένετο ὡς λέγουσί τινες μήτε τῇ δόξῃ πρέπον τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, ἐν ᾗ πᾶσα τάξις Χριστιανικὴ καὶ πᾶσα εὐσέβεια πολιτεύεται καὶ πᾶσα σοφίας ἀκρότης καὶ ἱερᾶς καταστάσεως ἀκρίβεια, μήτε τὸ ἄλυπον καὶ ἄμεμπτον τῇ ἐκκλεσίᾳ παρεχόμενον. λέγουσι γὰρ τοιαῦτα γενέσθαι οἷα ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι πολιτεύεται. αἱ γὰρ διὰ πυρκαϊᾶς καὶ διὰ σφαγῆς τῶν ζῴων γενόμεναι συνθῆκαι οὐδὲν ἄλλο εἰσὶν ἢ θυσία ἐθνική τε καὶ Ἑλληνική. μὴ γὰρ μόνον πρὸς τὴν σφαγὴν ἁπλῶς οὕτω καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἀποβλέψῃς, ἀλλὰ κατανόει ὅτι μυστικωτέρους τινάς ἔχουσι λόγους κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀθεότητα. ἐπεὶ διὰ τί μὴ ἁπλῶς τὰ τυχόντα ζῷα σφάζουσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκλέγονται βοῦς καὶ κύνας καὶ πρόβατα; ὥσπερ οὖν ἡ φρικτὴ τῶν Χριστιανῶν θυσία ἐκλέγεται ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ταῦτα προσφέρει μυστικῶς ἁγιάζουσα τοὺς τελοῦντας, οὕτω καὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ ζῷα κατὰ τὴν ἰδιότητα τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν ἐκλέγεται εἰς θυσίαν οἰκειοποιοῦντα τοὺς τελοῦντας τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν λατρευομένοις δαίμοσι. μὴ γὰρ ἀπατάτω ἡμᾶς τοῦτο τὸ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν λεγόμενον, ὡς «οὕτως χεθείη τὸ αἷμα ⟨μου⟩,» ὅτι ψιλοί εἰσι λόγοι, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο γινώσκειν ὀφείλομεν, ὅτι πρὸς μυστικήν τινα κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς τὰ γινόμενα αἰτίαν ἔχουσιν τὴν ἀναφοράν. ἐπὶ τί ἐκώλυεν ἁπλῶς σχίσαι ξύλον καὶ εἰπεῖν «οὕτως διατμηθείην»; τί ἐκώλυεν στρουθίον θῦσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν «οὕτως τὸ αἷμά μου χεθείη,» ἀλλὰ πυρκαϊὰς ἅπτουσιν καὶ ἐκλογὴν ἰδίως ποιοῦνται κυνῶν, καὶ βοῶν, καὶ προβάτων;

(…) Σπούδασον οὖν, τέκνον μου, τῇ παρὰ θεοῦ σοι δεδομένῃ φρονήσει οὕτω διευθετῆσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἵνα μὴ λάβωσιν ἀφορμὴν οἱ φιλόψογοι καὶ διασύρειν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχοντες οὐ μόνον τὰ ἔχοντα μέμψεως ἀφορμήν, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις καὶ τὰ καλὰ πράγματα εἰς τὸ λοιδορεῖσθαι, καὶ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τῇ περιδόξῳ πολιτείᾳ, καὶ νῦν καὶ μετέπειτα, ἀλλὰ γνῶσιν ὅτι τὸ μὲν γεγονὸς δι᾽ ἀνάγκην ἐγένετο, ἧς αἴτιοι οἱ τοὺς πολέμους ἀγαπῶντες καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, λέγω δὴ οἱ θεομίσητοι Βούλγαροι.

My dear son: Something has occurred, I am told, which is unfitting for the glory of this city,[44] governed as it is by Christian order and godliness and the

44 Constantinople.

very height of wisdom, and by the strict observation of holy orthodoxy, and which does not leave the Church without suffering and without reproach. It is said, in effect, that events occurred such as those which govern between the nations and heathens, because agreements reached by means of holocausts and the immolation of animals are nothing more than a heathen and pagan sacrifice. Indeed, do not consider solely the immolation as if that is all it was, but bear in mind that there are certain mystical reasons for them consistent with the impiety of those people. Why not simply sacrifice any animal, but rather choose cows, dogs and sheep?[45] Indeed, in the same way that the enormous sacrifice of the Christians chooses bread and wine and offers these mystically sanctified to those who perform it, these animals are also chosen for sacrifice in accordance with the specific nature of their impious beliefs and create a close bond between those who perform it and the demons they worship. Let us then not make the mistake of thinking that what they say, "Let my blood be spilled thus", are mere words, but rather we must be aware that, in accordance with a certain mystique, they consider the event as an offering which has a reason. For what prevents them from simply splitting a trunk in too and saying: "Let me thus be split in two"? What prevents them from sacrificing a sparrow and saying: "Let my blood be spilled thus" when, instead, they light bonfires and choose specifically dogs, cows and sheep?

(…) Therefore, take urgent measures, my son, with the sound judgement that God has given you, to put this affair in order, in such a way that no pretexts can be found by slanderers and those who seek to criticise not only that for which pretexts for censure exist, but often also that which is done well, for the purpose of causing trouble for the church of God and this illustrious state, at this time and in the future, but that they know that what has occurred was out of necessity, and the fault of those who love war and human sacrifices, the Bulgarians hated by God.

1.7 Leo VI the Wise, *Tactica*

Leo VI succeeded his father, Basil I, and was emperor of Byzantium from 886 to 912. During his reign he completed the latter's work with regard to translating into Greek and updating the Code of Justinian and the canons in his *Basilika*. He also attempted to heal the schism caused by the Patriarch Photius, but was

45 It was certainly not the first time that something like this had occurred. The Emperor Leo V, to seal his peace treaty with the Bulgarians in the year 816, swore on a sword and took part in the sacrifice of dogs, while the Bulgarians swore on the gospels (see Fine 1983: 106).

unsuccessful, partly due to the problems caused, in ecclesiastical terms, by his fourth marriage. In foreign policy, he was defeated by the Bulgarians in 906 and forced to pay them tribute and he also suffered several defeats at the hands of the Arabs.

Leo VI's *Tactica* constitutes a compilation of canons relating to the army and navy.

Edition used: Migne (1863).
References: Conte (1986: 277–278), Tougher (1997).

1.7.1 Tactica *18.102–105* (*Migne,* PG *107.969*)

Leo is describing the peoples who the Byzantines have had to deal with. When he comes to the Slavs, he states that they were baptised in the reign of his father, Basil, and became allies of the Empire. However, he talks of their earlier customs, basing his account on a description we have already encountered above in the *Strategikon* attributed to Maurice (§ 1.4.1.), which means that, in reality, the text contributes practically no new information.

Ἦσαν δέ, οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως εἰπεῖν, τῇ φιλοξενίᾳ κατακόρως χρώμενα τὰ Σκλάβων φῦλα, ἣν οὐδὲ νῦν καταλιπεῖν ἐδικαίωσαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔχουσιν ὁμοίως.

Τοῖς γὰρ ἐπιξενουμένοις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἥπιοι καὶ πρᾶοι ἐγίνοντο, φιλοφρονούμενοί τε αὐτὰ καὶ δεξιούμενοι, διασώντες, καὶ κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον παραπέμποντες, καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς διατηρεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀδιαλείπτους δαπάνας ἀλλήλοις παρεγγυώμενοι. ὡς εἴγε δι᾽ ἀμέλειαν τοῦ ὑποδεχομένου συμβαίη τὸν ξένον βλαβῆναι, πόλεμον κατὰ ἐκείνου ὁ τοῦτον παραθέμενος ἐκείνῳ, ἀντὶ πίστεως σεβασμίας ἡγούμενος τοῦ ξένου τὴν ἐκδίκησιν.

Ἐδόκει δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἕτερον συμπαθέστερόν ποτε εἶναι. τοὺς γὰρ ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν λαμβανομένους οὐκ ἀορίστως, ἕως ἂν βούλωνται, πρὸς δουλείαν κατεῖχον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐποίουν, ὁρίζοντες αὐτοῖς ῥητόν τινα τῆς δουλείας χρόνον, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦτον τὸν ὁρισθέντα χρόνον, ἐὰν θέλωσιν, ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀναχωρῆσαι μετά τινος ὡρισμένου μισθοῦ, ἢ ἐὰν βούλωνται παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς εἶναι, μένειν ἐλευθέρους καὶ φίλους.

Ἐσωφρόνουν δὲ καὶ αἱ θήλειαι αὐτῶν μάλιστα κραταιῶς, ὥστε τὰς πολλὰς αὐτῶν τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἀνδρῶν τελευτὴν ἰδίαν ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀποπνίγειν ἑαυτὰς μὴ δυναμένας φέρειν τὴν ἐν χηρίᾳ ζωήν.

The tribes of the Slavs were, I could not say why, very given to hospitality, a practice they have not seen fit to abandon even now, but rather preserve in the same way.

Indeed, they were very pleasant and cordial to the strangers in their midst, they treated them in a friendly fashion, they took them in willingly, they con-

ducted them safe and sound, taking turns to escort them wherever they wished to go, commending each other to keep them free from harm and supplied with provisions, in such a way that, if the guest came to harm due to the negligence of the person who was looking after him, the one who had commended the guest to him would declare war on that person, as he considered it a sacred duty to avenge the foreigner.

They also appeared to show compassion in another way, because they did not keep their prisoners as slaves indefinitely, as long as they wanted, but rather took the prisoners opinions into account, fixing a specific period of slavery for them so that, when this period had expired, they could, if they wished, return to their country upon payment of a determined ransom or, if they wished, they could stay among them as free men and friends.

They also showed much strength in the sound judgement of their women, to the extent that the majority of the latter considered the death of their husbands to be their own and drowned themselves rather than endure a life of widowhood.

1.8 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *On the Governance of the Empire*

Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (905–959) was the son of Leo VI, born outside of wedlock, although he would later be recognised as a legitimate son. He was still underage when he ascended the throne in 913 upon the death of Alexander, so that the first years of his reign were subject to the intrigues of his mother Zoe and the Patriarch Nicholas I. When Romanos Lekapenos took power in 920, he found himself relegated to a secondary position with no *de facto* power. This situation lasted until 945 when, with the help of a group of soldiers, he succeeded in expelling Romanos and restoring himself to the throne of Empire.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus' interests were focussed above all on organizational aspects rather than political or military affairs, these being matters which he left in the hands of a number of courtiers. Constantine's importance lies above all in the impetus he gave to the culture and knowledge of the era, sponsoring as he did the composition of a major set of texts, the main ones being: the treatise *De thematibus* (on the provinces of the Eastern Empire), the history of Genesius, the history of *Theophanes Continuatus* (which includes in its 5th book the biography of Basil I written by Constantine), *De administrando imperio* (with information about the peoples ruled by the Empire and in contact with it), Τὰ βασιλικὰ ταξίδια (about the protocol to be followed on the ground when the emperor joins the army or is on active service) and *De Caerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae* (a treatise on the ceremonies of the Byzantine court).

De administrando imperio, written between the years 948 and 952, constitutes a fundamental source of knowledge about the peoples with whom Byzantium came into contact and provides a wealth of ethnographic information about them. The emperor, who commissioned the compilation of the text with his son Romanos (the future emperor Romanos II) in mind, personally wrote only the preface to the work and a number of partial introductions. The rest of the work is made up of information supplied by unknown authors which, in general, appears fairly reliable, as it is clear in several passages of the work that this information is not merely an erudite composition based on previous texts, but is inspired by local oral traditions or the personal experiences of the authors themselves.

Edition used: Moravcsik (1967).
Other editions: Meyer (1931: 6).
References: Belke-Soustal (1995), Jenkins (1962), Signes Codoñer (2004), Toynbee (1973).

1.8.1 De administrando imperio 9

Chapter 9 of *De administrando imperio* describes the different stages of the route travelled by the Rus' in their typical wooden dugout canoes (*monóxyla*) from Novgorod to Constantinople in order to sell their goods within the borders of the Empire.

Μετὰ δὲ τὸ διελθεῖν τὸν τοιοῦτον τόπον τὴν νῆσον, τὴν ἐπιλεγομένην ὁ Ἅγιος Γρηγόριος καταλαμβάνουσιν, ἐν ᾗ νήσῳ καὶ τὰς θυσίας αὐτῶν ἐπιτελοῦσιν διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖσε ἵστασθαι παμμεγέθη δρῦν, καὶ θύουσι πετεινοὺς ζῶντας. πηγνύουσι δὲ καὶ σαγίττας γυρόθεν, ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ ψωμία καὶ κρέατα, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἔχει ἕκαστος, ὡς τὸ ἔθος αὐτῶν ἐπικρατεῖ. Ῥίπτουσι δὲ καὶ σκαρφία περὶ τῶν πετεινῶν, εἴτε σφάξαι αὐτούς, εἴτε καὶ φαγεῖν, εἴτε καὶ ζῶντας ἐάσειν αὐτούς.

After crossing such a place, they[46] reach the island called Saint Gregory,[47] where they perform their sacrifices[48] because an enormous oak tree stands

46 The Rus'.

47 This is the island of Khortycia, located in the River Dnieper at the latitude of the modern-day city of Zaporhizia. It is quite a large river island, about 12 km long and 2.5 km wide at its broadest point. According to some scholars, it was named Saint Gregory by the Byzantians in honour of Saint Gregory the Illuminator, the evangeliser of Armenia. The island is situated at the end of the most dangerous part of the route travelled by the Rus' on their way from Novgorod to Constantinople, so it is thought that the rituals they performed constituted an act of thanksgiving for having arrived there safely, as this kind of custom

there[49] and they sacrifice live birds.[50] They also stick arrows in a circle,[51] others place pieces of bread and meat too and each one offers of what they have, according to their custom. They also draw lots regarding the birds, either to kill them or to eat them or to let them live.

1.8.2 De administrando imperio *32*

In the time of Vlastimer of Bulgaria, after a period of peaceful coexistence between Serbs and Bulgarians, a period of conflict begins between the princes of the two nations and was continued by their descendants. Boris-Michael of Bulgaria is defeated by the Serbian princes and his son is captured, thus obliging him to accept peace. To return to his country, the son requests the protection of the sons of Muntimer, who escort him to the border.

Ἐπὶ τούτων παρεγένετο ὁ τῆς Βουλγαρίας ἄρχων, Μιχαὴλ ὁ Βορίσης, θέλων διεκδικῆσαι τὴν ἧτταν Πρεσιάμ, τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολεμήσας, εἰς τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐπτόησαν οἱ Σέρβλοι, ὥστε καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, Βλαδίμηρον ἐκράτησαν δέσμιον μετὰ καὶ βοϊλάδων δώδεκα μεγάλων. τότε δὴ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ θλίψει καὶ μὴ θέλων ὁ Βορίσης

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on the part of those who sail on the Dnieper still exists nowadays. For a commentary on the passage, see Jenkins [ed.] (1962: 54–56).

48 The location of this place of worship on an island fits in well with what we know from literary information and archaeology about the preferences of the Slavs, as they tended to prefer sites with water. A good example of this is Novgorod, where the place of worship was situated on a hilltop surrounded to the west and northwest by the River Volkhov and to the south by the Verjažja. Cf. Reiter (1973: 183, *s.u. Kultstätten*).

49 The association of the oak tree with the god Perun is even suggested by the very etymology of the theonym, which derives from the Indo-European word **perkʷos* meaning "oak, holm oak", which would connect him to the supreme gods of other Indo-European pantheons, such as Zeus, which also have a special link with this tree, cf. Pisani ([1950]1995: 74). On the relationship between Perun and the holm oak in Slavic and Lithuanian mythology, see also Mikhailov (1995: 176). In fact, the link between a god and the oak or holm oak, although a special one in the case of Perun, is not exclusive to him in Slavic mythology. Thus, according to Ebo's *Life of Saint Otto* (§ 2.19.3.) the idol of Triglav is hidden inside an oak tree; according to Helmold (§ 2.22.10.), there was also an oak forest devoted to Prone, the main god in the region of Oldenburg. In the same way, we could ask whether or not it is coincidence that, according to the description of it provided by Saxo Grammaticus (see 2.28.8.), the image of the god Rugiaevit was carved in oak.

50 The sacrifice of cocks by throwing them into a fast-flowing river is attested to in Leo the Deacon (see § 1.9.1. *infra*). A cock and a hen were also sacrificed in the funeral rite described by Ibn Faḍlān (see 7.2.1.).

51 Although, as we can see, the accounts provided by Constantine Porphyrogenitus are rather vague, the allusion to a ritual with arrows may tie in with the testimony provided by Thietmar (§ 2.8.5.), Herbord (§ 2.20.3.) and Saxo Grammaticus (§ 2.28.4.) about the use of arrows in practices of divination by means of a horse.

εἰρήνευσε μετὰ τῶν Σέρβλων. μέλλων δὲ ὑποστρέφειν ἐν Βουλγαρίᾳ καὶ φοβηθείς, μήποτε ἐνεδρεύσωσιν αὐτὸν οἱ Σέρβλοι καθ᾽ ὁδόν, ἐπεζήτησεν εἰς διάσωσιν αὐτοῦ τὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Μουντιμήρου παιδία, τὸν Βόρενα καὶ τὸν Στέφανον, οἳ καὶ διέσωσαν αὐτὸν ἀβλαβῆ μέχρι τῶν συνόρων, ἕως τῆς Ῥάσης. καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοιαύτης χάριτος δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς Μιχαὴλ ὁ Βορίσης δωρεὰς μεγάλας, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἀντέδωκαν αὐτῷ χάριν ξενίων ψυχάρια δύο, φαλκώνια δύο, σκυλία δύο καὶ γούνας ὀγδοήκοντα, ὅπερ λέγουσιν οἱ Βούλγαροι εἶναι πάκτον.

In their[52] time, the Prince of Bulgaria, Boris-Michael, wishing to avenge the defeat of Presiam, his father, declared war on them and the Serbs inflicted such a terrible defeat on him that they even captured his son, Vladimer, together with twelve grand boyars.[53] Then, due to the pressure caused by his son [being a prisoner] and against his own wishes, Boris made peace with the Serbs. When he was about to set out on the return journey to Bulgaria and fearing that the Serbs would ambush him on the way, he [Boris' son] asked the sons of Prince Muntimer, Borenas and Stephen, to conduct him safely through the country, and the latter brought him safe and sound to the border[54] at Rasi.[55] And in return for this favour, Boris-Michael presented them with great gifts and they responded, as gifts of hospitality, with two slaves, two hawks, two dogs and eighty pelts, which the Bulgarians claimed was a tribute.

1.9 Leo Diaconus, *History*

Leo was born in Caloe, in Asia Minor, in around 950, but was educated in Constantinople, where he was ordained deacon, as reflected by the epithet by which he is known. The year of his death is not known.

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52 Muntimer, Stroimer and Goinikos, the three sons of the Serbian Prince Vlastimer, who divided the country between themselves upon the death of the latter. The attempted invasion of Serbia on the part of Boris-Michael must have taken place in around 860.

53 A rank of Slav nobility.

54 In spite of the fact that, according to the chapter of *De administrando imperio* from which this passage was taken, both the Serbs and the Bulgarians had already been Christianized, the conduct of Muntimer's sons clearly reflects the pagan tradition of hospitality which prevailed among the Slavs and is so well described in Maurice's *Strategikon* (§1.4.1.), in accordance with which they undertook to protect strangers passing through their territory and conduct them safe and sound from one place to another. In this respect, bear in mind the comment by Leo VI (§1.7.1.) in his paraphrasing of the passage from the *Strategikon*, where he states that this custom of hospitality continued after the Slavs had been Christianized.

55 Modern-day Raška, close to the border between Serbia and Bulgaria.

The ten books of his *History*, which he must have started to write from 992 onwards, cover events during the reigns of Romanos II, Nikephoros II Phokas, John Tsimiskes and the early years of the reign of Basil II, i.e. from 959 to 975, and is unfinished. It is especially well known for its eyewitness description of Sviatoslav I of Kiev, who invaded Bulgaria in the year 969 and fought against the forces of the Empire.

Edition used: Karalis (2000).
Other editions: Hase (1828), Meyer (1931: 7–8).
References: Talbot—Sullivan (2005), Terras (1965).

1.9.1 History *9.6*

Leo describes, in the context of the clashes with Sviatoslav's army, the customs of the Rus' with regard to those killed in battle.

Ἦδε δὲ νυκτὸς κατασχούσης καὶ τῆς μήνης πλησιφανοῦς οὔσης, κατὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐξελθόντες τοὺς σφετέρους ἀνεψηλάφων νεκρούς· οὓς καὶ συναλίσαντες πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ πυρὰς θαμινὰς διανάψαντες, κατέσκαυσαν, πλείστους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, ἄνδρας καὶ γύναια, ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸν πάτριον νόμον ἐναποσφάξαντες. ἐναγισμούς τε πεποιηκότες, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴστρον ὑπομάζια βρέφη καὶ ἀλεκτρυόνας ἀπέπνιξαν, τῷ ῥοθίῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταῦτα καταποντώσαντες. λέγεται γὰρ Ἑλληνικοῖς ὀργίοις κατόχους ὄντας, τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν τρόπον θυσίας καὶ χοὰς τοῖς ἀνοιχομένοις τελεῖν, εἴτε πρὸς Ἀναχάρσεως ταῦτα καὶ Ζαλμόξιδος, τῶν σφετέρων φιλοσόφων, μυηθέντες, εἴτε καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἑταίρων.

When night had fallen and under a full moon, they[56] came out onto the plain and carefully inspected their own dead. After gathering the bodies in front of the wall and lighting many bonfires, they cremated them[57] and over them they slit the throats of the majority of the prisoners, men and women, according to the custom of their homeland.[58] As offerings to the dead, they drowned

56 The Rus', whom Leo, following the earlier Greek literary tradition, refers to in his work as Scythians, Tauroscythae and Tauri.

57 Cremation among Slavic cultures is attested to by archaeological evidence; see, for example, Conte (1986: 164), Barford (2001: 200–208), Holzer (2006: 23). It was only replaced by burial after Christianization of the various Slavic peoples.

58 A young female slave is also sacrificed in the funeral described by Ibn Faḍlān (§ 7.2.1.). There may be archaeological evidence of this practice in tombs where the remains of the cremation of more than one individual are found (Barford 2001: 120). Brelich (1969: 200) postulated the existence of a distinction between human sacrifice, in which death is accompanied by the ritual offering to a divinity, and "ritual death", as practiced after the

unweaned babes and cocks in the Istros[59] by throwing them into the fast-flowing river. It is said, indeed, that being subject to the Greek mysteries, they perform sacrifices and libations for the dead in the Greek style,[60] into which they had been initiated by their own[61] philosophers Anacharsis[62] and Zamolxis[63] or by the companions of Achilles.[64]

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fighting, in which there is no mention of a divine recipient of the offering. However, those sacrificed after combat are dead instead of the dead and have a function comparable to that of votive sacrifices, in which a victim is offered instead of a living, so it is convenient to continue to understand these deaths as human sacrifices in a ritual context (Bonnechère 1994: 13).

59 Greek name for the Danube. Here we find ourselves in a region close to the mouth of the river.

60 Several beliefs relating to ghosts and the spirits of the dead have been documented for the Slavs. Thus, in the Polish, Ukrainian and White Russian traditions, the *mora* is considered to be a kind of shade of a deceased person (cf. Reiter 1973: 186–187, *s.u. Mahr*) and there is a generalised belief in demons which are none other than the spirits of children who died very prematurely (cf. Reiter 1973: 188–189, *s.u. Navi*), and in vampires, which, in some traditions, are also considered spirits of the dead (cf. Reiter 1973: 199–202, *s.u. Vampir*, Barford 2001: 200–201).

61 As these were Scythians, Leo considered them to be from the same people as the Rus', whom, as we explained in Footnote 56, he referred to habitually as "Scythians".

62 Anacharsis was a prince of Scythian origin who visited Athens, was a friend of Solon, and devoted himself to philosophy, according to what we are told by Herodotus (4.46.76–77), Aristotle (*APo.*78^{b}30), Strabo (7.3.8.), etc. Lucian of Samosata wrote a short work about him entitled precisely *Anacharsis*. The reason he is mentioned here is that Herodotus narrates that it was Anacharsis who introduced the Greek cults of the Mother of the Gods (Cibeles) among the Scythians.

63 A mythical figure, the earliest mention of which is found in Herodotus (4.94–95), where he appears as a deity to whom the Thracians performed a human sacrifice every five years by throwing a man on top of three spears held by another three men. Before the victim died, he was given the message which the Thracians wished to be delivered the deity, as he was considered to be a messenger. Herodotus echoes other traditions according to which Zalmoxis was, in reality, a slave and disciple of Pythagoras, who, after he was freed, returned to his Thracian homeland and there preached ideas about the immortality of the soul. After disappearing for three years, during which time, according to Herodotus, he had been hiding in an underground chamber, he reappeared in the fourth year as if he had been brought back to life, which caused great admiration among his countrymen and made him extremely famous as an expert on the Beyond. Other sources state that he travelled on various occasions to Egypt, where he broadened his knowledge of these matters. This explains the connection established by Leo or by one or more of his sources between the Slavic custom mentioned in the text and this figure.

64 Reference to Book 11 of the *Odyssey* which narrates Odysseus' descent in hell, where he encounters Achilles and his companions, who tell him about life in Hades.

1.9.2 History *9.8*

In the accounts of the clashes with the army of Sviatoslav, the strange behaviour of some of the Rus' combatants is explained.

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο περὶ Ταυροσκυθῶν, μήποτε μέχρι καὶ νῦν ἑαυτοῖς ἐγχειρίζειν τοῖς δυσμένεσιν ἡττωμένους· ἀλλ᾽ ἤδη τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπαγορεύσαντας ὠθεῖν τε κατὰ τῶν σπλάγχων τὰ ξίφη, καὶ οὕτως ἑαυτοὺς ἀναιρεῖν. τοῦτο δὲ πτράττουσι, δόξαν κεκτημένοι τοιαύτην· φασὶ γὰρ τοὺς πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων κατακτεινομένους ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, μετὰ τὸν μόρον καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων διάζευξιν τῶν ψυχῶν ἐν ᾅδου τοῖς αὐθένταις ὑπηρετεῖν. Ταυροσκύθαι δὲ, τὴν τοιαύτην δεδιότες λατρείαν, ἀποστυγοῦντες δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀναιροῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐξυπερητεῖν, τῆς ἑαυτῶν σφαγῆς αὐτόχειρες γίνονται. ἀλλὰ τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ ἐπικρατήσασα ἐν αὐτοῖς δόξα.

The following is also said of the Tauroscythians,[65] that they have never to this day surrendered to their enemies when vanquished, but that when they see that it is impossible to save themselves, they sink their swords deep into their stomachs and thereby kill themselves. They do this because they have the following belief: they say, in effect, that those who are killed in war by their enemies, after death and the separation of their souls from their bodies, serve their killers in Hades. The Tauroscythians, fearing such servitude and considering it hateful to have to serve the very people who killed them, become the executors of their own immolation, but such is the belief which prevails among them.[66]

1.10 Theodore Balsamon, Patriarch of Antioch

Theodore Balsamon was born in Constantinople somewhere around 1140. He was deacon, *nomophylax* ("guardian of the law", i.e. charged with ecclesiastical court cases) and *chartophylax* at the Hagia Sophia. In about 1190 he was appointed Patriarch of Antioch, though he never left Constantinople. He must have died some time after 1195.

His most important works are his *Scholia* or commentaries on the *Nomocanon* and *Syntagma* of Photius, written in around 1180. He also drew up a

65 It is the term used by Leo to refer to the Rus'.

66 According to what Terras states (1965: 401), these ideas are not paralleled in other sources regarding the religion of the Slavs and nor do they fit with the ideas held by Scandinavians about the Beyond. However, they *are* attested to among the Hungarians, the Mongols and the Tartars.

compilation with commentary of ecclesiastical constitutions and wrote several more works which reflected antagonism towards the Roman Church.

Edition used: Migne *PG* 137.
Other editions: Meyer (1931: 82), Miklosich (1864: 387–388).

1.10.1 *Migne* PG *137.728–729*

Balsamon comments on Canon 62 of the Council in Trullo (in the year 691/692), which condemned a range of pagan festivities, which he added to by mentioning the *Rusalia*.

Εἴθιστο γοῦν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις εἰς μνήμην τούτων ἐτησίως πανηγυρίζειν Ἑλληνικώτερον, καί τινα ἄσεμνα διαπράττεσθαι, ὅπερ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν παρά τινων ἀγροτῶν γίνεται κατὰ τὰς πράτας ἡμέρας τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου μηνὸς, οὐ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους μεμνημένων τῶν καλανδῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ τηνικαῦτα τὴν σελήνην ἀνακαινίζεσθαι, καὶ τὸν θεμέλιον ταύτης ψηφίσεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς, καὶ νομίζειν μετὰ εὐθυμίας τὸν ὅλον διελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐνιαυτόν, ἐὰν ἐν τῇ καταρχῇ τούτου πανηγυρίσωσι. τοιαύτη πανήγυρις ἀλλόκοτός ἐστι, καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα Ῥουσάλια, τὰ μετὰ τὸ ἅγιον Πάσχα ἀπὸ κακῆς συνηθείας ἐν ταῖς ἔξω χώραις γινόμενα.

And so it was that there existed among the Romans the custom of holding annually a pagan festival in memory of these[67] and performing unworthy acts, which still occurs now among certain peasants on the first days of the month of January, not as with the Romans who commemorated the Calends[68] and the rest, but because this is the time when the moon renews itself and its foundation is established from the beginning of that same month and they believe that they will have good fortune all year if they hold a festival when this begins. Such a festival is an abomination as are those called *Rusalia*,[69] which take place after Easter due to impious custom in the outer lands.[70]

67 The Roman magistrates to whom Kalends, Nones and Ides owed their names, according to the explanation offered by Balsamon in the text immediately beforehand.

68 The Kalends of January, i.e. the first day of January, logically mark the beginning of the years.

69 On the *Rusalia* see *infra* (§ 1.11.1.) the account by Demetrius Chomatianus, who provides more detailed information than Theodore Balsamon.

70 Theodore Balsamon is writing in Constantinople and therefore the expression ἐν ταῖς ἔξω χώραις γινόμενα "in the outer lands" refers to those situated outside the borders of the Empire.

1.11 Demetrius Chomatianus, Archbishop of Bulgaria

The date and place of birth of Demetrius are unknown, though he must have been born after the middle of the 12th century. After holding several junior posts in the autocephalous see of Bulgaria at Ohrid, such as that of *chartophylax*, he himself became Archbishop of that see from 1217 to 1234 and must have died shortly after 1236.

A significant number of texts of his have been preserved, of which the most important is the set known as *Ponemata diaphora* (*Miscellaneous works*), which encompasses personal and official letters, and testimonies, verdicts and minutes of the Synodal Court at Ohrid.

Edition used: Prinzing (2001).
Other editions: Meyer (1931: 59–60), Miklosich (1864), Pitra (1891).
References: Macrides (1988).

1.11.1 *Question 120: On the* Rusalia

The text forms part of a letter which contains the response to a question of an ecclesiastical legal nature put to Demetrius in his capacity of Patriarch of Bulgaria, with the corresponding verdict and imposition of penitence.

Περὶ τῶν Ῥουσαλίων

Οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ θέματος τοῦ Μολισκοῦ ὁρμώμενοι, ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ὁ δεῖνα, τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσδαμόντες καὶ τῷ παναγιωτάτῳ ἡμῶν δεσπότῃ, τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ πάσης Βουλγαρίας ἐμφανεῖς γενόμενοι τοιόνδέ τι ἁμάρτημα ἐξηγόρευσαν, εἰπόντες ὅτι παλαιοῦ ἔθνους ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τούτων κρατοῦντος, ὃ δὴ Ῥουσάλια ὀνομάζεται, τῇ μετὰ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν ἑβδομάδι σύνταγμα γίνεσθαι νεωτέρων καὶ τὰς κατὰ χώραν κώμας αὐτοὺς περιέρχεσθαι καὶ παιγνίοις τισὶ καὶ ὀρχήμασι καὶ βεβακχευμένοις ἅλμασι καὶ σκηνικαῖς ἀσχημοσύναις ἐκκαλεῖσθαι δῶρα παρὰ τῶν ἐνοικοῦντων εἰς κέρδος αὐτῶν, ἐξῆλθον καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ τὸν παρὸν ἔτος, συντάξαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ παρασκευάσαντες, ἵν᾽ οὕτω κατὰ χώραν σκηνοβατήσωσιν. ἐν τῷ παράγειν δὲ δύο ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς μάνδραν προβάτων ἀπέδραμον ὁρωμένην ἀπέναντι, ἔνθα γενόμενοι τυροὺς ἀπῄτουν τὸν τῆς μάνδρας ἐκείνης προϊστάμενον. ἐκείνου δὲ πρὸς τὴν δόσιν σκληρύνοντος, ἐπεχείρουν αὐτοὶ αὐθεκάστῳ λαμβάνειν χειρί. ἐντεῦθεν φιλονεικία ἠγέρθη μέσον αὐτῶν, ἣ δὲ καὶ εἰς μάστιγας προεχώρησε· θατέρου γὰρ τῶν παιγνημόνων τούτων, ᾧ τοὔνομα Χρύσηλος, ξύλῳ τινὶ τὸν ποιμένα ῥαπίσαντος, ἐκεῖνος αὐτίκα μάχαιραν εἵλκυσε καὶ εἰσωθεῖ ταύτην κατὰ τῶν σπλάγχνων τοῦ τύψαντος. ὅθεν οὐδὲ χρόνου τί μέρος τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς μαχαίρας γέγονεν· εὐθυωρὸν γὰρ ἄνθρωπος τέθνηκε.

Ταῦτα οἱ ἀναγεγραμμένοι ἄνδρες ἀφηγησάμενοι, ἐζήτουν μαθεῖν, εἰ προστρίβεταί τις καὶ τούτοις εὐθύνη ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος, ὡς ἀνατέτακται, ἁμαρτήματος καὶ, εἰ ὑπεύθυνοι κρίνονται, δέξασθαι καθικέτευον ἐκκλησιαστικὰ ἐπιτίμια πρὸς κάθαρσιν τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν.

Ἡ ἁγία δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία τὴν προσέλευσιν αὐτῶν δεξαμένη, διὰ τῆς δεσποτικῆς θείας μεγαλειότητος κανονικῶς τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς ᾠκονόμησεν. ὅθεν ἐργάτας μὲν φόνου τούτους οὐδαμῶς κρίνεσθαι διέγνω· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔργον τοῦ φόνου ἑτέρᾳ χειρὶ ἐξειργάσατο, ὁ τούτων δὲ σκόπος, τῷ κατὰ χώραν ἔθει ἀκολουθεῖ, οὐ πρὸς χύσιν ἀπέβλεπεν αἱμάτων, ἀλλὰ παίγνια. ὅτι δὲ τὰ παίγνια ταῦτα τοῖς θείοις καὶ ἱεροῖς κανόσιν ἀπηγορευμένα τυγχάνουσιν ὡς ἐκ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς πλάνης καὶ μέθης ὁρμώμενα, ὁποῖα δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα Βοτὰ καὶ Βρουμάλια καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ Ῥουσάλια καὶ ἕτερα τούτοις παραπλήσια, καὶ τούτων ἕνεκεν ὑπεύθυνοι κρίνονται ὡς ἔργον ἀνόσιον μετιόντες τοῦ τῶν χριστιανῶν ἀλλότριον, διὰ τοῦτο ἀποσχέσθαι μὲν τῶν τοιούτων παιγνίων καθόλου τούτοις παρηγγυήσατο, ἐπιτιμίοις δὲ αὐτοὺς καθυμέβαλε, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἐντεῦθεν μολυσμοῦ κάθαρσίν τε καὶ καρδίας ἀνάνηψιν καὶ ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ τοιούτου παραπτώματος.

On the *Rusalia*

Setting out from the district of Moliskos[71] and running to the holy church of God and to our Blessed Lord, two men, whose names are unimportant, presented themselves before the Archbishop of All Bulgaria and explained this crime, telling him that an old custom was still practised in the country, called *Rusalia*, according to which in the week after Pentecost all the young men would get together and travel around the villages of the country and, by means of certain games, Bacchic dances and coarse theatrical plays they asked the inhabitants for gifts for themselves.[72] These men had also sallied forth in the present year,

71 One of the districts or provinces into which the territory of Bulgaria was divided, in the region of Skopje.

72 The tradition of holding spring festivals in honour of the deceased, known as *Rusalje*, was maintained in several areas of the Balkans until recent times. A detailed description of the rituals of the *Rusalje* held in the village of Duboko, to the west of Belgrade, can be found in the work of Wenzel (1967: 369–374). These festivals have been identified since Miklosich (1864), as have the *Rusalia* mentioned in the medieval sources, both Greek and Russian (see Casas Olea, in press, and the texts included in this anthology under headings 4.1.14.; 4.12.1.; 4.18.1.; 4.28.2. and 4.42.1.) with the Roman festival of the *rosalia* or *dies rosae*. However, although Ovid (*Fast*. 2.533–540) mentions this festival, it does not appear as an official Roman celebration. They are also mentioned in Martial (9.93.5.). As Casas Olea (in press) states, in medieval Russian texts, the term *Rusalia* seems to refer to two different types of celebration, those which were adapted to Christian liturgy and other considered as purely pagan. To focus on the information offered by Demetrius Chomatianus, several

after organising and preparing themselves to put on plays around the country. During their travels, two of them went to a sheepfold and once there they asked the man in charge of the fold for some cheeses but when the latter refused to give them any, they tried to take them with their own hands. This aroused their fighting spirit which lead to misfortune because, when one of those actors, Khryselos by name, hit the shepherd with a stick, the latter took out a knife and stuck it in the guts of the man who had hit him. Thus, no time passed between the stabbing and the death: indeed, the man died immediately.

Once the two above-mentioned men had explained the events, they wished to know if they should be punished in any way for the crime which had taken place and if they should be considered as criminals fit for punishment, and they asked to receive the punishment of the church for the purification of their souls.

The holy Church of God, acceding to their supplication for the glory of God, Our Lord, dealt with them in accordance with the canons, thus deciding that they should not be considered authors of the crime as the crime had been committed by another hand and that their acts reflected the custom of the country and were not directed towards the spilling of blood but towards the games. However, because they arose from pagan error and drunkenness, these games, the ones known as *vota*[73] and *brumalia*,[74] and the *Rusalia* themselves and oth-

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important aspects need to be highlighted: (a) in the first place, he is talking about a celebration which occurs in spring, because, as indicated in the text, it occurs in the week following Pentecost. We find this same dating in the text by Theodore Balsamon (§ 1.10.1.). It is not, therefore, a winter solstice festival, though it is striking and not a little inconsistent that it is mentioned along with other festivals which *are* held at that time, such as the *uota* and the *brumalia*, which could be seen in the context of the information contained in the letter from Pope Innocent III to the Archbishop of Gniezno (§ 2.32.1.). (b) The text does not contain any reference to the dead, in contrast to Balkan folklore, where the *Rusalje* clearly related to the deceased. (c) The rituals of the *Rusalia*, as described by Demetrius, included games, dances and plays, and this does coincide with the *Rusalje* of modern Balkan folklore. It is possible that Miklosich's identification with the Roman festivity is based on the link that occurs in the Balkans between the Rusalje and the cult of the dead, but this is not its main characteristic, as we have seen, so the coincidence among the names may be due to an adaptation of the Roman term in Greece and the Balkans, which also occurs in the case of the *uota* and the *brumalia*. The Slavs would adapt the Roman name as a linguistic loan.

73 Gr. βότα is the Greek adaptation of the Latin *uota*. This is a celebration which was held on 6th January, during which, according to what John Lydus tells us (*De mensibus* 4.110), the consuls performed a sacrifice for the benefit of the republic and the Roman people and it was customary for the people to make jokes about the magistrates and perform rather unseemly plays.

74 The *brumalia* were Roman festivals which were held on the winter solstice and which,

ers of a similar nature,[75] ran contrary to the divine and sacred canons, and for that reason they are considered guilty of participating in an impious act, unbecoming the life of a Christian. He thus ordered them to stay completely away from such games and imposed a punishment for the purification of their impure state, to cleanse their hearts and lead them from their error.

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according to tradition, had been introduced by Romulus himself. John Lydus provides quite a detailed description of them (*De mensibus* 4.158).

75 All of these celebrations which marked the beginning of the year were expressly condemned by the Church at the Council in Trullo in 691–692 and were mentioned time and again by authors who wrote commentaries on the canons. In this respect, see the text by Theodore Balsamon included above (§ 1.10.1.).

CHAPTER 2

Texts in Latin

Juan Antonio Álvarez-Pedrosa, Julia Mendoza Tuñón and Sandra Romano Martín

2.1 Saint Boniface, *Letter* 73 Addressed to King Aethelbald of Mercia

Wynfrid, known as Saint Boniface, Apostle of the Germans, (Devonshire, c. 680–Flanders 754) belonged to an aristocratic family and expressed from a very young age, and against the wishes of his father, his desire to devote himself to a monastic life. He began his schooling at the monasteries of Exeter and Nhutscelle, where he trained under the direction of Wynbert and took his vows at the age of thirty.

In 715 he undertook his first missionary expedition to Frisia with the aim of converting the pagans of the North of Europe. His efforts were frustrated by the war between Charles Martel and Radboud, Duke of the Frisians.

Boniface visited Rome in 718 and Pope Gregory II charged him with the mission of organising the church in Germany and evangelising the pagans. It was the pope himself who gave him the Latin name of Boniface. He travelled in Thuringia and Hesse for several years. In 722 he returned to Rome to report to the pope. On this occasion the pope appointed him bishop and Boniface returned to Germany with full powers. He baptised thousands of pagans and involved himself in the problems of numerous Christians who had lost contact with the hierarchy of the Church. The most famous episode from his missionary activity was the felling of the sacred oak of Geislar, in Hesse, whose wood he used to build a chapel dedicated to Saint Peter.

In 738 he returned again to Rome where Gregory III appointed him archbishop and papal legate. He continued his mission in Bavaria and founded the dioceses of Salzburg, Regensburg, Freising, Passau, Eichstätt and Neuburg. He reserved for himself the ancient see of Mainz. In 742 he founded Fulda Abbey, which became a major cultural centre throughout the Middle Ages.

His involvement in political affairs cannot be separated from his missionary work: he crowned Pepin the Short in Soissons in 751 and consecrated him in March of the following year. The letter addressed to Aethelbald, King of Mercia, should be understood in this context.

He never renounced his aim of converting the Frisians. In 750 he appointed his disciple, the future Saint Gregory, abbot of Saint Martin's Cathedral in

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Utrecht, teaching him and assisting him in the administration of the diocese, the least Christianized of the vast field of his ministry. In 752 he consecrated Lullus as his successor in the see of Mainz and retired to Frisia and, in 754, he baptised a large number of the inhabitants of that region who, for the most part, continued to be pagans. On 5th June 754, Boniface was martyred in Flanders along with fifty of his companions. His relics are conserved at Fulda Abbey.

Edition used: Dümmler (1892:342).
Other editions: Emerton (1940), Tangl (1916).
References: von Padberg (2003), Palmer (2006).

2.1.1 Letter *73*

The fragment is found in the letter which Saint Boniface, together with the bishops Wera, Burghard, Werberht, Abel and Wilbald, addresses to Aethelbald (716–757), King of Mercia, (a kingdom situated in the centre of modern-day Great Britain), dated 745–746, in which he reproaches him for preserving sexual customs inherent to paganism. Specifically, the quote which refers to the Wends, the name used in all medieval Latin texts to refer to the Slavs of Northern Germany, follows the description of the pagan sexual customs characteristic of the Saxons.

Et Winedi, quod est foedissimum et deterrimum genus hominum, tam magno zelo matrimoni amorem mutuum obseruuant, ut mulier uiro proprio mortuo uiuere recuset. Et laudabilis mulier inter illos esse iudicatur, quia propria manu sibi mortem intulerit et in una strue pariter ardeat cum uiro suo.

The Wends, who are the most degenerated and depraved of the human races, so zealously respect the bonds of matrimony, that the wife renounces life when her husband dies. And they believe that a woman is worthy of their praise if she takes her own life and is burned along with her husband on the funeral pyre.[1]

2.2 *Annals of Lorsch*

Lorsch Abbey, near Worms in Hesse, was one of the great monasteries of medieval Germany. It was founded in 764 by Count Cancor and his mother Williswinda. Its Latin name is Laurissa or Lauresham, hence the Latin names of

1 On the self-immolation of widows, see texts in 1.4.1. and 1.9.1.

the chronicles associated with it. The founders entrusted stewardship of the monastery to Chrodegang, Archbishop of Metz, who dedicated the church and the adjoining monastery to Saint Peter the Apostle and became its first abbot, which indicates the importance of the prelature. The founders enriched the monastery with further donations. In 766, Chrodegang stepped down as abbot in order to return to his pastoral duties as archbishop and entrusted the abbey to his brother Gundeland together with fourteen Benedictine monks. In order to convert the abbey into a popular site of pilgrimage, Chrodegang obtained from Pope Paul I the relics of Saint Nazarius, a martyr of the Diocletian persecution, and it became a monastery dedicated to him. Saint Nazarius became a miracle worker, inspiring great devotion in the medieval era. All of this helped to make the monastery a centre of great political and cultural influence of the time.

Although annalist literature has a well-known classical tradition, the *Annals* of the pre-Carolingian era originated in the use of Easter tables and pontifical lists. In any event, it was a predominantly monastic literature which a religious origin and a missionary intent (Manitius 1911: 646).

In the Carolingian era, annalist literature adopted a new form. This narrative is, without doubt, anonymous, but many of the works carry a personal brand which gives the whole a certain official character. The *Annals* from this time show a tendency to constitute the history of the kingdom, written under the inspiration of the court. This pro-authority stance stands in contrast to the monastic *Annals* (Ranke 1854) and is especially noticeable in the *Annales Laurissenses maiores* or *Annals of Lorsch*. These annals could not have been written in the solitude of the cloisters without an external influence or the contribution of informants who were well connected in court spheres. On the one hand, the negative events at court are carefully ignored, so that they become propagandistic literature, and on the other hand, they are very well acquainted with all things related to events of a military nature.

The *Annals of Lorsch* narrate the history of the Kingdom of the Franks between 741 and 829. The text which covers from 796 to the end is written in a very different, much more elaborate style, and is greatly influenced by classical literature, particularly Livy and Caesar. This is why they are attributed to Einhard (770–840), Charlemagne's personal secretary and biographer, one of the pillars of the Carolingian Renaissance, author of *Vita Karoli*, which was inspired by the imperial biographies of Suetonius.

Edition used: Kurze (1895: 85/87).
Other editions: Meyer (1931: 5–6), Pertz (1845).
References: Manitius (1911: 646–647), Ranke (1854).

2.2.1 sub anno 789

The narration which refers to 789 deals exclusively with Charlemagne's expedition to the lands of the Slavs[2] and the building of two bridges over the Elba.

Natio quaedam Sclauenorum[3] *est in Germania, sedens super litus oceani, quae propria lingua Welatabi,*[4] *francica autem Wiltzi*[5] *uocatur* (…) *Gens illa, quamuis bellicosa et in sua numerositate confidens, impetum exercitus regii diu sustinere non ualuit ac proinde, cum primum ciuitatem Dragauiti uentum est,—nam is ceteris Wiltzorum*[6] *regulis et nobilitate generis et auctoritate senectutis longe praeminebat,—extemplo cum omnibus suis ad regem de ciuitate processit, obsides, qui imperabantur, dedit, fidem se regi ac Francis seruaturum iureiurando promisit.*

The nation of the Sclaveni is in Germania, situated on the shores of the ocean.[7] In their own language they are called Welatabi, and in the language of the Franks Wilzi.[8] (…) This people, although extremely warlike and trusting in its numerical superiority, could not withstand any longer the attack of the army of the king,[9] whereby, as soon as he reached the city of Dragovit, who stood out among the rest of the tribal chiefs of the Wilzi due to the nobility of his bloodline and the authority of his age, the latter immediately came out of the city with his men, presented himself before the king, handed over the hostages in their power and swore loyalty to the king and to the Franks.

2.3 Nicholas I, *Responsa Nicolai ad consulta Bulgarorum*

Pope Nicholas I (858–867) emerged as a figure of great intellect in the middle of the 9th century. He was born at the beginning of the century to a distinguished Roman family, as he was son of the Defensor Theodore, and received an education well above the average for the time. He formed part of the *patriarchium* of Pope Sergius II (844–847) as subdeacon; Leo IV (847–855) appointed him

2 Parallels in *Vita Karoli* 12 and *Annales Fuldenses s. a.* 789.
3 var. *sclauorum, slauorum*.
4 var. *uuetalabi*.
5 var. *uuilzi, uuilci, uiltzi*.
6 var. *ultzorum, uuilzorum, uuiltorum*.
7 The Baltic Sea.
8 The name of this tribe of Baltic Slavs may be related to the Common Slavic word for "wolf": *вълсъ*. Later they became the confederation of the Lituci.
9 Charlemagne.

deacon and he reached the position of papal advisor during the reign of Benedict III (855–858). When the latter died in 858, he became his undisputed successor with the support of Emperor Louis II. One of his notable achievements in the cultural sphere of his reign was to convert Anastasius the Librarian, a rival to Benedict III and Antipope (855), into his loyal collaborator: he named him abbot of Santa Maria in Trastevere and secretary. Anastasius' knowledge of Greek appeared to be decisive in all things related to the relations between Nicholas I and the Eastern Empire.

Three main areas of conflict marked the papacy of Nicholas I: the consolidation of papal authority in the face of the great church dignitaries, especially Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims; direct intervention in political affairs, such as the opposition he expressed to the divorce of Lothair II and Teutberga; and his frontal opposition to Patriarch Photius of Constantinople.

It appears that as early as the reign of Krum, King[10] of the Bulgarians (802–814), the Christians enjoyed a certain influence at court, although they once again suffered persecution during the Khaganate of Omortag (814–831). The Bulgarians continued to be officially pagans until Khagan Boris came to power in 852.

There were several factors which prompted Boris to assume a more favourable attitude towards Christianity. Firstly, Christianity offered a belief system which transcended, at least potentially, merely tribal or racial relationships and would permit the unification of the various peoples who made up Bulgaria and give rise to a uniform state which could defy the Eastern Roman Empire. The medieval ideology of the Christian prince would allow Boris to ensure his position of ruler in the face of the various tribal chieftains. Furthermore, one of Boris's sisters had converted to Christianity during her time in Constantinople as a hostage. Boris' overtures to Christianity seem to have begun in 864 when he sought an alliance with Louis the German against Rostislav of Moravia. This alliance alarmed Byzantium, which launched a preventive attack on the Bulgarians, assisted by a bad harvest which had caused famine. Boris was defeated in 864 and possibly baptised in 865.

Around these dates, Boris received a letter from Patriarch Photius (858–867; 877–886) in which the latter provided him with the bases of orthodoxy and exhorted him to remain firm in the principles inherent in a Christian prince. However, Boris wished to maintain an equidistant position between Constantinople and Rome and sent an embassy to Rome to enter into negoti-

10 As Curta (2006) points out, these rulers were much more often titled "rex" or something similar in correspondence than that of khan or khagan.

ations with Pope Nicholas I, who had already condemned Photius in 863. In this embassy, he posed 106 questions to the Pope regarding the teachings and the discipline of the Church. The Pope's response (datable to 866) was delivered in Bulgaria by Bishops Formosus of Porto and Paulo of Populonia, together with a collection of laws and liturgical books. The very format of the letter, which offered independent responses to each of the questions posed by the Bulgarians, allows us to deduce the problems raised by the latter with regard to Christianization. The responses do not follow a coherent thematic order and topics of a pastoral nature alternate with responses to questions of a practical nature which we could define as being trivial today, but which are of great interest when it comes to reconstructing the ideology of the Bulgarians of the 9th century. The responses tend to give account of the question put by the Bulgarians, followed by a clear pastoral instruction and then the reasoning for that instruction based on the Scriptures and the authority of the Fathers of the Church. The anti-Greek nature of some of the responses in Nicholas I's letter (in spite of the opinion of Dennis 1958, but see Chadwick 2005: 113) seem undeniable, as do his efforts to restore the former jurisdictional limits of Rome, according to which the Bulgarians would fall within the Roman missionary sphere (Peri 2002).

Edition used: Álvarez-Pedrosa (2009a).
Other editions: Heiser (1979), Meyer (1931:6), Perels (1912: 568–600).
References: Congar (1967), Dennis (1958), Dujčev (1965b, 1968), Hannick (2004), Herbers (1993), Holmes (1990), Leisching (1977), von Padberg (2003), Perels (1920), White-Berrigan (1982), Wieczynski (1974).

2.3.1 *Chapter 33, Chapter 35*

In responses 20 to 32, Nicholas I provides answers to questions on criminal procedure and the application of laws. From response 33 onwards, the Pope provides instructions how to go into battle, the most appropriate symbols and the most propitious time.

Quando proelium inire soliti eratis, indicatis uos hactenus in signo militari caudam equi portasse, et sciscitamini, quid nunc uice illius portare debeatis. Quid aliud utique nisi signum sanctae crucis? (…)

Refertis quod soliti fueritis, quando in praelium progrediebamini, dies et horas obseruare, et incantationes, et ioca, et carmina, et nonnulla auguria exercere; et instrui desideratis, quid nunc uobis agendum sit: de quo nos necesario uos instrueremus, nisi super hoc uos diuinitus instructos contueremur (…) *Illa, quae*

commemorastis, id est, diei et horae obseruationes, incantationes, ioca, et iniqua carmina, atque auguria, pompae ac operationes diaboli sunt, quibus Deo gratias, iam in baptismate abrenuntiastis, et haec cum uetere homine et actibus eius quando nouum induistis, omnino deposuistis.

You have stated that when you went into battle you have been accustomed until now to carry a horse's tail as a military emblem and you ask what you should carry in its place. What could be better than the sign of the Holy Cross? (…)

You have told us what you have been accustomed to do when you went into battle, to wit, observe the days and the hours in an augurial manner, perform incantations, festivals, chanting and auguries. And you wish to be instructed on how you should conduct yourselves from now on: on this matter we shall instruct you with what is necessary, unless we see in addition that you are instructed by divine inspiration. (…) The things you performed, i.e., the augurial observation of days and hours, the incantations, the festivals, the iniquitous enchantments and the auguries are the pomps and work of the devil, whom, thank the Lord, you have already renounced in baptism and of whom, along with the old man and his works, you have completely rid yourselves, when you have dressed yourselves in the new man.[11]

2.3.2 *Chapter 41*

Question 40 has to do with the rather un-Christian nature of the death penalty which was imposed on the person charged with looking after the horses for use in battle if he failed to fulfil his mission properly. Then there is a question on the behaviour which should be shown to a person who has not yet converted to Christianity.

De his autem, qui Christianitatis bonum suscipere rennuunt et idolis immolant uel genua curuant, nihil aliud scribere possumus uobis, nisi ut ad fidem rectam monitis, exhortationibus et ratione illos potius quam ui, quod uane sapiant, conuincatis: opera manuum suarum et insensibilia elementa, cum sint homines intellectu habiles, adorantes, immo daemoniis suam ceruicem flectentes et immolantes. Nam, ut apostolus docet, 'scimus, quoniam nihil est idolum, sed quae immolant gentes, daemonis immolant'. Iam uero si uos non audierint, cum eis nec cibum sumere nec ullam penitus communionem habere, sed eos tamquam alienos atque pollutos a uestris obsequiis et familiaritate remouere debetis, ut tali forte confu-

11 Col. 3:9–10.

sione compuncti conuertantur inspirante Deo ad ipsum (…). *Nulla igitur cum his, qui non credunt idolaque adorant, miscenda communio est.*

Regarding those who refuse to receive the goodness of Christianity and who perform sacrifices to idols or bow down before them, we cannot write to you anything else but that you should convince them to turn to the true faith by means of warnings, exhortations and reason rather than by means of force, because what they know is in vain: although they be intelligent men, if they worship the works of their hands[12] and the insensible elements of nature, bow their heads and sacrifice to demons (…). For just as the Apostle teaches us: "we know that the idol is nothing[13] and that what the heathens sacrifice, they sacrifice to the demons".[14] If they pay you no heed, do not eat with them nor have any contact whatsoever with their ritual food, but rather distance them from your dealings and familiarity as you would someone unknown to you and contaminated, so that, saddened by such confusion, through the inspiration of God, they convert to Him (…). Thus, there must be no mixing in the ritual consumption of those who do not believe and who worship idols (…).

2.3.3 *Chapter 51*

Chapters 44 to 50 address issues relating to how to behave during Lent. Question 50 concerns marital cohabitation during this period, which probably gives rise to the problem raised in Chapter 51.

Si liceat uno tempore habere duas uxores, exquiritis; quod si non licet scire cupitis, apud quem inuentum fuerit, quid exinde facere debeatis. Duas tempore uno habere uxores nec ipsa origo humanae conditionis admittit nec lex Christianorum ulla permittit.

You ask if it permitted to have two wives at the same time; and you wish to know if, in the event that this is not permitted, what those of you who find yourselves in this situation should do henceforth. Having two wives at the same time is not tolerated even by the origin of the human condition, nor does the law of the Christians allow it under any circumstances.

12 Jer. 1:16.
13 1 Cor. 8:4.
14 1 Cor. 10:20.

2.3.4 *Chapter 62*

The preceding question relates to the convenient amount of time a layperson should devote to prayer.

Refertis, quod lapis inuentus sit apud uos, antequam Christianitatem suscepissetis, de quo, si quisquam ob aliquam infirmitatem quid accipit, soleat aliquotiens remedium corpori suo praebere, aliquotiens uero sine profectu remanere. Quod utique etiam de illo lapide quid nunquam sumentibus cotidie certum est euenire, uidelicet ut alii quidem ab aegritudine sua remedium sanitatis recipiant, alii uero infirmitate tabescant. Quamobrem nos tamquam erroris fomes uobis consulentibus, utrum de cetero sit agendum an respuendum, respondemus et decernimus, quatinus omnis eiusdem lapidis sumptus penitus prohibeatur.

You say that you have found a stone in your country, before receiving Christianity, of which if someone takes some of this stone due to an illness, he sometimes receives a cure for his body, but other times there is no effect. But this is also true for those who take nothing from this stone, that is to say, that some obtain the remedy of a cure for their illness, but others consume themselves in their ailment. Thus, we answer you and determine, when you ask us if this should continue to be done or should be rejected, that all use of this stone is prohibited as the wick of error.

2.3.5 *Chapter 67*

The preceding question concerns whether or not men can be allowed to enter a church with their heads covered.

Perhibetis uos consuetudinem habuisse, quotienscumque aliquem iureiurando pro qualibet re disponebatis obligare, spatham in medium afferre, et per eam iuramentum agebatur. Nunc autem, per quod iurare debeatis, a nobis iuberi deposcitis. Sed nos ante omnia non solum per spatham, uerum etiam per aliam omnino conditam speciem iurari iudicamus indignum. Per quem enim quis iurat, profecto et diligit et ueneratur, sed et fiduciam suam et firma stabilitate commendat.

You tell us that it has been your custom that, whenever you decided to make someone swear an oath on any matter, you placed a sword in the middle and the oath was sworn on it. You ask us to instruct you what you should swear on now. But above all we judge it unworthy to swear, not only on a sword but on any manufactured object. Because he who swears on something, loves it and worships it and entrusts in it his faith and a firm stability.

2.3.6 *Chapter 79*

The preceding question addresses the matter of penitence.

Perhibentes, quod moris sit apud uos infirmis ligaturam quandam ob sanitatem recipiendam ferre pendentem sub gutture, requiritis, si hoc agi nos de cetero iubeamos. Quod non solum agi non iubemus, uerum etiam ne fiat, modis omnibus inhibemus; huiusmodi quippe ligaturae phylacteria daemonicis sunt inuenta uersutiis et animarum hominum esse uincula comprobatur, ac ideo his utentes anathemate apostolica decreta perculsos ab ecclesia pelli praecipiunt.

After explaining that there exists amongst you the custom of making the sick wear a binding around their neck in order to be cured, you ask us if we command you to continue doing so henceforth. And not only do we order that you not do it, but we prohibit that this be done under any circumstances; for tied amulets of this kind are inventions for devilish tricks and it is proven that they serve as chains for the souls of men and for that reason the apostolic decrees lay down that those that use them be expelled from the Church after being punished with anathema.

2.4 Anonymous Christian Monk, *The Life and Passion of Saint Wenceslaus and His Grandmother Saint Ludmilla*

The preface to the work known as *Vita et passio sancti Wenceslai et sancte Ludmile ave eius*, dedicated to San Adalbert, Bishop of Prague (956–997), states that the text was written by a monk *solo nomine Christianus* "whose only name is Christian", and this self-attribution has served to allocate authorship to what seems to be more a demand for anonymity. The only thing we know for certain about the author is that he was a monk at Břenov Monastery. This author is frequently cited as *Christianus*, as if this were a proper name. The first editor of the text, the Jesuit B. Balbín, identified this *Christianus* with the figure of the same name who appears in Saint Bruno of Querfurt's *Life of Saint Adalbert* and with Cosmas Strachkvas, brother of Boleslav II, whose monastic name was also Christian. This identification was rejected by Ludvíkovský (1978). Třeštik (2000) has gone back to Balbín's old hypothesis.

This hagiographic work contains extremely pertinent secondary information about the Christianization of Bohemia and Moravia. It used a wide range of materials: the *Life of Saint Wenceslaus* well known on account of its incipit, *Crescente fide*, a *Life of Saint Ludmila* written in Old Slavonic and now lost; and above all the *Vita* written by Gumpold of Mantua, who, in around 980,

wrote a life of the saint commissioned by Emperor Otto II (967–983). But, in any case, he created a totally new work from the literary point of view (Kantor 1990).

Since the beginning of the 19th century there has been a long and as yet unsettled controversy as to whether or not this text originates from the 10th century, as deduced from the contemporaneous nature which the Anonymous Christian Monk appears to claim with regard to Saint Adalbert of Prague, or is rather a 14th-century forgery. Pekař (1906) defended the former view, which recent studies (Třeštik 1998) have qualified, proposing two phases in its composition, one old, from the years 992–994, and a second, datable to around 1039–1150.

Saint Wenceslaus (907–935?), patron saint of the Czech Republic, was the son of Prince Vratislaus I of Bohemia (915–921) and his wife Drahomira, daughter of a prince of the Stodorani. He was baptised by a disciple of Saint Methodius and brought up in the Christian faith by his grandmother, Saint Ludmila. Drahomira, a fierce defender of traditional Slavic paganism, assumed power on the death of Vratislaus in 921 and did not allow Wenceslaus to manifest his faith in public. Indeed, her mother-in-law Ludmila was strangled on her orders. Wenceslaus ascended to the throne in 925 and sponsored the Christianization of the country and the construction of San Vitus Cathedral in Prague (926–929). His brother Boleslav conspired against him and assassinated him on 28th September 935 (or 929, according to the old chronology). The causes of the dispute between the brothers is not clear. Wenceslaus' pro-Saxon policy, which deviated from Bohemia's traditional alliance with Bavaria, may have played a major role.

Edition used: Ludvíkovský (1978).
Other editions: Kantor (1990), Nechutová (2000), Meyer (1931:6–7), Pekař (1903: 152s.) (1906:109).
References: Bührer-Thierry (2004b), Jilek (1975), Kalivoda (2001), Sommer (2000), Třeštik (1980) (1998) (2000).

2.4.1 *Chapter 6*

This chapter describes the virtues of Saint Wenceslaus and, specifically, his life of prayer.

Quia uero radicitus necdum auulsi fuerant paganorum supersticiosi ritus, dum plurimi ad immolandum demoniis nefanda properarent sacrificia, cibisque ex ipsis potibusque simul inquinarentur, nunquam ipse horum consenciens contaminabatur, uerum in cunctis se subtraxit, occasione facta qualibet. Carceres

destruxit, patibula suppliciaque, que usque adhuc inerant ad excruciandos homines, funditus sua pietate euulsit fanaque profanorum terre coequauit.

As the superstitious rites of the pagans had not yet been uprooted, and many hastened to perform their loathsome sacrifices to the demons, while soiling themselves with the food and drink originating therefrom, he,[15] for his part, never consented to contaminate himself in their company, but distanced himself from them whatever the occasion. He destroyed the prisons, thanks to his mercy he destroyed from their foundations the gallows and the dungeons which had existed till then for the torturing of men and he razed the temples of the pagans to the ground.

2.5 Widukind of Corvey, *Deeds of the Saxons*

We know little of the life of Widukind and he does not talk about himself in his work. His life was closely linked to the Abbey of Corvey and the political and social sphere of Saxony which constitute the material for his *Rerum Saxonicarum libri tres*. This cannot have been his only work, because prior to *Deeds of the Saxons* he wrote *Vitae Theclae et Pauli* of which nothing has been preserved.

Each of the three books of *Deeds of the Saxons* is preceded by an epistle dedicated to Matilda, the daughter of Otto I, who later became Abbess of Quedlinburg Monastery. The work goes back to the origins of the Saxons and continues, through the reigns of Henry I and Otto I, up to c. 973, which is the probable date that the work was composed. The work is essentially guided by a love of his people and a pride in his ethnic heritage.

He begins by discussing the legendary origins of the Saxons and the classical sources which contain references to them before moving on to recall the old legends about the occupation of the country. He then recounts the complicated relations between the Saxons and the Franks, and always from the perspective of the former, whom he describes as courageous and warlike unlike their adversaries, who he portrays as unscrupulous when facing a weak enemy. In contrast to the importance which modern historiography attaches to the figure of Charlemagne, his wars are narrated very briefly, possibly because, although Saxony lost its independence, the Carolingian occupation brought with it Christianization and Widukind is after all a Benedictine monk. Book 1

15 Saint Wenceslaus.

ends with the legendary deeds of Henry I. The second book begins with the election of Otto I and ends with the death of his first wife, Edith. Book 3 begins with the appointment of Liudolf as successor to the royal throne and the revolt against Otto the Great and covers the period up to 973. However, it does not narrate the history of the Empire but focusses on Otto as Duke of Saxony. Even the events on the border between Saxony and the Slavs are not addressed with much attention, although he was the first writer to refer to a Polish sovereign.

Widukind used multiple sources. It is very likely that the legends about the origin of the Saxons contain remnants of epic Germanic songs, but they are spoiled by the pretentious nature of the author's prose; on the other hand, it is easy to discover in Windukind a classical influence, specifically that of Sallust.

Edition used: Hirsch-Lohmann (1935).
Other editions: Kehr (1882), Meyer (1931:7), Rotter-Schneidmüller (1981).
References: von Padberg (2003), Šedivý (1995).

2.5.1 Deeds of the Saxons *3.68*

In the context of Liudolf's revolt against Otto the Great, Wichmann, more out of pride than political calculation or military considerations, according to the analysis provided by Windukind, allies himself with the pagan Slavs.

Erant duo subreguli Herimanno duci, inimicitiae a patribus uicariae relicti: alter uocabatur Selibur, alter Mistav. Selibur praeerat Waaris,[16] *Mistav Abdritis*[17]*. Dum inuicem quam saepe accusantur, uictus tandem ratione Selibur condempnatus est quindecim talentis argenti a duce. Eam dampnationem grauiter ferens arma sumere contra ducem cogitauit. Sed cum ei belli copiae non sufficerent, missa legatione postulat presidium ab Wichmanno contra ducem. Ille nichil iocundius ducens, quam aliquam molestiam inferre posset patruo, cito cum sociis adest Sclauo. Vt autem suscipitur in urbem Wichmannus, statim urbs obsidione uallatur ab inimico* (…) *Fame itaque urbani ac foetore pecorum aggrauati urbe egredi sunt coacti* (…) *Milites Wichmanni uariis poenis afflixit, urbis predam suis militibus donauit, simulacro Saturni ex aere fuso, quod ibi inter alia urbis spolia repperit, magnum spectaculum populo prebuit uictorque in patriam remeauit*.

There were two tribal chieftains under the jurisdiction of Duke Hermann who had inherited from their father a mutual enmity; one was called Selibur,

16 var. *waris*.
17 var. *addritis*.

the other Mistav.[18] Selibur ruled the Wagrians[19] and Mistav the Obodrites.[20] Although they accused each other frequently, Selibur was found guilty beyond doubt and sentenced by the Duke to pay fifteen talents of silver. As he believed this sentence to be excessive, he considered taking up arms against the Duke. However, as he did not have sufficient soldiers, he sent an embassy to Wichmann to ask for help to fight the Duke. Wichmann, who thought there was nothing more pleasing than to cause trouble for his superior, swiftly presented himself before the Slav with his allies. No sooner was Wichmann received into the city[21] than it was fortified as if to resist the siege of an enemy. (…) And thus, the inhabitants were obliged to leave the city due to lack of food and the stench of the livestock. (…) (Hermann) inflicted a range of punishments on Wichmann's soldiers, handed the city to his on soldiers as booty, and a statue of Saturn[22] made of bronze, which he found amidst other spoils of war in the city, he presented to his people in the manner of a great spectacle and returned with it, victorious, to his homeland.

2.6 John Canaparius, *Life of Saint Adalbert of Prague*

Saint Adalbert of Prague was born in around 956 to a noble family of Bohemia. He was the son of Prince Slavnik and his wife Střezislava and was given the Slavic name of Vojtěch. His family were the direct rivals of the Přemyslids who ruled in Prague. Vojtěch received an excellent education in Magdeburg under the bishop of that diocese, Saint Adalbert, from whom he received his Germanic name. In 982 he was appointed Bishop of Prague. In 989 he gave up the bishopric to live as a hermit at the Benedictine Monastery of Saint Alexis in Rome. In 993 Pope John XV once again sent him as bishop to Prague and he founded Břevnov Monastery near the city. In 995, Duke Boleslav II of Bohemia, of the Přemyslid family, ordered the assassination of Saint Adalbert's brothers. Adalbert fled to Hungary, where he baptised Prince Géza and his son, who would later become Saint Stephen. He later travelled to Poland to meet with Bolesław I and then undertook a mission to evangelise the Prussians. Following on from the missionary practice started by Saint Boniface, he devoted himself to felling the sacred trees of the Prussians, which led to his martyrdom in April 997.

18 Mistav, or Mstivoj, was the son of Nakon.

19 The Wagrians inhabited Eastern Holstein between the Trave and Schwentine.

20 The Obodrites, or Abodrites, were the Slavic tribe living in what is today called Mecklenburg.

21 Possibly Stargard (Oldenburg), which was in the territory of the Wagrians.

22 A Czech gloss gives it the name of Sitiwrat, but it appears to be a modern-day forgery.

Hagiographs of the saint began to appear just two years later. The first of them, attributed by Pertz (1841) to John Canaparius, a Benedictine monk at the Monastery of Saints Boniface and Alexis on the Aventine in Rome, has been dated to 999. However, Fried (2002) believes that the oldest *Vita* of Saint Adalbert was not written by Canaparius but in Liège, and that the oldest version can be traced to the imperial court at Aachen, because Bishop Notker of Liège apparently knew of an old manuscript of the *Vita Adalberti* which originated in that city.

Edition used: Pertz (1841: 581).
Other editions: Karwasińska (1969a).
References: Fried (2002), Hoffmann (2005).

2.6.1 Life of Saint Adalbert of Prague *1*

This is the beginning of the narration.

Est locus in partibus Germaniae, diues opibus, praepotens armis ferocibusque uiris, quem incolae Sclauoniam[23] *cognomine dicunt. Huius maxima pars infidelitatis errore praeuenta, creaturam pro Creatore, lignum uel lapidem pro Deo colunt, plerique uero nomine tenus christiani, ritu gentilium uiuunt*.

There is a place in Germania, rich in resources, powerful due to its weapons and its ferocious men, which its inhabitants call Slavia. Most of the land is under the sway of the error of paganism, they worship the creature instead of the Creator, the tree and the rock instead of God, and the majority of them, though Christians in name only, live in the manner of the heathens.

2.7 Saint Bruno of Querfurt, *Letter to Emperor Henry II*

Bruno of Querfurt was born into a noble Saxon family c. 974. He was educated at the cathedral school in Magdeburg, where he was made a canon at a very early age. In 996 he accompanied Otto III to Rome as court chaplain. Far from pursuing a career in the church in Saxony,[24] he entered the Monastery of Saint Alexis and Saint Boniface on the Aventine.[25] Saint Adalbert had set out from

23 var. *Boemiam*.
24 Up until this point, the parallels with Thietmar of Merseburg are surprising.
25 Hence his monastic name: Boniface.

this monastery on his last mission to the Prussians during which he found martyrdom and it is clear that the example of Saint Adalbert inspired Saint Bruno's missionary nature. His religious curiosity led him to participate in the reform of the Benedictines undertaken by Saint Romuald, the founder of the Camaldolese order, and in 1001 he transferred to a monastery governed by the latter near Ravenna. Pope Sylvester II charged him officially with the task of continuing the work begun by Saint Adalbert. However, the war between Henry II and Bolesław of Poland hindered his mission, and so in 1008 he travelled to Hungary where, with the support of King Stephen and Anastasius, Archbishop of Gran, he took his missionary work to the Black Hungarians.[26] He pursued this activity in the most eastern and dangerous area where he preached among the Pechenegs with the express support of Vladimir I of Kiev. In 1009 he finally travelled to Poland to reach his destination in Prussia, where he found martyrdom along with eighteen companions.

The works of Saint Bruno are directly related to his mission among the pagans and the martyrdom of the spreaders of the faith: *Passio sancti Adalberti episcopi et martyris* was written during his time in Poland and narrates the martyrdom of the apostle of the Prussians in a heavily personal tone. Something similar occurs with *Vita quinque fratrum*, which recounts the life and martyrdom of Benedict, canon of Prague and, like the author, a member of the Camaldolese, founder of a monastery in Poland and martyred in the company of four other monks.

Bruno of Querfurt is a clear predecessor of the spirit of reform we shall encounter later among the Cistercians, which combined a marked missionary zeal, supported by the monastic settlements which served both for agricultural development and as a base for the German colonisation of the Baltic coast, with the crusading spirit which characterised the preaching of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux.

Edition used: Karwasińska (1969b: 97–106).
Other editions: Bielowski (1864: 226), Meyer (1931: 8).
References: Brunhölzl (1996: 368–372), Erdmann (1977:107–108), Kahl (1955: 171–172), Manitius (1923: 231–236), von Padberg (2003), Wood (2001: 226–244).

26 Black Hungarians or Black Magiars were a group of Magiars in oppositions to White Magiars. These nomadic tribes originating from Central Asia adopted the Iranian designation for the cardinal points (North: black, West: white, South: red, East: blue).

2.7.1 Letter to Emperor Henry II

In the year 1008, Bruno of Querfurt wrote a letter to Henry II asking the king to end his alliance with the pagan Lutici, make peace with Duke Bolesław of Poland and return to an active policy of support for the missionary work among the Slavs.

Vt autem salua gratia regis ita loqui liceat: bonumne est persequi christianum et habere in amicitia populum paganum? Quae conuentio Christi ad Belial? quae comparatio luci ad tenebras? quomodo conueniunt Zuarasiz diabolus, et dux sanctorum uester et noster Mauritius? qua fronte coeunt Sacra Lancea et, qui pascuntur humano sanguine, diabolica uexilla? Non credis peccatum, o rex, quando christianum caput, quod nefas est dictu, immolatur sub daemonum uexillo? Nonne melius esset talem hominem habere fidelem, cuius auxilio et consilio tributum accipere et sacrum, christianissimum facere de populo pagano posses? O quam uellem non hostem, sed habere fidelem, de quo dico, seniorem Boleszlauum! Respondebis forsitan: uolo.

As one who has been saved by grace of the king, it behoves me to say thus: "Is it right to persecute a Christian and be the friend of a pagan people? What is this alliance of Christ and Belial?[27] What is this comparison between the light and the shadows? How can Svarožic, the devil, and your and our chief of the saints, Maurice,[28] stand united? To which front do the Sacred Lance[29] and the devilish banners, which feed on human blood, march side by side? Would it not be better to retain the loyalty of a man whose assistance and counsel can be received as a tribute and convert a pagan people to Christianity? How I would like to have not as an enemy but as an ally the man of whom I speak, the old man Boleslav!" Perhaps you shall respond: "I wish it".

27 2 Cor. 6:15.

28 Saint Maurice was closely connected to the episcopal see of Magdeburg. Furthermore, he was a soldier saint who inspired great devotion in Central Europe. The use of Saint Maurice as comparative imagery is analysed by Warner (2000).

29 This is one of the relics which was believed to be the true spear of Longinus which, according to John 19:34, pierced the side of Christ on the cross. The one Saint Bruno refers to had by that time already become the symbol of Germanic royalty. It is currently conserved in the Vienna Schatzkammer. A nail from the cross was set into it in medieval times. At that time there was another Sacred Lance in Constantinople and a copy of the first was also made which was worshipped in Cracow.

2.8 Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicle*

Thietmar was the son of a Saxon duke. He belonged to one of the best-connected families of the dominant aristocracy of the Ottonian period, which means he was a person who was very well informed regarding the events he is going to describe. He was born in 975 and educated at the cathedral school in Magdeburg, where he was a disciple of Saint Bruno of Querfurt, who was also related to him. He became canon of that cathedral and, finally, Bishop of Merseburg from 1009 to 1018, the year in which he died leaving his work unfinished. Between 1012 and the year of his death he composed *Cronicon*, which constitutes the best historical source for the Ottonian period and particularly for events which occurred during the author's lifetime. Book 1 is devoted to Henry I, Book 2 to Otto I, Book 3 to Otto II, Book 4 to Otto III, Books 5 and 6 to the reign of Henry II and Books 7 and 8 to the period in which Henry II was Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. With the exception of Books 4 and 8, each volume is introduced by a foreword in hexameters.

According to Brunhölzl (1996: 374s.), Thietmar's work has three essential features. It is a work whose main objective is to write the history of the episcopal see of Merseburg, but which encompasses the whole of Saxony. It is a historiographic work but, given Thietmar's personal and family situation, it has a large component of personal memoires. There are constant references to the author's acquaintances and relatives throughout the work. This also explains why the information increases in quantity and quality as the work approaches the period in which the author lived. Finally, the work transcends the strictly Saxon sphere and devotes itself at length to Saxony's relations with the Slavic world on its borders. In this respect, Thietmar takes on a dimension which rises above the Germanic and, by means of the classical cultural world, which he knows well and cites frequently, acquires features which we could describe as occidental. Nevertheless, given that Henry II was a close ally of the Lutici, Thietmar careful refrains from openly criticising the monarch's policy, but the amount of data referring to Slavic paganism, which shows how well informed the author was, can be understood as a veiled criticism of that alliance.[30] Not in vain was Thietmar a disciple of Saint Bruno of Querfurt.

30 Bührer-Thierry (2004) considers that Thietmar's attitude is less subtle and more flattering in the case of Henry II.

Edition used: Holzmann (1935).
Other editions: Huf (1990), Kurze (1889), Meyer (1931:8–11), Trillmich (1974), Warner (2001).
References: Brunhölzl (1996), Lippelt (1973), Lübke (2002), Manitius (1923: 265–268), von Padberg (1994), (2003), Reuter (1991), Rospond (1976).

2.8.1 Chronicle *1.2–3*

After the introduction, Thietmar goes on to talk of the founding of the city of Merseburg, which he traces back to the Romans. He them talks about Henry I (919–936), his relationship with that city and his first campaign against Glomacze (c. 929).

Isque a patre suo in prouintiam quam nos teutonice Deleminci uocamus, Sclaui autem Glomaci appellant, cum magno exercitu missus, deuastata eadem multum atque incensa, uictor rediit. Sed qualiter pagus iste nomine hoc signaretur, edicam.

3. Glomuzi est fons non plus ab Albi quam duo miliaria positus, qui, unam de se paludem generans, mira, ut incolae pro uero asserunt oculisque approbatum est a multis, sepe operatur. Cum bona pax est indigenis profutura, suumque haec terra non mentitur fructum, idem tritico et auena ac glandine refertus, laetos uicinorum ad se crebro confluentium efficit animos. Quando autem seua belli tempestas ingruerit, sanguine et cinere certum futuri exitus indicium premonstrat. Hunc omnis incola plus quam aecclesias, spe quamuis dubia, ueneratur et timet. Et haec prouincia ab Albi usque in Caminizi fluuium porrecta, uocabulum ab eo trahit diriuatum.

He[31] was sent by his father with a large army to the province which we call Daleminzia in German but which the Slavs call Glomaci[32] and once there he did much laying of waste and burning, returning victorious. But I shall show why the region was called by that name.

Glomuzi is a spring situated not more than two miles from the Elba which is the source of a lake[33] where miracles frequently occur, or so those who live in the area believe and has been verified by the eyes of many. When the nat-

31 Henry I.
32 Called Lommatzsch in modern German. This was the province situated between the River Chemnitz and the Elba. Widukind (1.17) notes that the defeated Glomacze called on the Hungarians for assistance.
33 Lake Poltzcher. The existence of sacred lakes is well attested among the Western Slavs, Celts, Romans, Greeks and Iranians (Dowden 2000).

ives of the land are to be given peace and the soil will not withhold its fruits, the spring fills with wheat, with oats and with acorns and brightens the spirits of the neighbours who frequently approach it. But when the cruel time of war cruel breaks out, it accurately predicts the future outcome with blood and ash. All of the locals revere it and fear it more than any church, though with an uncertain hope. This region, which extends from the Elba to the River Kaminice,[34] derives its name therefrom.

2.8.2 Chronicle *1.14*

In a digression, he begins to talk of the omens which are capable of predicting death and continues with the proofs of the immortal life of the soul (Krawiec 2003).

Etsi ego fungar uice cotis, ferrum et non se exacuentis, tamen ne muti canis obprobrio noter, inlitteratis et maxime Sclauis, qui cum morte temporali omnia putant finiri, haec loquor.

Although I do as the whetstone, which sharpens iron but not itself,[35] I shall, however, not be marked by shame, like a mute dog, and I shall say the following to the unlettered and above all to the Slavs, who believe that temporal death is the end of all things.

2.8.3 Chronicle *3.17*

Due to the arrogance of the Margrave Dietrich, the Lutici rebelled as did the Obodrites after them. The causes of the revolt which began on 29th July 983 were many, not only the ideological one whereby they were defending their pagan identity against Christianity, but also the tax abuses they were subject to, as they were obliged to pay a double tax, one to the Empire and another to the Church (Fritze 1984, Reuter 1991: 178).

(…) *Sclauorum conspirata manus Brandeburgensem episcopatum,* (…) *inuasit,* (…). *Clerus ibidem capitur, et Dodilo, eiusdem sedis antistes secundus, qui a suis strangulatus tres annos iacuit tunc sepultus, e tumulo eruitur, et integro adhuc eius corpore ac sacerdotali apparatu, ab auaris canibus predatur et iterum temere reponitur; omnis aecclesie thesaurus distrahitur, et sanguis multorum miserabiliter effunditur. Vice Christi et piscatoris eiusdem uenerabilis Petri uaria demoni-*

34 Chemnitz. Holtzmann (1935: 7, n. 6) thinks that Thietmar has confused the Chemnitz with the Zschopau.

35 Horace, *Ars.* 304.

acae heresis cultura deinceps ueneratur, et flebilis haec mutacio non solum a gentilibus, uerum etiam a Christianis extollitur.

The horde of Slavs, by common agreement, invaded the bishopric of Brandenburg[36] (…) The clergy there were captured and Dodilo,[37] the second prelate of that see, who had lain buried there for three years after being strangled by his own, was pulled out of his tomb and, uncorrupted as his body and his priestly vestments were, was torn apart as if by wild dogs and put back without care. All the treasure of the church was dispersed and the blood of many was miserably spilt. In the place of Christ and his fisherman, the venerable Peter, several cults of devilish heresy were re-established and this deplorable revolution not only took hold among the heathens, but also among the Christians.

2.8.4 Chronicle *4.13*

Year 986: war between Boleslav II, Duke of Bohemia (972–999), and Mieszko I of Poland (962–992). Boleslav allies himself with the Lutici.

Inde reuersus urbem unam […][38] *nomine possedit et hanc cum domino eius, urbanis nil repugnantibus, acquisiuit eundemque Liuticis ad decollandum dedit. Nec mora, diis fautoribus haec ostia ante urbem offertur et de reuersione ab omnibus tractatur*.

From there he (Boleslav) returned to a city of the name of […] and, unopposed by its inhabitants, he conquered it along with its lord who he handed over to the Lutici to be decapitated. And without delay, they offer these sacrifices before the city walls to the gods who had aided them and all addressed the matter of their return.

2.8.5 Chronicle *VI, 22–25*

Henry II has allied himself with the Lutici, who join forces with the imperial army in the year 1005. This leads Thietmar to embark on a digression about Slavic religion, which serves as a veiled criticism of Henry II's alliance with the pagans.

22. *Post haec Liuzici nostris pridie quam ad Oderam fluuium uenirent, sotiantur, deos suimet precedentes subsequuti*.

36 This episcopal see had been founded in 948.

37 Dodilo (or Duodelin) was Bishop of Brandenburg from 965(968) to 980.

38 The manuscript leaves spaces for seven letters.

23. Quamuis autem de hiis aliquid dicere perhorrescam, tamen ut scias, lector amate, uanam eorum supersticionem, inanioremque populi istius executionem, qui sint uel unde huc uenerint, strictim enodabo. Est urbs quaedam in pago Riedirierun,[39] *Riedegost nomine tricornis, ac tres in se continens portas, quam undique silua ab incolis intacta et uenerabilis circumdat magna. Duae eiusdem portae cunctis introeuntibus patent; tercia, quae orientem respicit et minima est, tramitem ad mare iuxta positum et uisu nimis horribile monstrat. In eadem est nil nisi fanum de ligno artificiose compositum, quod pro basibus diuersarum sustentatur cornibus bestiarum. Huius parietes uariae deorum dearumque imagines mirifice insculptae, ut cernentibus uidetur, exterius ornant; interius autem dii stant manu facti, singulis nominibus insculptis, galeis atque loricis terribiliter uestiti, quorum primus Zuarasici dicitur, et pre caeteris a cunctis gentilibus honoratur et colitur. Vexilla quoque eorum nisi ad expeditionis necessaria, et tunc per pedites, hinc nullatenus mouentur.*

24. Ad haec curiose tuenda ministri sunt specialiter ab indigenis constituti, qui cum huc idolis immolare seu iram eorundem placare conueniunt, sedent hii dumtaxat, caeteris asstantibus, et inuicem clanculum mussantes, terram cum tremore infodiunt, quo sortibus emissis, rerum certitudinem dubiarum perquirant. Quibus finitis, cespite uiridi eas operientes, equum, qui maximus inter alios habetur et ut sacer ab his ueneratur, super fixas in terram duarum cuspides hastilium inter se transmissarum supplici obsequio ducunt, et premissis sortibus, quibus id explorauere prius, per hunc quasi diuinum denuo auguriantur. Et si in duabus hiis rebus par omen apparet, factis completur; sin autem, a tristibus populis hoc prorsus omittitur. Testatur idem antiquitas errore delusa uario, si quando his seua longae rebellionis assperitas immineat, ut e mari predicto aper magnus et candido dente e spumis lucescente exeat, seque in uolutabro delectatum terribili quassatione multis ostendat.

25. Quot regiones sunt in his partibus, tot templa habentur, et simulacra demonum singula ab infidelibus coluntur, inter quae ciuitas supramemorata principalem tenet monarchiam. Hanc ad bellum properantes salutant, illam prospere redeuntes muneribus debitis honorant, et quae placabilis hostia diis offerri a ministris debeat, per sortes ac per equum, sicut prefatus sum, diligenter inquiritur. Hominum ac sanguine pecudum ineffabilis horum furor mitigatur.

22. After this, the Lutici joined us the day before they reached the River Oder, following their gods who preceded them.

39 var. *riedirerum, rediririum*.

23. Although I find it repugnant to speak of these things, nevertheless, in order that you, dear reader, should know of their vain superstition and the senseless cult of this people, I shall briefly explain who they are and whence they have come. In the land of the Redarii there is a city called Riedegost,[40] which has three corners and one door in each wall and which is surrounded on all sides by a great forest which is untouched and venerated by the local people. Two of its doors are open for all to enter. The third, which faces east and is the smallest, opens onto a path leading to a nearby lake which has a dreadful appearance. In the city there is no more than one temple skilfully made of wood and supported on a foundation made from the horns of different types of animals. Its outer walls are adorned by admirably carved images of gods and goddesses; inside, there stand gods made by the hand of man, each with their name inscribed, dressed in helmets and armour, with a terrible appearance; the most important of them is called Svarožic and he is honoured and worshipped by all the pagans above all else. The banners of these gods never move from that place unless they are needed for a military campaign and, even then, only by foot soldiers.

24. To guard these places there are priests trained from among the natives. These, when they convene to perform a sacrifice to the idols or to placate their wrath, sit, while all others remain standing and, murmuring alternately in secret, they dig a hole in the earth, trembling with reverence, from where, after drawing lots, they shall acquire certainty about doubtful matters. When this is done, they cover the hole with green grass and lead in, in supplication and with humility, a horse which they believe to be the largest and which they venerate as sacred, over two crossed spears stuck in the earth; by means of this animal, which is held to be divine, a new augury is obtained about the matter for which they had drawn lots previously. And if the omen is the same in both operations, it is carried out; but if not, the saddened inhabitants immediately reject it. Another error has been handed down since ancient times, to

40 Cf. the description provided by Adam of Bremen 2.21 of the same temple (§ 2.11.1.). Thietmar's description probably corresponds to the older location of the shrine, which, after it was first destroyed, was moved to an island on the lake, according to the description given by Adam. Thietmar identifies the name of the deity with the name of the shrine. The etymology of the theonym seems to be clear: it is a compound of "who rejoices with the guests", although it could also be understood as "who rejoices with (the victory) over the enemies". The function attributed to this deity varies depending on one or the other interpretation. See other etymologies in Słupecki (1994: 60), who leans towards attributing him a primarily oracular nature.

wit, when they are threatened by the cruel misfortune of war, a great boar with white tusks and glistening with foam emerges from the lake and, wallowing in the mire with terrible agitation, shows itself to many witnesses.

25. For every region in the land, there is a temple and the pagans worship specific idols of the devils but the city mentioned above has precedence over all of these. They salute it when they go to war; when they return victorious they honour it with votive offerings and, in order to know what victims the priests should offer up to the gods, they inquire carefully by casting lots and consulting the sacred horse, in the way described above. Their unspeakable madness is only quenched by the blood of men and animals.

2.8.6 Chronicle *6.37*

Digression on the life and work of Wigbert, Thietmar's predecessor at the episcopal see of Merseburg, who governed the diocese from 1004 to 1009.

Predicatione assidua commissos a uana superstitione erroris reduxit, lucumque Zutibure[41] *dictum, ab accolis ut Deum in omnibus honoratum et ab aeuo antiquo numquam uiolatum, radicitus eruens, sancto martiri Romano in eo ecclesiam construxit.*

(Bishop Wigbert), through tireless preaching, led those who were subject to a vain superstition away from their path of error, and the forest called Zutibur,[42] which the natives worshipped in everything like a god and which had remained inviolate since Roman times, he destroyed down to the very roots and on the same site he built a church dedicated to Saint Romanus Martyr.[43]

2.8.7 Chronicle *7.59*

Campaigns of Emperor Henry II (1002–1024) against Bolesław I of Poland (992–1025) in the year 1017.

Posita est autem haec in pago Silensi, uocabulo hoc a quodam monte nimis excelso et grandi olim sibi indito; et hic ob qualitatem suam et quantitatem, cum execranda gentilitas ibi ueneraretur, ab incolis omnibus nimis honorabatur.

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41 var. *zudibure*.

42 Modern-day Schkeitbar, Markranstädt, 6 km to the east of Lützen. The Slavic word *Zutibur* or *Zuentibor* etymologises as "sacred forest", cf. Polish *święty bór* (Eichler 1981: 204).

43 Martyr of the Valerian persecution (c. 258), he was converted and baptised by Saint Lawrence.

This (city)[44] is situated in the place called Silesia, whose name comes from a very big high mountain;[45] and this, due to its features and size, as the execrable paganism made of it an object to be worshipped, is greatly honoured by the inhabitants of the area.

2.8.8 Chronicle *7.64*

The year 1017. During the campaigns between Bolesław I of Poland and Henry II, the Lutici, allies of emperor, suffer a defeat, accompanied by a humiliation.

Sed Liutici redeuntes irati, dedecus deae suimet illatum queruntur. Nam haec, in uexillis formata, a quodam Herimanni marchionis socio lapide uno traiecta est; et dum hoc ministri eius imperatori dolenter retulissent, ad emendationem XII talenta perceperunt. Et cum iuxta Vurcin ciuitatem Mildam nimis effusam transire uoluissent, deam cum egreio L militum comitatu alteram perdidere.

But when the Lutici returned, they were furious and seeking to make reparation to their goddess. For a rock thrown by a vassal of the Margrave Hermann had torn through an image of her on their banners; when the bearers of the image sadly related this to the emperor, they received twelve talents by way of compensation. And when they wanted to cross the River Vltava, which was very swollen, near the city of Vurcin,[46] they lost another goddess along with a select company of fifty soldiers.

2.8.9 Chronicle *7.69*

A digression in which he recounts a miracle which occurred in his diocese in 1017, in the town of Sülfeld, when a woman's house was attacked by demons. This provides the chronicler with the opportunity to describe a pagan custom.

Nam habitatores illi raro ad aecclesiam uenientes, de suorum uisitatione custodum nil curant. Domesticos colunt deos, multumque sibi prodesse eosdem sperantes, hiis inmolant. Audiui de quodam baculo; in cuius sumitate manus erat, unum in se ferreum tenens circulum, quod cum pastore illius uillae, in quo is fuerat, per omnes domos has singulariter ductus, in primo introitu a portitore suo

44 Nemzi, al. Nimptsch, in Silesia.

45 Mount Ślęża, next to Sobótka (al. Zobten), to the SW of Wrocław, in Lower Silesia, where the tribal temple of the Lugii federation was located. Today there is a church on the same site.

46 The modern-day German city of Wurzen.

sic salutaretur: Vigila, Bendil,[47] *uigila!—sic enim rustica uocabatur—lingua et epulantes ibi delicate, de eiusdem se tueri custodia stulti autumabant.*

The inhabitants, who rarely go to church, do not concern themselves at all about their priests. The worship greatly their household gods and, in the hope of some benefit for themselves, perform sacrifices to them. I heard tell of a shepherd's staff, crowned by a hand holding an iron circle, which was carried from house to house by the shepherd of the village it was in, and as soon as it entered [the house] it was hailed by its bearer: "Keep watch, Bendil,[48] keep watch!", for such was its name in their rustic tongue, and afterwards, over a banquet, the fools argued amicably about keeping it in their custody.

2.8.10 **Chronicle** *7.72*

In the year 1000, Bishop Reinbern of Kolberg accompanies the daughter of Bolesław I of Poland when she goes to marry Sviatopolk, one of the twelve[49] sons of Vladimir I of Kiev.

Ille in pago Hassegun dicto natus liberalique scientia a prudentibus magistris educatus, gradum episcopalem ascendit, ut spero dignus. Quantum autem in cura sibi commissa laborauerit idem, non meae sufficit scienciae nec etiam facundiae. Fana idolorum destruens incendit, et mare demonibus cultum, inmissis quatuor lapidibus sacro crismate perunctis, et aqua purgans benedicta, nouam Domino omnipotenti propaginem in infructuosa arbore, id est in populo nimis insulso, sanctae predicacionis plantacionem eduxit.

He (Bishop Reinbern of Kolberg), born in the place of Hassegun,[50] schooled in the liberal sciences by prudent masters, ascended to the episcopal throne

47 var. *Hennil*.

48 The symbology of this agrarian deity as protector (crook, ring) seems to be beyond any doubt, but not the theonym, about which there is much dispute in the codices. The variation *Hennil* appears to be greatly influenced by a Germanic hypocorism along the lines of *Heini* (Grimm 1875: 416, 421). In contrast, the other variation recorded in the manuscripts, *Bendil*, has an optimum Slavic etymology, being the regular evolution of the Indo-European root *$*b^hend^h$*—"to tie, to bind", a nominal formation in *–l* from Common Slavic. The root "to tie, to bind" is appropriate for a protective deity and guarantor of oaths, as confirmed by the symbology of the staff with a ring (Álvarez-Pedrosa 2012–2014).

49 Thietmar only knew three of Vladimir I's sons. On the German chronicler's knowledge of the Rus', see Mund (2004).

50 Modern-day Hassegau.

in a dignified manner, as I hope. Neither my knowledge nor my eloquence is sufficient to express how he worked to perform his task. To destroy the temples of the idols, he burnt them, and, after anointing four stone idols of their demons with holy chrism, he threw them into the lake and then blessed the water to cleanse it; thanks to almighty God, he succeeded in grafting a new shoot onto that tree without fruits, i.e., onto a people without the salt of faith.

2.9 Wipo, *Deeds of Emperor Conrad II*

We know little of the life and training of Wipo. His name appears to be a hypocorism typical of Southern Germany, and his interest in the political affairs of Burgundy mean he must have come from a German-speaking region of that kingdom. He reached the position of Court Chaplain, perhaps in the last years of the reign of Henry II. He witnessed the election to the throne of Conrad II and the coronation of his son, Henry III, in 1046. The date of his death is unknown.

His most important work, *Gesta Chuonradi ii imperatoris*, is the principal source of knowledge about the first king of the Salians, Conrad II. The book was presented in 1046 to his son, Henry III, with a dedication which exhorted him to keep alive the example set by his father. After a long foreword in which he refers to the need for a historical work to be based on examples from the Old Testament and classical antiquity, the text begins with the election of Conrad, in 1024, after Henry II died without issue. As a historian he seems to be very well informed and his literary pretensions lead him to include fictitious discourses in the manner of classical historiography. He also includes a number of stories which appear to be based on legend. In general, as we have said, the work focusses on events surrounding the incorporation of Burgundy into the Holy Roman Empire. Wipo adds several verses to the text of *Gesta* and is the author of the poems of a sapiential nature entitled *Prouerbia* and *Tetralogus*. He may also be the author of the famous Easter sequence *Victimae paschalis laudes immolent Christiani*.

Edition used: Bresslau (1915[3]: 53).
Other editions: Meyer (1931: 11–12).
References: Manitius (1923: 318–328).

2.9.1 Deeds of Emperor Conrad II 2.33

The text forms part of the narrative of Conrad II's campaign against the Lutici in the year 1034. The author refers, using the modest expression "one of us", to a poem he himself had written, of which nothing has been preserved (Brunhölzl 1996: 431).

Multum (…) *laborauit Chuonradus imperator prius et tunc in gente Sclauorum; unde quidam de nostris quoddam breuiarium uersifice fecit, quod postea imperatori praesentauit. Ibi legitur, qualiter imperator interdum in paludibus usque femora stabat, pugnans ipse et exhortans milites ut pugnarent, et uictis paganis nimis acriter trucidabat eos pro quadam superstitione illorum nefandissima. Nam fertur, ut quodam tempore effigiem ligneam crucifixi domini nostri Iesu Christi scelerato ludibrio habuissent pagani, et in eam spuerent atque colaphis caederent; ad extremum oculos eruebant, manus et pedes truncabant. Haec ulciscens imperator, de captis paganis maximam multitudinem pro una effigie Christi simili modo truncauit et varia morte deleuit.*

Much (…) did Emperor Conrad strive before and then among the people of the Slavs; one of us wrote a book in verse and afterwards presented it to the emperor. In it, one can read how the emperor, while up to his thighs in a swamp, he himself fighting and urging his soldiers to fight, once the pagans were vanquished, slaughtered them mercilessly due to one of their superstitions which I can hardly bear to describe. For it is said at a certain time the pagans seized a wooden effigy of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and mocked it blasphemously, and spat on it and slapped it; they went as far as to gouge out its eyes and cut off its hands and feet. To avenge this, the emperor mutilated a large number of pagan captives in the same way as the above-mentioned image of Christ and put them to death in different ways.

2.10 Life of Saint Wenceslaus *Oportet nos fratres*

This is one of the Latin *Vitae* of Saint Wenceslaus (on the life of Saint Wenceslaus, see the introduction to text 2.4.), written at the end of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th. As there are several Latin legends on the same theme, they are distinguished by their incipit, the Latin words with which they begin.

The Life of Saint Wenceslaus *Oportet nos fratres* made use of material from the *Vita* composed by Bishop Gumpold of Mantua, who wrote a life of the saint in around 980, commissioned by Emperor Otto II (967–983).

Edition used: Pekař (1906: 389s.).
Other editions: Kantor (1990), Nechutová (2000), Meyer (1931:12–13).
References: Kamínková (1959), Pekař (1904).

2.10.1 Oportet nos fratres *I*

After the introduction, the book describes the beginnings of the Christianization of Bohemia, personified by Prince Spytihnev. Nothing is said of the possible baptism of his father, Bořivoj I (851–888), and this follows on faithfully from the narrative of Gumpold of Mantua, because the baptism of this prince, according to tradition, was performed by Saint Methodius and Gumpold attempts to link the Christianization of Bohemia from its origins to Rome and the Holy Roman Empire.

Illius enim regionis incole usque ad tempora Romani Cesaris Heinrici sine lege uiuebant, celi regem, quasi ratione carentes, nesciebant, seque facturam tanti factoris esse negligentes, surdis et mutis ydolis seruiebant, a ueritate longe deuiantes (…). *Postquam* (…) *preclarus uir Zpitigneus peruenit ad ducatus principatum et eiusdem regni solium sibi subiecit bene subiugatum, statim Deo predestinante christiane religionis cultum studiose cepit amare, legem Dei deuotus obseruare, sectatores autem ydolorum odio habere et omnes in unum uerum Deum credentes quasi filios uterinos diligere. Nec mora, sacri baptismatis mysterio regeneratus, in fide sancte Trinitatis sapienter edificatus, plurima idolorum templa destruxit, regi regum eiusque sanctis perplures domos et oratoria cum summa ueneratione construxit.*

For the inhabitants of this region[51] lived without law until the time of the Roman-Germanic Caesar Henry,[52] knew not the king of heaven, as if they were deprived of reason, and, forgetting that creation is the work of such a great Creator, served deaf and dumb idols, straying far from the truth. (…) After (…) the illustrious male Spytihnev[53] became leader of the principality and took firm hold of the throne of this kingdom for himself, and at the same time, by the will of God, began to love in earnest the cult of the Christian religion, to observe with devotion the law of God, to feel hatred for the followers of the idols and to love all those who believe in the one true God as if they were the children of his own loins. And without more delay, regenerated with the mystery of the holy baptism, wisely edified in the faith of the most Holy Trinity, he destroyed

51 Bohemia.
52 Henry I or Henry the Fowler (876–936). He was never emperor but only king.
53 Spytihnev I, Duke of Bohemia from 984/895 to 915.

the majority of the temples of the idols and with the greatest veneration built many temples and chapels in honour of the Holy King of Kings.

2.10.2 Oportet nos fratres *3*

The text describes Saint Wenceslaus' Christian upbringing and the links which bind him of old to the German imperial house.

Summus autem Romanorum imperator, scilicet primus Otto (…) *beatum puerum Wenzezlaum bona uoluntate constituit ad ducatus dominationem et monuit eum summis ammonitionibus patri suo Wratizlao similem esse regali militie strennuum militem et bonum ducem omnibus diebus uite sue fideliter interesse et a peruersis ydolorum culturis semper abesse.*

As proof of his goodwill, the exalted emperor of the Romans, Otto I,[54] (…) granted his happy son Wenceslaus the enjoyment of the duchy and advised him with great emphasis to be, like his father Vratislaus,[55] a dedicated soldier of the imperial army, to act with loyalty like a good leader all the days of his life and to always stay far away from the cult of the perverse idols.

2.10.3 Oportet nos fratres *13*

The text describes Saint Wenceslaus' Christian upbringing, his virtuous life and his secret practice of Christianity.

Quicquid propter semipaganos ciues palam facere non ausus est in Dei seruitium, hoc pernox totum impleuit per desiderabile cuiusque noctis intersticium. Erat enim a paganis ciuibus constitutum et federatum scelestaque conratione confirmatum, ut si quis clericorum aut ceterorum christianorum cum Dei seruo alicubi inueniretur, statim aut capite truncaretur aut alia seuissima morte sine contradictione puniretur. At beatus Wenzezlaus fecit occultas posterulas.

All that which he (Wenceslaus) dared not do openly before his semi-pagan subjects to serve God, he performed in full over the course of the night at desired intervals. Because there existed a pledge among the pagan subjects, and confirmed by criminal analogy, whereby, should they find a clergyman or a Christian anywhere with the Servant of God, they would immediately cut off

54 Otto I was king from 936 and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire from 962 to 973. The author of *Oportet nos* makes the same mistake as his source, Gumpold of Mantua's *Vita*, and confuses Otto I with Henry I (the Fowler).

55 Vratislaus I of Bohemia (c. 888–921), Duke of Bohemia from 915 until his death.

his head, or subject him to another type of cruel death with no possibility of contradiction. For this reason, the pious Wenceslaus built hidden passages.

2.10.4 Oportet nos fratres *15*

When Saint Wenceslaus reaches the age of majority and assumes power, he destroys the idols.

Quibus uir domini paulisper commotus respondit et dixit: "O increduli et insani, o inimici nominis christiani (…) *Vos estis cultores inmundorum idolorum et profani persecutores omnium pene christianorum. Preterea quicquid umquam in Dei seruitium meum erat uelle, procul dubio uestrum erat nolle* (…) *Demonibus et non Deo solemnitates et ferias uestras constituistis, uictimas et holocausta diis alienis obtulistis, et omnia, que ueri Dei sunt, ad nichilum redegistis. Insuper minis et blandimentis me ipsum prohibuistis diuina mysteria celebrare".*

To them, the man of the Lord (Wenceslaus), moved for a brief time, answered them saying: "Oh incredulous fools, enemies of the Christian name (…). You are worshippers of loathsome idols and pagans who persecute nearly all Christians. What is more, that which at some moment was my wish for the service of God, was without doubt that which you wished for not. (…) You established your ceremonies and festivals dedicated to the demons and not to God, you offered victims and burnt offerings to alien gods, and reduced to nothing all those things connected with the true God. And on top of this, with threats and flattery you prohibited me from celebrating the divine mysteries."

2.11 Adam of Bremen, *Deeds of Bishops of the Hamburg Church*

Adam of Bremen informs us that he arrived in Bremen in the twenty-fourth year of Adalbert's episcopacy, i.e. in 1066/1067. He was appointed canon of the cathedral and later entrusted with the running of the cathedral school from at least 1069. We do not know where he came from or where he acquired his extensive education.

Deeds is a history of the diocese of Hamburg-Bremen, but, given that this diocese was charged with converting the Slavs and the Scandinavians, Adam's interest soon broadened from a mere ecclesiastical history to become a text of missionary interest and above all, a geographical, ethnographical and anthropological treatise. Some data provided in the work allow us to deduce that it was written between 1075 and 1076. Scholia were added to Adam's original work, the majority after 1085, perhaps the year in which the author died. Adam's position

in Bremen gave him access to first-hand information about the history of the episcopal see and of the missionaries who worked in it.

In the first two books of *Deeds*, the author reconstructs the history of the archbishopric from the times of Willehad and Anscar, emphasising the importance of Hamburg in their missionary role with regard to Scandinavia and the Slavs. The third book is dedicated to the pontificacy of Adalbert, his mentor, for whom he professes great admiration, although he admits that Adalbert is partly responsible for the decline of the see due to his involvement in the complex political games of the court during the reign of Henry III and the minority of Henry IV. In this respect, Adam is a critical biographer, as he describes not only a process of development, but also of decline (Misch 1959, Bagge 1996).

While Adam of Bremen is not the first medieval author to deal with the ethnography of the surrounding peoples, as there are substantial ethnographical digressions about the Slavs in Thietmar of Merseburg, Book IV of Adam's *Deeds* is the first ethnographical description of a region, albeit introduced by the author as "background information".

Edition used: Schmeidler (1917[3]).
Other editions: Brunet-Jailly (1998), Meyer (1931: 13–15), Pagani (1996), Trillmich (1961), Tschan (2002).
References: Bagge (1996), Manitius (1923: 398–413), Misch (1959), von Padberg (1994), (2003), Petersohn (1979), Scior (2002).

2.11.1 Deeds of Bishops of the Hamburg Church *2.21*

This fragment describes the borders of the diocese of Hamburg before going on to provide a geographical and ethnographical digression about Eslavia.

Sunt et alii Sclauaniae[56] *populi, qui inter Albiam et Oddaram*[57] *degunt, sicut Heueldi,*[58] *qui iuxta Habolam*[59] *fluuium sunt et Doxani,*[60] *Leubuzzi,*[61] *Wilini*[62] *et Stoderani cum multis aliis. Inter quos medii et potentissimi omnium sunt Retharii,*[63] *ciuitas eorum uulgatissima Rethre, sedes ydolatriae. Templum ibi magnum constructum est demonibus, quorum princeps est Redigast. Simulacrum eius*

56 var. *sclauorum, slauorum.*
57 var. *oddoram, odderam.*
58 var. *helueldi.*
59 var. *haliolam, haloam.*
60 var. *doxam.*
61 var. *leubuzi, liubuzzi, leubuxxi.*
62 var. *wilim.*
63 var. *rhetarii.*

auro, lectus ostro paratus. Ciuitas ipsa nouem portas habet, undique lacu profundo inclusa, pons ligneus transitum praebet, per quem tantum sacrificantibus aut responsa petentibus uia conceditur. Credo, ea significante causa, quod perditas animas eorum, qui ydolis seruiunt, congrue 'nouies Styx interfusa cohercet'.

There are other Slavic peoples living between the Elba and the Oder, such as the Heveldi, who live next to the River Havel, the Doxani,[64] the Leubuzi,[65] the Wilini[66] and the Stodorani,[67] to name but a few. Among them, situated in the middle, are the extremely powerful Redarii, whose famous capital is Rethra,[68] a seat of idolatry. There is a large temple built there, dedicated to the demons, whose prince is Redigast.[69] His statue is made of gold, his baldachin bedecked with purple. The city itself has nine doors and is surrounded on all sides by a deep lake. A wooden bridge provides access for those who go to perform sacrifices or consult the oracles, due I believe to the following reason charged with significance, because

The Styx imprisons with its ninefold circles[70]

the condemned souls of those who serve the idols.

2.11.2 Deeds of Bishops of the Hamburg Church 2.22

In the land of the Lutici is the city of Jumne, which has a different legal and cultural situation.

Est sane maxima omnium quas Europa claudit ciuitatum, quam incolunt Sclaui cum aliis gentibus, Graecis et barbaris. Nam et aduenae Saxones parem cohabitandi legem acceperunt, si tamen christianitatis titulum ibi morantes non publicauerint. Omnes enim adhuc paganicis ritibus oberrant, ceterum moribus et hospitalitate nulla gens honestior aut benignior poterit inueniri. Urbs illa mercibus omnium septentrionalium nationum locuples, nichil non habet iocundi aut

64 On the River Dosse, whose main city was at Wittstock.

65 Next to Parchim on the banks of the Oder, cf. Thietmar 1.16, 9; 6.59, 39; 7.22 (6.48).

66 Possibly near Fehrbellin.

67 Around the River Havel, cf. Thietmar 4.29.20; Helmold 1.38.

68 We do not know the exact location of the temple of Radogost-Rethra (Słupecki 1994: 57–60). The citadel had three tower gates and the city built alongside it had four; seven in total. Adam's description (followed by Helmold 1.21; 23; 52; 71) does not coincide with that of Thietmar 6.23, so we can assume that the former was describing a later location of the temple, once the seat had been transferred to an island after it was first destroyed in the middle of the 11th century.

69 The name of this deity can also appear as Radigost or Radigast, see Text 2.8.5.

70 Virgil *Aen.* 6.439.

rari. Ibi est Olla Vulcani, quod incolae Graecum ignem uocant, de quo etiam meminit Solinus. Ibi cernitur Neptunus triplicis naturae: tribus enim fretis alluitur illa insula, quorum aiunt unum esse uiridissimae speciei, alterum subalbidae, tertium motu furibundo perpetuis saeuit tempestatibus.

Of all the cities in Europe, it (Jumne[71]) is the biggest of those in which the Slavs live in the company of other peoples, Greeks and Barbarians; even the Saxon emigrants have received a law[72] which allows them to live there on terms of full equality, provided that while they live there they do not openly profess their Christianity. Because all still persevere in their pagan rituals, although otherwise, as far as their customs and hospitality are concerned, one could not find a more honest and friendly people. Rich in merchandise from all the nations of the North of Europe, this city lacks nothing either pleasurable or exotic. There is even an *Olla Vulcani*,[73] which the inhabitants call Greek fire, of which Solinus[74] speaks. There one sees a Neptune of three-fold nature: for the island is bathed by three straits[75] of which it is said that one is of an intense green colour, another whitish and the third rages furiously in perpetual tempests.

2.11.3 Deeds of Bishops of the Hamburg Church *2.43*

In 1011–1013 the Slavs rebel against Germanic domination and many Christian priests are martyred. Even Adam of Bremen (II 42) admits that the rebellion was caused by the abuses of the Christian rulers, in particular the Margrave Dietrich. The rebellion was led by the chiefs of the Winuli, Mistislav and Mizzidrag.

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71 A Danish colony founded by Harold Bluetooth (935–985) on the mouth of the Oder alongside Wolin to establish a factory to serve as a midway point between the Baltic and Byzantium. The city became extremely prosperous according to numismatic findings at the archaeological site.

72 Passed by Harold Bluetooth, as recounted in the *Jómsvíkingasaga*.

73 The term can be found in classical and in patristic and medieval literature. In principle, it refers a volcano on an island and is found above all in reference to Etna or even Vesuvius. However, in this context it has been suggested that it might refer to a vessel containing fire which could serve as a lighthouse to sailors. However, the city's trade with Byzantium means that we cannot completely exclude the reference to Greek fire.

74 Solinus never employs the terms *Olla Vulcani* or *graecus ignis*, but in *De mirabilibus mundi* 5 he speaks of Etna, consecrated to Vulcan.

75 The Oder enters the Baltic through three channels: the Peene, the Swine and the Dievenow.

Narrauit nobis diu memorandus rex Danorum, qui omnes barbarorum gestas res in memoria tenuit acsi scriptae essent, Aldinburg[76] *ciuitatem populosissimam de christianis inuentam esse. 'Sexaginta', inquit, 'presbyteri, ceteris more pecudum obtruncatis, ibi ad ludibrium seruati sunt,*[77] *quorum maior loci praepositus Oddar*[78] *nomen habuit, noster consanguineus. Ille igitur cum ceteris tali martyrio consummatus est, ut, cute capitis in modum crucis incisa, ferro cerebrum singulis aperiretur*[79]*. Deinde ligatis post tergum manibus confessores Dei per singulas ciuitates Sclauorum tracti sunt* [*et aut uerbere aut alio modo uexati*]*, usque dum deficerent'. Ista illi 'spectacula facti et angelis et hominibus in stadio medii cursus exhalauerunt uictorem spiritum'. Multa in hunc modum per diuersas Sclauorum*[80] *prouintias tunc facta memorantur, quae scriptorum penuria nunc habentur pro fabulis.*

Some time ago the much-remembered[81] king of the Danes (Sweyn), who recalls all the deeds of the Barbarians as if they were written down, told us that the city of Oldenburg[82] was full of Christians. He said: "Sixty priests, the rest having been slaughtered like animals, were taken[83] to serve to be treated shamefully.[84] The oldest of them, the superior of the place, was called Oddar, and a relative of ours. He, in the company of the others, suffered the following martyrdom: they cut their scalps with an iron in the form of a cross and opened their skull.[85] Then, with their hands tied behind their backs, the confessors of God were

76 *Schol.* 29: *Aldinburg ciuitas magna Sclauorum est, qui Waigri dicuntur. Sita est iuxta mare, quod Balticum uel Barbarum dicitur, itinere diei ab Hammaburg.*

77 *Schol.* 28. *Mistiwoi cum nollet christianitatem deserere, depulsus a patria confugit ad Bardos, ibique consenuit fidelis.*

78 var. *oddor.*

79 *Schol.* 33. *Anno Domini 1010 gens Ungariae ad fidem convertitur per Gislam, sororem imperatoris, quae nupta regi Ungariae ipsum regem induxit, ut se et suos baptizari faceret, et in baptismo Stephanus est appellatus. Qui postea sanctus fieri meruit.*

80 var. *nordalbingorum uel slauorum.*

81 This epithet must have been written after Sweyn's death on 28th April 1074.

82 Scholium 29: "Oldenburg is a large city of the Slavs of the tribe of the Wagrians. It is situated next to the sea which they call Baltic or Barbarian, one day's journey from Hamburg". Obviously, Oldenburg is not next to the sea.

83 This episode must have occurred in 1018, while the other events in the chapter occurred in 1011 and 1013.

84 Scholium 28: "Mistislav, as he did not wish to give up Christianity, expelled from his homeland, fled to the land of the Bardi and lived there for many years true to the faith".

85 Scholium 33: "In the year of the Lord 1010, the people of Hungary were converted to the faith thanks to Gisela, sister of the emperor, who, after marrying the King of Hungary, persuaded him to have himself and his people baptised. He was baptised with the name Stephen. He later became a saint".

paraded through all the cities of the Slavs, tortured with whips or in any other manner, until they died." And thus, these men "a spectacle to angels as well as to men",[86] exhaled their victorious spirit in the arena, their race unfinished. Many events of this type can be remembered in the various provinces of the Slavs which, for lack of writers, are now held to be fables.

2.11.4 Deeds of Bishops of the Hamburg Church *3.51*

On 13th June 1066 Archbishop Adalbert is expelled from the court; the archbishop's fall from favour is exploited to stir up a big rebellion on the part of the pagan Slavs against the Christians. On 7th June 1066 Gottschalk, a Slavic prince who had converted to Christianity, is martyred. This leads to an open season for hunting down Christians.

Iohannes episcopus[87] *senex cum ceteris christianis in Magnopoli ciuitate captus seruabatur ad triumphum. Ille igitur pro confessione Christi fustibus caesus, deinde per singulas ciuitates Sclauorum ductus ad ludibrium, cum a Christi nomine flecti non posset, truncatis manibus ac pedibus, in platea corpus eius proiectum est, caput uero eius desectum, quod pagani conto praefigentes in titulum uictoriae, deo suo Redigast*[88] *immolarunt. Haec in metropoli Sclauorum Rethre gesta sunt IV Idus Nouembris.*

The elderly Bishop John,[89] captured with other Christians in the city of Mecklenburg, was kept alive to be exhibited in triumph. And consequently, lashed with whips for having confessed to Christ, he was then paraded in each of the cities of the Slavs to be mocked, as he could not be forced to renounce the name of Christ, his hands and feet were cut off and his body was thrown into the street, but not before removing his head, which the pagans stuck on a pike and offered to their god Redigast as proof of victory. These events occurred in Rethra, the capital of the Slavs, the fourth day before the ides of November.[90]

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86 1 Cor. 4:9.

87 *Schol.* 81. *Iohannes iste peregrinationis amore Scotiam egressus, uenit in Saxoniam, et clementer ut omnes a nostro susceptus archiepiscopo, non multo post in Sclauaniam ab eo directus est ad principem Godescalcum. Apud quem illis diebus commoratus, multa paganorum milia baptizasse narratur.*

88 var. *redigost*.

89 Scholium 81: "This John, who for love of travel arrived in Saxony from Scotland, was received kindly by our archbishop, as were all the others, and not long afterwards he was sent to Slavia before Prince Gottschalk; in the days in which he resided alongside him, they say he baptised many thousands of pagans."

90 10th November 1066.

2.11.5 Deeds of Bishops of the Hamburg Church *4.18*

A geographical and ethnographical description of the coasts of the Baltic Sea.

Altera est contra Wilzos posita, quam Rani[91] [*uel Runi*][92] *possident, gens fortissima Sclauorum, extra quorum sententiam de publicis rebus nichil agi lex est: ita metuuntur propter familiaritatem deorum uel potius daemonum, quos maiori cultu uenerantur quam ceteri. Ambae igitur hae insulae pyratis et cruentissimis latronibus plenae sunt, et qui nemini parcant ex transeuntibus. Omnes enim quos alii uendere solent, illi occidunt. Tertia est illa quae Semland dicitur, contigua Ruzzis*[93] *et Polanis;*[94] *hanc inhabitant Sembi uel Pruzzi,*[95] *homines humanissimi, qui obuiam tendunt his ad auxiliandum, qui periclitantur in mari uel qui a pyratis infestantur. Aurum et argentum pro minimo ducunt, pellibus habundant peregrinis, quarum odor letiferum nostro orbi propinauit superbiae uenenum. Et illi quidem ut stercora haec habent ad nostram credo dampnationem, qui per fas et nefas ad uestem anhelamus marturinam, quasi ad summam beatitudinem. Itaque pro laneis indumentis, quae nos dicimus faldones, illi offerunt tam preciosos martures. Multa possent dici ex illis populis laudabilia in moribus, si haberent solam fidem Christi, cuius praedicatores immaniter persecuntur. Apud illos martyrio coronatus est illustris Boemiorum*[96] *episcopus Adalbertus. Usque hodie profecto inter illos, cum cetera omnia sint communia nostris, solus prohibetur accessus lucorum et fontium, quos autumant pollui christianorum accessu. Carnes iumentorum pro cibo sumunt, quorum lacte uel cruore utuntur in potu, ita ut inebriari dicantur. Homines cerulei, facie rubea, et criniti. Praeterea inaccessi paludibus, nullum inter se dominum pati uolunt*.

The second (island) is situated opposite the Veliti and there live the Ranis,[97] or Rujani, a powerful Slavic tribe, without whose authorisation it is not permitted to do anything in public affairs: such are they feared for the proximity

91 *Schol.* 117. *Reune insula est Runorum, uicina Iumne ciuitati, qui soli habent regem.*

92 omit ms. A 1–3.

93 var. *rutzis, russis, ruzis*.

94 var. *polonis*.

95 var. *pruczi, prutzi, prussi, pruzci*; *Schol.* 118. *De quarum laude gentium Horatius in lyricis suis ita meminit: 'Campestres', inquit, 'Scythae melius vivunt et rigidi Getae, quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domus, nec cultura placet longior annua. Dos est magna parentum virtus; et peccare nefas, aut precium est mori'. Usque hodie Turci, qui prope Ruzzos sunt, ita vivunt, et reliqui Scythiae populi.*

96 var. *boemorum, bohemorum*.

97 Scholium 117: "Rügen, in the vicinity of the city of Jumne, is the island of the Rani, who are the only ones who have a king".

of the gods, or rather, of their demons, whom they venerate more than do all the rest. Thus, both islands are full of pirates and extremely cruel robbers, who show no mercy to travellers, for those with whom others engage in business, they kill. The third is the one called Samland, close to the Rus' and the Poles. There live the Sembi or Prussians,[98] a very humanitarian people, who open the gate to give aid to those who are shipwrecked at sea or attacked by pirates. They value not gold or silver, they have an abundance of exotic pelts whose delightful aroma has generated a poison for our world of arrogance; and while they consider them as rubbish, I believe for our damnation, for in one way or another we yearn for a marten's fur as if it was the utmost in happiness; and thus, in exchange for woollen clothes which we call *faldones*,[99] they offer the most precious martens. Much praise could be given to the customs of this people, if only they had the faith of Christ, whose preachers they persecute in the cruellest manner. Among them did the illustrious Bishop of Bohemia, Adalbert, find martyrdom.[100] And this is still so today, although they have all else in common with our people, but only prohibit entrance to the forests and springs, which they say that the Christians sully with their presence. For food they eat the meat of horses whose milk and blood they use as drink, to the point they say they become intoxicated. The men have blue skin,[101] ruddy faces and long hair. Furthermore, as the lakes make access difficult, they will not stand any other to rule over them.

2.12 Adelgot, Archbishop of Magdeburg, *Letter* from the Year 1108

Adelgot (Adalgoz) of Osterburg, son of Count Werner I of Veltheim, was related to the family of the Dukes of Groitzsch, Bishop Burchard II of Halberstadt and Archbishop Walter of Magdeburg. He was superior of Halberstadt Cathedral and Archbishop of Magdeburg from 1107. He founded the Convent of San Nicholas in Magdeburg and the Convent of Neuwerk bei Halle, in Saale, both of which were entrusted to the Augustinian Order. He died on 12th June 1119.

98 Scholium 118: "Horace recalls thus in praise of this people [*Od.* 3.24, 9–11, 14.21–22, 24] in his lyrical verses: *Better life the Scythians lead, trailing on wagon wheels their wandering home, or the hardy Getan breed, their tillage wearies after one year's space; their parents' worth, their own pure chastity, they dare not sin, or, if they dare, they die*. The Turks, who are next to the Russians, still live thus today as do the rest of the Scythian peoples".

99 cf. Frankish *falda* "pleat" < Germ. **faldan* "to fold".

100 Thietmar 4.28.19.

101 This may refer to the colour of the tattoos.

Edition used: Israel-Möllenberg (1937, n. 193).
Other editions: Brückner (1882), Meyer (1931: 15–17).
References: Claude (1972: 391–411).

2.12.1 Letter *from the Year 1108*

In 1108, Adelgot, Archbishop of Magdeburg, Bishops Albuin of Merseburg, Walram of Neuenburg, Herwig of Meissen, Hezil of Havelberg, Hartbert of Brandenburg and a series of nobles of the north of Germany, addressed a letter to their colleagues in the episcopacy and the nobility of the rest of Germany, Flanders and France to implore their help. The reason for the letter was the anti-Christian violence which had become widespread in Slavia after the assassination of Gottschalk, the Christian prince of the Obodrites, (7th June 1066) and was inspired by the principles of the First Crusade. The result of the letter was the meeting of a council in Merseburg to study which measures should be taken, and these consisted of an expedition, in the summer of 1110, led by Lothair, Duke of Saxony.

Adelgotus Dei gratia Magadaburgensis archiepiscopus, Albuinus Merseburgensis, Walerammus Nuenburgensis, Hereuuigus Misnensis, Hecil Habelbergensis, Hartbroth Brandenburgensis, Otto comes, Wicbertus, Ludouuicus et uniuersi orientalis Saxonie maiores et minores Reginhardo uenerabili episcopo Halberstetensi, Erchanberto Corbeiensi abbati, Heinrico Poderbrunnensi, N. Mindensi, Friderico archiepiscopo Coloniensi, N. Aquensi, O. Leodicensi, G. Lutaringorum duci, Ruodberto gloriosissimo Flandringensium comiti, Lamberto archidiacono, Berichdoldo circumspectissimo praeposito et Tanchrado insigni philosopho et omnibus Christi fidelibus, episcopis, abbatibus, monachis, heremitis, reclusis, prepositis, canonicis, clericis, principibus, militibus, ministerialibus, clientibus omnibusque maioribus et minoribus dilectionem orationem et in id ipsum salutem. Multimodis paganorum oppressionibus et calamitatibus diutissime oppressi ad uestram suspiramus misericordiam, quatenus ecclesie matris uestre nobiscum subleuetis ruinam. Insurrexerunt in nos et preualuerunt crudelissimi gentiles, uiri absque misericordia et de inhumanitatis sue gloriantes malicia. Ecclesias Christi ydolatria prophanauerunt, altaria demoliti sunt et quod humana mens refugit audire, ipsi non abhorrent in nos perpetrare. In nostram regionem sepissime efferantur nullique parcentes rapiunt, cedunt, fundunt et exquisitis tormentis affligunt. Quosdam decollant et capita demoniis suis immolant. De quibusdam uisceribus extractis, manus abscisas et pedes alligant Christumque nostrum suggillantes, ubi est, inquiunt deus eorum. Quosdam in patibulo sublatos permittunt ad maiores cruciatus omni morte miserabiliorem uitam pertrahere, cum uiui aspiciant se per abscisionem singulorum membrorum mortificari et ad ultimum

ceso uentre miserabiliter euiscerari. Quam plures uiuos excoriant et cute capitis abstracta hoc modo laruati in Christianorum fines erumpunt, et se Christianos mentientes predas impune abigunt. Phanatici autem illorum, quotiens commessationibus uacare libet, ferus in dictis capita, inquiunt, uult noster Pripegala, huiusmodi fieri oportet sacrificia. Pripegala, ut aiunt, Priapus est Beelphegor impudicus. Tunc decollatis ante prophanationis sue aras Christianis crateras tenent humano sanguine plenas et horrendis uocibus ululantes, agamus, inquiunt, diem leticie, uictus est Christus, uicit Pripegala uictoriosissimus. Huiusmodi afflictiones sine intermissione uel toleramus uel formidamus, quoniam eos semper progredi et in omnibus ingemiscimus bene prosperari. Itaque fratres karissimi, tocius Saxonie, Francie, Lutaringie, Flandrie episcopi, clerici et monachi, de bonis sumite exemplum, et Gallorum imitatores in hoc etiam estote. Clamate hoc in ecclesiis, sanctificate ieiunium, uocate cetum, congregate populum, annunciate hoc et auditum facite in omnibus terminis prelationis uestre. Sanctificate bellum, suscitate robustos. Surgite principes contra inimicos Christi arripite clypeos, accingimini filii potentes et uenite omnes uiri bellatores. Infirmus dicat, quia fortis sum ego, quoniam dominus fortitudo plebis sue et protector saluationum Christi sui est. Erumpite et uenite omnes amatores Christi et ecclesie et sicut Galli ad liberacionem Hierusalem uos preparate. Hierusalem nostra ab initio libera gentilium crudelitate facta est ancilla. Huius muri propter peccata nostra corruerunt, sed ruina hec sub manu uestra, quatenus lapides preciosi omnes muri eius et turres Hierusalem nostre gemmis edificentur. Platee ipsius sternantur auro mundo et pro horrendo sonitu gentilium in conspectu Pripegale cantetur in ea canticum leticie et pro immolacione de christiani sanguinis effusione carnem et sanguinem edant pauperes et saturentur, ut laudetis dominum, qui requiritis eum iuuantque in seculum seculi corda uestra, ut non deficiat de ore uestro alleluia, alleluia.

Adelgot, by the grace of God Archbishop of Magdeburg, Albuin of Merseburg, Walram of Neuenburg, Herwig of Meißen, Hezil of Havelberg, Hartbert of Brandenburg, Count Otto, Wicbertus, Ludovicus and the great and small of all Eastern Saxony, to the venerable Bishop Reginhard of Halberstadt, to Erchanbert, Abbot of Corbey, to Henry of Poderbrunn, to the North of Minden, to Frederick, Archbishop of Cologne, to the North of Aachen, to the West of Liège, to Duke G. of Lorraine, to Robert, most glorious Count of Flanders, to the Archdeacon Lambert, to the most prudent Praepositus Berichold, to the illustrious philosopher Tancred and to all the faithful of Christ, bishops, abbots, monks, hermits, cloistered brothers, provosts, canons, clerics, princes, soldiers, public officials, vassals and to all the great and small, charity, prayer and salvation in Christ himself.

Long burdened by the oppression and the offences of the pagans, we beseech your mercy, that you may relieve us from the ruin of the Church, your mother. The cruel pagans, men who know not mercy and, in their evil, proud of their perversion, rebelled against us and won. They profaned the churches of Christ with their idolatry, demolished the altars and, though it be repulsive to the human mind to hear such things, they treat us with great cruelty. The frequently attack our region savagely and, sparing nobody, they pillage, kill, destroy and inflict sophisticated torments. The decapitate some and offer their heads to their demons. They rip the entrails out of others, cut off their hands and feet, tie them up and, to mock our Christ, they say: "Where is your God?".[102] Others are dragged to the scaffold and subjected to the worst torments, until they suffer a life more miserable than any death, when, still alive, they see themselves suffer until death by the mutilation of each of their members and finally, with their bellies cut open, they lose their insides in a horrible way. Many others they flay alive and, with the skin ripped off their heads, deformed in such a way, they expel them to the borders of the Christians and, pretending to be Christians, they pillage with importunity. The most fanatical of them say, whenever they wish to divert themselves at feasts, "our Pripegala[103]—they yell ferociously—wants heads, therefore must we perform sacrifices". Pripegala, as they call him, is a lewd Priapus and Beelphagor. Thus, after slaughtering the Christians before the alters of their idolatry, they fill the basins with human blood and, howling with terrifying shrieks, say: "Let us make this a day of joy, Christ has been vanquished, the victorious Pripegala has triumphed". In this manner we suffer or fear constant afflictions, for we tell each other between groans that they advance constantly and prosper in all things. Therefore, dearest brothers, bishops, clerics and monks of all Saxony, France, Lorraine, Flanders, take example from the good men and be also imitators of the Franks in this. Proclaim it in the churches, sanctify the fast, summon the assembly of the faithful, call together the people, declare this and make it be heard in every corner of the land. Sanctify war, summon the powerful. Rise, o Princes, against the enemies of Christ,

102 Joel 2:17.

103 The etymology of this theonym is much debated. Brückner (1882: 223) proposed the etymology **pribyhvalъ* "who increases his praise"; Boyer (1998: 228) believes it derives the Common Slavic *piklъ* "pitch, tar", preceded by the preverb *pri-*, so that it would mean "the blackened one" and would be related to the theonyms *Černaglov* "black head" and with that of the goddess *Siwa* "the dark one". Loma (2002) reconstructs a name **pribygolva*, which would mean "hunter of heads", which fits well with what is said of him in Adelgot's letter. The link with Priapus and Beelphagor is not proof of a sexual function on the part of the Slav deity and is simply an *interpretatio romana* deriving from the phonetic proximity of the first and last syllables of the two names.

take up your shields, gird yourselves, valiant sons and come all ye fighting men. Say to the weak: I am strong because the Lord is the fortress of his people and protector of those whom his Christ has saved. Arise and come forth all those who love Christ and the Church and prepare yourselves as the Franks did for the liberation of Jerusalem. Our Jerusalem, which once was free, was made a slave by the cruelty of the heathens. Its walls collapsed because of our sins, but this ruin is in your hands, to the point that all its walls be precious stones and the towers of our Jerusalem be built with gems. Its streets shall be paved with pure gold and, in place of the horrible sound of the pagans in the presence of Pripegala, a hymn of joy shall be sung there and, in place of sacrifice with the spilling of Christian blood, the poor shall eat their fill of meat and blood, so that ye shall praise the Lord, those of you who seek him, and your hearts shall be filled forever and ever that He shall not turn his gaze from you, alleluia, alleluia.

2.13 Cosmas of Prague, *The Chronicle of the Czechs*

The only information at our disposal about the life of Cosmas of Prague is that which can be deduced from his own work. His date of birth is estimated at around 1045. He studied in Liège between 1075 and 1082 or 1091. Once he had completed his studies, he was appointed canon and later dean of the cathedral chapter of Saint Vitus Cathedral in Prague. He had the occasion to travel in Germany, Italy, Hungary and Slovakia. He did not receive major orders until 1099; furthermore, as was normal among the Czech clergy of the time, he was married. It is thought that his wife died in around 1117 and it was at this time that he decided to undertake the composition of his chronicle, the writing of which can be dated to between 1119 and 1125. The first book is dedicated to Master Gervasius, possibly a teacher at the cathedral school in Prague, the second to Clement, Abbot of Břevnov Monastery; in the prologue to the third, he expresses doubts as to whether a historian is qualified to write about contemporary events. Book I takes the reader up to the death of Duke Jaromír in 1038. Book II ends with the death of Vratislaus II in 1092. Book III commences with the ascent to the throne of Bretislav II. The chronicle covers the period up until 1125 and ends with the death of Vladislaus I of Bohemia.

Cosmas is extremely meticulous when it comes to citing the sources for the composition of his work. Firstly, he refers to the narratives of the ancients, to whom he attributes great authority, especially when it comes to the more fabulous elements of his account. In this respect, the critics have debated at much length concerning the reliability of Cosmas' oral sources or his eminently literary character (de Lazero 1999:129–138). Secondly, he uses the *Priuilegium*

Morauiensis ecclesiae (Králik 1960) with regard to the baptism of Bořivoj. Furthermore, it is certain that he used other historiographical material which is now lost, such as the so-called *Annals of Prague*, which provided him with extremely important material for the initial chapters, as well as fictitious data, such as the letter from Pope John XIII to the Bishop of Prague. The Christian chronology does not begin until Chapter 14 of Book I, with the reign of Bořivoj. Furthermore, the author was well acquainted with other authors who specialised in the origin of the heathen peoples, such as Isidore of Seville, Fredegar, Dudo of Saint-Quentin and Widukind of Corvey.

The *Chronica Bohemorum* begins by narrating the mythical origins of the Czechs and reaches up until the author's own time. In this respect, it is the history of a people, with marked nationalist intentions, as is the case with Widukind of Corvey's history, which may have served him as a model (Grudmann 1965:15). The main points of his history are the mythical origins of the Czech people, their conversion to Christianity, the formation of the Czech state and finally the dissemination of the Latin liturgy to the detriment of the liturgy in Slavic. He shares with the Anonymous Christian Monk the theory of the *translatio regni*, i.e. that the Přemyslid dynasty was the natural and legitimate successor to the Great Moravian Empire. For Cosmas, the history of Bohemia is the history of its rulers: as a result, he tends to focus on narrating stories about its élites. The history of the Church only interests him in as much as it is the history of Bohemia. However, the configuration of the Bohemian state is not only determined by its monarchs but also by the timeless figure of Saint Wenceslaus in both his facets, as patron saint and as king.

Cosmas conceives his chronicle as an eminently literary work, as was normal in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, which aims not only to inform its readers but to cultivate them, entertain them and as an exercise in rhetoric to demonstrate his erudition. In this respect, Cosmas' education proves to be extensive. The text is littered with quotes from Virgil, Horace, Ovid and Lucan (Kras 1995: 147–177, 211–234), from Christian poets and from theological and philosophical works. His style is enormously flowery and adorned with all kinds of rhetorical figures, to which he adds a significant number of idioms which we assume to derive from Czech folklore but which have been translated into Latin.

Edition used: Bretholz (1923).
Other editions: Meyer (1931: 17–20).
References: Brückner (1904), de Lazero (1999), Kalandra (1947), Karbusicky (1980), Kras (1995), Manitius (1931: 461–466), Nejedlý (1953), Schreuer (1902), Tille (1905), Třestík (1968), Turek (1947), Urbánek (1915–1918), Wolverton (2009, 2015).

2.13.1 The Chronicle of the Czechs *1.2*

After the Great Flood, the eponymous hero Boemus reaches the lands that would later be named after him, Bohemia.

Has solitudines quisquis fuit ille hominum—incertum est quot in animabus—postquam intrauit, querens loca humanis habitationibus opportuna, montes ualles, tesqua, tempe uisu sagaci perlustrauit et, ut reor, circa montem Rip[104] *inter duos fluuios, scilicet Ogram*[105] *et Wlitauam,*[106] *primas posuit sedes, primas fundauit et edes et quos in humeris secum apportarat,*[107] *humi sisti penates gaudebat. Tunc senior, quem alii quasi dominum comitabantur, inter cetera suos sequaces sic affatur: "O socii, non semel mecum graues labores per deuia nemorum perpessi,*[108] *sistite gradum,*[109] *uestris penatibus litate libamen gratum, quorum opem per mirificam hanc uobis olim fato predestinatam tandem uenistis ad patriam".*

The number of people and who it was who settled these solitudes[110] is uncertain; once they entered seeking places fit for human settlement, they examined mountains, valleys, wastelands and groves with a sagacious eye and, as I believe, somewhere near the Říp Mountain[111] between two rivers, namely the Ohře and the Vltava, they located their first settlement and rejoiced in their homeland and in the *penates* which they had carried on their shoulders and now rested on the floor. Then, an elder,[112] whom the others followed as if he were a chief, spoke thus to his companions (among other things): "Comrades, after suffering alongside me more than one grave hardship along the lost tracks of the forest, make a halt, offer a thankful libation to your household deities, through whose marvellous intervention you have reached the homeland long preordained for you by destiny."

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104 var. *Rzip*.
105 var. *Egram*.
106 var. *Wiltavam, Wltawiam, Vulcauam, Wltauam*.
107 The tone of the whole passage is very virgilian, but the quotes are not literal: Virgil *Aen*. 4.598: *quem secum patrios aiunt portare Penates*.
108 Hor. *Od*. 1.7.30–31: *o fortes peioraque passi / mecum saepe uiri*.
109 Virgil *Aen*. 6.465: *siste gradum, teque aspectu ne subtrahe nostro*.
110 This refers to Bohemia.
111 The Říp Mountain is not especially high but was the location chosen as the first settlement of the Bohemian people due to its symbolic central position (Karbusicky 1980:79).
112 The eponymous hero Boemus.

2.13.2 The Chronicle of the Czechs *1.3–4*

The legendary king of the Bohemians, Krok, has three daughters. Krok's daughters encompassed three fundamental aspects of the pre-Christian Slavic "alternative" religion: divination, healing and popular religion, connected with nature. In this respect they are comparable to the Irish female trio Mórrígan-Bodb-Macha (Le Roux-Guyonvarc'h 1983). It is not a trifunctional model in the Dumezilian style, but rather a functional distribution of alternative religiosity. Nor does it have anything to do with a hypothetical primitive matriarchy of the Slavs (Brückner 1904: 370–371).

1.3. *Hic tantus uir ac talis expers uirilis fuit prolis; genuit tamen tres natas, quibus natura non minores, quam solet uiris, sapientie dedit diuicias.*

1.4. *Quarum maior natu nuncupata est Kazi, que Medee Cholchice herbis et carmine nec Peonio magistro arte medicinali cessit, quia sepe Parcas cessare interminali ab opere*

Ipsaque fata sequi fecit sua carmine iussa.

Unde et incole huius terre, quando aliquid est perditum et quod se posse rehabere desperant, tale prouerbium de ea ferunt: "Illud nec ipsa potest recuperare Kazi".

Ad Cereris natam hec est ubi raptam tyrannam,
eius usque hodie cernitur tumulus, ab incolis terre ob memoriam sue domne nimis alte congestus, super ripam fluminis Mse[113] *iuxta uiam, qua itur in partes prouincia Behin,*[114] *per montem qui dicitur Osseca.*[115]

Laude fuit digna, sed natu Tethka[116] *secunda*
Expers et maris, emuncte femina naris
que ex suo nomine Tethin[117] *castrum natura loci firmissimun prerupte rupis in culmine iuxta fluuium Msam*[118] *edificauit. Hec stulto et insipienti populo Oreadas, Driadas, Amadriadas adorare et colere et omnen supersticiosam sectam et sacrilegos ritus instituit et docuit; sicut actenus multi uillani uelut pagani, hic latices seu ignes colit, iste lucos et arbores aut lapides adorat, ille montibus siue collibus litat, alius, que ipse fecit, idola surda et muta rogat et orat, ut domum suam et se ipsum regant.*

113 var. *Mzye, Mzie, Mze, Msse.*
114 var. *Bechin.*
115 var. *Ossieka.*
116 var. *Thetka, Thechka, Tetcka, Tetka, Tetnka, Tetha.*
117 var. *Thethîn, Thetin, Thetyn, Thechin.*
118 var. *Mzye.*

Tercia natu minor, sed prudentia maior, uocitata est Lubossa,[119] *que etiam urbem tunc potentissimam iuxta siluam, que tendit ad pagum Ztibecnam,*[120] *construxit et ex suo nomine eam Lubossin*[121] *uocitauit. Hec fuit inter feminas una prorsus femina in consilio prouida, in sermone strennua, corpore casta, moribus proba, ad dirimenda populi iudicia nulli secunda, omnibus affabilis, sed plus amabilis, feminei sexus decus et gloria, dictans negocia prouidenter uirilia. Sed quia nemo ex omni parte beatus, talis ac tante laudis femina—heu dira conditio humana—fuit pithonissa. Et quia populo multa et certa predixit futura, omnis illa gens commune consilium iniens patris eius post necem hanc sibi prefecit in iudicem.*

1.3. He[122] was an important man but was not blessed with male offspring: he fathered three daughters, on whom nature bestowed the gifts of wisdom in no less measure than that which it usually gives to men.

1.4. Of these, the oldest by birth was called Kazi, unsurpassed in the medicinal arts by either Medea of Colchis in herbs or Master Apollo in charms, as frequently

She herself made the fairy obey the orders of her enchantment

and the Parcae cease in their labours. It is for this reason that the inhabitants of this land, when something is lost, and they despair of it being found again, recall her with the following saying: "Not even Kazi herself could retrieve this".

When she was seized away towards the tyrannical daughter of Ceres

her burial mound can still be seen toward, raised high by the inhabitants of the country in memory of their lady, on the banks of the River Msa[123] next to the track which leads towards the province of Behin,[124] near to the mountain called Osseca.[125]

And worthy of praise was the second daughter, Tethka
Unknown to man, a shrewd woman

who built and named after herself the fortress of Tethin,[126] a sound structure due to the nature of the place, on top of a steep crag, close to the River Msa. She taught the foolish and ignorant people to worship and venerate the

119 var. *Lybussie, Lybussa, Libussie, Libusse*.
120 var. *Ztybecznam, Ztibecznam, Ztibeczinam, Ztbecnam, Stebecnam*.
121 var. *Lubosin, Lybussyn, Libossin, Libussin, Lubossam*.
122 King Krok.
123 The modern-day River Berounka, which runs into the River Vltava near Zbraslav.
124 The region of Bechin.
125 Mount Vosek.
126 The old fortress of Tetin, not far from Beraun.

Oreads, Dryads and Hamadryads and established an entire superstitious religion along with its sacrilegious rituals. And thus, there are still today many villagers the same as the pagans, one venerates the waters or the fires, another worships the forests, the trees or the rocks, another sacrifices to the mountains or the hills, while he from further away prays before deaf and dumb idols which he himself manufactures and beseeches them to govern his house and his person.

The third daughter, the youngest in age but the oldest in wisdom, was called Lubossa,[127] who also built the once powerful city next to the forest which stretches to the village of Ztibecna which was named Lubossin after her. In a word, she was a unique woman among women: prudent in council, courageous in discourse, chaste of body, honest in her ways, in no way inferior when it came to judging the affairs of the people, friendly towards all, or rather kind, honour and glory of the female sex, capable of wisely dealing with the affairs normally arranged by men. But, as nobody is blessed in every way, this woman worthy of so much and so great praise—ay, cruel human condition!—was a prophetess. And because she predicted to the people many true things about the future, all those gathered in communal council after the death of her father proposed her as judge.

2.13.3 The Chronicle of the Czechs *1.10*

The chief of the Lučané, Vlastilav, prepares to fight the Bohemians.

Wlaztizlav (…) *sic est exorsus: "… Teste Marte deo et mea domina Bellona, que mihi fecit omnia bona, per capulum ensis mei iuro, quem manu teneo, quod pro infantibus eorum catulos canum ponam ad ubera matrum. Leuate signa, tollite moras; semper nocuit differre paratis*[128]*. Ite iam uelociter et uincite feliciter."*

Vlaztislav (…) spoke thus: "(…) Before the god Mars and my lady the goddess Bellona, who procured all that I own, I swear by the hilt of the sword I now hold in my hand that, in place of their children, I shall put the whelps of dogs to suckle at the breasts of their mothers. Raise the standards, remove the obstacles: delay has ever prejudiced enterprises. Go fast and vanquish with success."

127 In Czech it is Libuše.

128 Lucan *Phars.* 1.281.

2.13.4 The Chronicle of the Czechs *1.11*

Cosmas narrates an episode from the war between Bohemians and Lučané.

Interea quedam mulier, una de numero Eumenidum, uocans ad se priuignum, qui iam iturus erat ad prelium, "Quamuis", inquit, "non est naturale nouercis, ut benefaciant suis priuignis, tamen non inmemor consorcii tui patris

cautum te faciam, quo possis uiuere, si uis.

Scias Boemorum strigas siue lemures nostras preualuisse uotis Eumenides, unde nostris usque ad unum interfectis dabitur uictoria Boemis.

Hanc tu quo tandem ualeas euadere cladem,

quem in primo congressu interficies tibi aduersantem, utramque sibi abscidens aurem mitte in tuam bursam et inter utrosque pedes equi in modum crucis euaginato ense terram lineabis. Hoc enim faciens inuisibiles ligaturas laxabis, quibus ira deorum uestri obligati deficient et cadent quasi ex longo itinere fatigati, moxque insiliens equum terga uertes et, si magnus post te timor ingruerit, nunquam retro aspicies, fugam sed acceleres atque ita tu solus uix effugies. Nam dii, qui uobiscum comitabantur in prelium, uersi sunt in auxilium inimicis uestris". At contra Boemis resistere non ualentibus, hostibus quippe iam tociens triumphantibus,

Vna salus erat uictis nullam sperare salutem.[129]

Sed sicut semper infideles homines et eo ad malum proniores, ubi deficiunt uires et bone artes, ilico ad deteriores prauitatis uertuntur partes, haud aliter gens ista uanis sacris dedita, plus mendaciis credula, iam desperantes uiribus et armis militaribus, quandam adeunt sortilegam et consulunt eam atque instant, ut edicat, quid opus sit facto in tali discrimine rerum aut quos euentus futurum obtineat bellum. Illa, ut erat plena phitone, ambigua non tenuit eos diu uerborum ambage: "Si uultis", inquit, "triumphum uictorie consequi, oportet uos prius iussa deorum exequi. Ergo litate[130] *diis uestris asinum, ut sint et ipsi uobis in asilum. Hoc uotum fieri summus Iupiter et ipse Mars sororque eius Bellona atque gener Cereris iubet." Queritur interim miser aselus et occiditur et, ut iussum fuerat, in mille milies frustra conciditur atque ab uniuerso exercitu cicius dicto consumitur. Quibus ita esu animatis asinino—res similis prodigio—cerneres letas phalanges et uiros mori promptos ut siluaticos porcos.*

Meanwhile, a certain woman, one of the Eumenides,[131] summoning her stepson, who was about to set out for the war, said to him: "Although it is not

129 Virgil *Aen.* 2.354.

130 var. *libate.*

131 Cosmas employs the term *Eumenides* in a general way to define any priestly role assigned

common for stepmothers to behave well towards their stepchildren, nevertheless I do not forget my union with your father:

I shall make you cautious so that you may live, if you wish.

Know that the vampires and the spectres of the Bohemians have vanquished our Eumenides with their enchantments, so that, once our side is dead to the last man, victory shall belong to the Bohemians.

So that you may escape this disaster

When you kill an enemy in the first fight, cut off both his ears and put them in your pouch, take out your sword and make with it the figure of a cross in the ground between the legs of your horse. By doing this you shall loosen the invisible bonds which make your horses lose their strength, tied by the anger of the gods, and fall, as if they were exhausted after a long ride; then, jump on the horse and, even if you are assailed by an invincible terror, do not look back but rather flee swiftly and you shall be the only one to escape with your life. For the gods which went with you to battle now give succour to your enemies." For those who could not withstand the Bohemians, because the enemies triumphed continually,

There was only one salvation for the vanquished, not to expect any salvation.

But as it always occurs that the unbelievers tend to evil, no sooner do they lack strength and the good arts than they turn to the worst possibilities of depravation, and thus did this people devote itself to pagan cults, as well as being credulous towards liars, despairing of their strength and of the arms of their soldiers, they approach a seer, consult her and implore her to tell them what they must do in the face of this crisis and what the war held in store. She, filled with the ability to see into the future, did not leave them for long in the uncertain ambiguity of words; and said: "If you wish to obtain the triumph of a victory, you must first follow the mandate of the gods. Therefore, sacrifice to your gods an ass so that they become your succour. Those who wish you to make this offering are Jupiter, most important of the gods, Mars himself, his sister Bellona and the son-in-law of Ceres."[132] They immediately seek a miserable ass, kill it and, just as they had been ordered, they hack it into thousands of pieces and as quick as it would take to say, the entire army consumes it. Once the spirits of these were restored by the ass' meat—something similar to a prodigy!—you could see the joyful battalions and the men disposed to die like wild boar.

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to women. He also uses it to define the three daughters of Krok (Cosmas 1.4). The source of this designation is Virgil (Virgil *Aen*. 6.280; 6.374–375, Kras 1995: 108).

132 Pluto.

2.13.5 The Chronicle of the Czechs *3.1*

Cosmas of Prague begins Book III with the ascent to the throne of Bretislav II in September 1092. The new duke shows himself to be a ferocious enemy of the remnants of Slavic paganism, which proves that the natural religion was still present among the Czech peasants (Vlasto 1970: 108).

Ergo nouus dux Bracislaus iunior, sed maturus etate, sensu maturior, postquam huius terre secundum ritum debitis obsequiis digne sancti Wenczlai sui patroni in urbe Praga celebrauit natalicium, et omnibus satrapis atque comitibus magnificum per tres dies exhibuit conuiuium, ubi pro nouitate sui quantum ualuit quedam ad utilitatem ecclesie decernens, quedam ob commoditatem huius terre instituens, sicut olim ab ipso sue etatis tyrocinio omnem spem habuit in solo Dei patrocinio, ita modo principatus sui in exordio christiane religionis zelo succensus nimio omnes magos, ariolos et sortilegos extrusit regni sui e medio, similiter et lucos siue arbores, quas in multis locis colebat uulgus ignobile, extirpauit et igne cremauit. Item et supersticiosas instituciones, quas uillani, adhuc semipagani, in pentecosten tertia siue quarta feria obseruabant, offerentes libamina super fontes mactabant uictimas et demonibus immolabant, item sepulturas, que fiebant in siluis et in campis, atque scenas,[133] *quas ex gentili ritu faciebant in biuuis et in triuuis quasi ob animarum pausationem, item et iocos profanos, quos super mortuos suos inanes cientes manes ac induti faciem laruis bachando exercebant, has abhominationes et alias sacrilegas adinuentiones dux bonus, ne ultra fierent in populo Dei, exterminauit.*

Therefore, the new duke Bretislav,[134] younger in age but already mature and much more mature due to his good sense, once he had celebrated fittingly, according to the ritual of this land, and with due formalities, the anniversary of the birth[135] of Saint Wenceslaus, patron of the city of Prague, and given the dignitaries and nobles a magnificent banquet which lasted three days, so that they would see that his mettle was not at odds with his youth, wishing to decide something in favour of the Church and legislate for the benefit of society, as in his own period of training he had all his hopes placed solely on the patronage of God, likewise at the beginning of his government, lighted by the great zeal

133 var. *cenas*.

134 Bretislav II, Duke of Bohemia from 14th September 1092 until his death in 1110. Son of Vratislaus II and successor to Conrad I.

135 This must be understood as his birth to heaven, i.e. the commemoration of his martyrdom, which occurred on 28th September.

of the Christian religion, he expelled from his kingdom all the wizards, seers and witches, and also tore up all the sacred forests and the trees which the ignorant venerated in many places and burned them. In the same way, other superstitious customs which the villagers, still semi-pagans, observed on the third or fourth day after Pentecost, specifically, that, after offering libations to the springs, they performed sacrifices to the demons, also the graves they made in the forests and the fields and the rituals which, following the pagan custom, they held at crossroads to placate the spirits of the dead, and the profane games which, exciting their empty *manes* in a Bacchic frenzy, they performed in honour of their dead, dressed as ghosts, all these abominations and other sacrilegious uses, the good duke abolished, so that they should not occur again among the people of God.

2.14 *Homiliary of Opatovice*

The collection of homilies which make up the so-called *Homiliary of Opatovice* is contained in a manuscript conserved in the National Library of the Czech Republic, stored under shelf mark III.F.6. The codex consists of 246 sheets of parchment measuring 22×15 cm written in easily readable Carolingian script and datable to the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century. Its first editor, Hecht (1863), attributes the collection to Bishop Gebhard (Jaromír) of Prague, who died in 1089, or to one of his successors, Hermann, who died in 1122. Following the collection of sermons, there is a series of Canons originating from the Councils of Prague. The work has come down to us with this name because it is preserved in a manuscript kept in the Bohemian city of Opatovice, but its composition is related to Saint Vitus Cathedral in Prague.

The *Homiliary* is a compilation of sermons for a range of feast days in the liturgical calendar and includes comments and annotations regarding sins and misdemeanours and their corresponding penances.

The sources of the various homilies are frequently well known, such as Saint Gregory of Tours, Saint Boniface or Saint Caesarius of Arles. But the anti-pagan rules and the censures of magic derive from Regino of Prüm's Canon (Wasserschleben 1840), as proven by Sommer (2000), although we should also point out the parallels with sermon 19, 4–5, by Saint Caesarius of Arles (Delage 1978: 488–493). The continued existence of those sources indicates the extent to which the preservation of pagan customs in Bohemia after Christianization was a cause for concern.

Edition used: Hecht (1863).
Other editions: Meyer (1931: 20–24), Nechutová (2000).
References: Sommer (2000), Wasserschleben (1840).

2.14.1 *Sermon 5*

This sermon for the feast day of the Nativity of Our Lord addresses mankind's natural concupiscence since our father, Adam.

Omne statim genus humanum ab illo innumerabilibus iniquitatibus inquinatum est et maxime in idolorum cultura, quia obliuiscentes domini sui creatoris, alii solem alii lunam et sidera colebant, alii flumina et ignes, alii montes et arbores, sicut et adhuc pagani multi faciunt et plurimi etiam in hac terra nostra adorant daemonia et tantummodo christianum nomen habentes, peiores sunt quam pagani.

Through his fault[136] the entire human race is contaminated by countless iniquities, especially regarding the devotion of idols, because, forgetting the Lord, their creator, some worship the sun, others the moon and the stars, others the rivers and the fires, others the mountains and the trees, as many pagans still do today and many worship demons even in this country, although they are called Christian, but they are worse than the pagans.

2.14.2 *Sermon 30*

A sermon for the feast day of Saint Wenceslaus lists the rules of behaviour of the various social classes.

Omnes simul christianos ammoneamus, ut (…) sacerdotibus suis honorem impendant, suis principibus et suis dominis fideliter seruiant, sortes et caracteres pro nihilo ducant, sed omnem spem suam in Domino ponant.

We beseech all Christians to shown reverence to their priests, serve faithfully their princes and lords, not to consult the oracles and predictions for any matter but to place all their hope in the Lord.

2.14.3 *Sermon 52*

This is an untitled sermon to which a later hand gave the title "Christian religion". Taking the biblical quote Exod. 22:18 "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to

136 The manuscripts note "i.e. the original sin of our father Adam".

live", as a starting point, a series of admonitions against witches and sorcerers are added.

Illas uero feminas, quae uenenum congerunt, siue partus suos necant uel quae dicuntur, grandinem excitare posse, modis omnibus manifestate, ut publice arguantur, et aliquando possint peruenire ad satisfactionem.

Quemcunque uero pro Deo homines colunt, fallente et seducente diabolo, ad suam quippe perniciem faciunt: quia non perpendunt, quod ipsi, quos colunt, nihil eis boni neque utilitatis praestare ualent nec tollere. Ideo diabolus eos credere docet, ne solus, cum suis sociis puniatur in supplicio, sed omnes quos ualet, malis artibus, incredulitate et in malo opere studet decipere.

And all those women who hoard poison or kill their new-born infant or those of whom it is said that they can cause hail to fall, command in every way possible that they be publicly denounced, so that they may one day receive punishment.

For their part, those men who worship anything in place of God with the help of the devil's seduction, do so for their own perdition, for they do not realise that those whom they worship are incapable of giving them or granting them anything good or of use. Thus far does the devil teach people to believe in them, so that he is not the only one to suffer in hell with his allies, but all those whom he is able to trick with his evil arts, with incredulity and evil deeds.

2.14.4 *Sermon 79*

Homily for a range of tribulations. The writer begins the sermon by arguing that the misfortunes of this world are the fruit of sins.

Nos maxime in infidelitate, unde omne malum in nos diabolus potissimum conatur iniicere, in tantum, ut multos et iam christianos, auguria et incantationes, multo etiam, quod inuite dicimus fidem christianam negare persuadet, et unde omnis scit, christianos ad uitam renasci perpetuam, per baptismum, quasdam feminas iniquas seu etiam uiros denegare suadet.

Exceedingly it is in paganism where the devil seeks to promote evil against us, to the point of persuading many who are already Christians to renounce their Christian faith by means of auguries and witchcraft, and many things which we denounce in vain, and as he knows well that, by means of baptism, Christians are reborn into eternal life, he persuades certain unrighteous women or even men.

2.14.5 *Sermon 79*

This fragment comes from the same sermon as the previous one. It lists the corresponding virtues which should be used to fight against sins.

Nam contra infidelitatem tenere necesse est ueram fidem, non solum uerbis sed etiam factis signa fidei demonstrare. Maleficiae autem genera omnia et incantationes et sacrilegia uel denegatio fidei atque baptismi, cum misericordia dei omnipotentis et sanctorum atque iustorum hominum oratione, cum poenitentia perseuerante, et confessione incessante deo et sacerdotibus, et indulgentiam ac ueniam cum instantia bonorum operum et emendationem condignam possunt promereri.

For in the face of paganism it is necessary to keep the true faith and demonstrate the signs of faith not only in words but also in deeds. Spells of all kinds, enchantments and sacrileges or the denial of the faith and of baptism with the mercy of almighty God and the prayer of men who are holy and just, with steadfast penance and constant confession to God and to the priests and a proportionate penance, may come to be deserving of indulgence and forgiveness, with the help of good works.

2.14.6 *Sermon 84*

This is the beginning of the sermon entitled "Only God should be worshipped".

Quoniam de suis actibus quisque in die iudicii redditurus est rationem et accepturus est pro operibus suis, quale hic praemium promeretur, siue pro malis supplicium infinitum, siue pro bonis beatitudinem et gloriam sempiternam, ideoque falsitatem, quam diabolus ad perdendos semetipsos homines in idolorum cultibus docet, respuere omnino necesse est, et unum uerum deum credere et confiteri nomen eius sanctum in saecula.

Given that each person will have to answer for their own deeds on the Day of Judgement and shall be repaid for their deeds and receive a fitting reward, everlasting torment for the bad, happiness and everlasting glory for the righteous, it is essential to reject the falsehood taught by the devil with his veneration of idols for the purpose of misleading men, and believe in the one true God and confess His holy name forever.

2.14.7 *Sermon 84*

The writer argues that all the fruits of the earth come from God.

Alia uero quaecunque pro Deo homines colunt, fallente et seducente diabolo ad suam quique perniciem faciunt, quia non perpendunt nec recogitant, quod ipsi dii, quos colunt, nihil eis boni nihilque utilitatis adhibere ualent, nec unam paruissimam stipulam cuiquem dare uel adimere possunt.

Any other thing which men worship instead of God, with the aid of the seduction of the devil, they do so for their own perdition, for they do not realise nor reconsider that those same gods which they worship are incapable of providing them with anything good or of use and can neither give nor take away even a piece of straw.

2.14.8 *Sermon 85*

Entitled the same as Sermon 84, "Only God should be worshipped". It addresses the worship due to God and the rejection of the cult of any other being.

Non sit fides nostra in eo, ut aliquam creaturam pro Deo colamus aut credamus. Non sit fides nostra in aliquo fantasmate; melius est enim, qualecumque uerum, quam omne quicquid pro arbitrio surgi potest. Et tamen ipsam animam hominis, quae uere anima est, cum falsa imaginatur, colere non debemus. Et ideo non angelos, non homines, nullam utique creaturam colere uel pro Deo credere debemus. Et ideo non sit nobis religio humanorum operum cultus; meliores etenim sunt artifices, qui talia faciunt, quamuis nec eos pro Deo colere debemus. Ac nequaquam bestiam aliquam, non ad arbores, non ad fontes sacrificia ullo modo facere; quia talibus causis, ad iracundiam Deus prouocatur. Quam ob rem caueamus, ut non sit nobis religio, cultus hominum mortuorum; quia si pie uixerunt, non tamen tales quaerunt honores, sed illum a nobis coli uolunt, quem ipsi colebant, et cuius gratia operati sunt, quaecunque bona fecerunt, nosque eorum meritis desiderant esse consortes. Honorandi ergo sunt propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem. Non sit nobis religio, cultus daemonum, quia omnis superstitio cum sit magna poena hominum et periculosissima turpitudo, tamen finis illorum ad aeternum tendit supplicium.

Let not our faith be in this, let us not worship nor believe in any other creature in place of God. Let not our faith be in any phantasmagoria; for any truth is better than all things which can derive from human opinion. Not even the human soul, which is the soul of truth, should we worship when it imagines false things. Neither should we worship angels nor men nor any creature as if it were God. Let not the product of human works form part of our religion, for though the makers of such things excel, we should not worship them in place of God. Neither should we on any account perform sacrifices to any animal,

nor to the trees nor to the springs, for such things provoke the wrath of God. Thus, let us take care that the worship of the dead does not enter our religion; for, if they led holy lives, they do not seek such honours, but rather wish us to worship Him whom they themselves worshipped and by whose grace they did all the good things they did and wish us to participate in their merits. Therefore, let them be honoured by imitation and not worshipped as a religious duty. The cult of demons does not form part of our religion, for all superstition is the damnation of men and a dangerous straying from the path, for their purpose is to lead them to everlasting torment.

2.14.9 *Sermon 104*

This fragment is found at the beginning of a sermon by Saint Boniface on the renouncing of the devil and of all his pomp which occurs at the moment of baptism.

Quid sunt ergo opera diaboli, haec sunt: superbia, idolatria, inuidia, odium, detractio, mendacium, periurium, fornicatio, adulterium, omnis pollutio, homicidium, furta, falsum testimonium, rapina, auaritia, gula, ebrietas, turpiloquium, contentiones, ira, ueneficia, incantationes, et sortilegos requirere, strigas et fictos lupos credere, auortum facere, dominis inobedientes esse, filacteria habere.

What, then, are the works of the devil? The following: pride, idolatry, envy, hatred, defamation, lies, perjury, fornication, adultery, any kind of promiscuity, murder, robbery, false testimony, rapine, avarice, gluttony, drunkenness, blasphemy, disputes, anger, poisoning, enchantments, the consulting of oracles, belief in witches and werewolves, the performing of abortions, being disobedient to your lords, the use of amulets.

2.14.10 *Sermon 122*

Sermon 122 is entitled "On Christianity or on good works". The fragment is a gloss to Ps. 100:5: "Whoever slanders their neighbour in secret, I will put to silence: whoever has haughty eyes and a proud heart, I will not tolerate".

Nullus idola adore, uel quae idolis immolantur, gula suadente bibat aut manducet. Qui hoc malum fecerit, nisi digna poenitentia subuenerit, peribit in aeternum. Qui baptizatus est, debet profana uitare; nullos carios aut diuinos aut percantatores, sacrilega uoluptate de qualibet infirmitate adhibeat, aut interrogare non praesumat. Nullus filacteria aut ligaturas sibi aliquas adpendat, quia quicunque fecerit hoc malum, si non poenitentia subuenerit, perdet baptismi sacramentum.

Let nobody worship idols nor drink or eat which that which is sacrificed to idols, persuaded by their gluttony. Whosoever commits this sin and receives not a just penance, shall be forever damned. He who has been baptised must avoid profane things; nor resort to nor hurry to consult any wizard, seer or sorcerer on any matter, borne by a sacrilegious pleasure. Let nobody hang an amulet or magic binding, for should any person commit this sin and not receive his penance, he shall lose the grace of the sacrament of baptism.[137]

2.14.11 *Sermon 122*

This is a gloss to James 5:14–15: "Is there any among you who is sick? Let him summon the priests of the Church that they may pray over him and anoint him with oil in the name of the Lord. Prayer performed with faith shall save the sick, the Lord will restore him and, if he is in sin, he shall be forgiven." The fragment from Sermon 19 of Saint Caesarius of Arles, of which this text is a literal quote, is also a commentary on the correct application of the extreme unction.

Quare ergo per carios[138] *et diuinos,*[139] *per cantores*[140] *et filacteria diabolica occidit animam suam, qui per orationem sacerdotum uel elemosynam ecclesiarum, potest sanare animam et carnem suam; quia infirmitas corporis pertinet ad infirmitatem cordis, quia Deus quos amat, in hoc mundo flagellat.*

Therefore, whosoever by means of wizards[141] and seers,[142] of sorcerers and devilish amulets kills his soul, through the prayer of the priests or the alms in the churches can heal his soul and his flesh: because the illness of the body is related to that of the heart, for God punishes in this world those whom he loves.

2.14.12 *Sermon 131*

This is the beginning of Sermon 131 "Sermon to the people".

Presbyteri per omnia populum ammoneant, non pro mortalitate animalium, non pro pestilentia, non pro infirmitate aliqua, neque pro uariis aliis euenimentibus, ad malos uiros, aut feminas aut ad auguratrices aut ad maleficas, aut incantato-

137 This text and the following are literal quotes from Saint Caesarius of Arles, *Sermon* 19.4–5.
138 The manuscript corrects: *per erbarios*.
139 The manuscript. adds: *uel per inprecarios*.
140 The manuscript corrects: *per incantatores*.
141 The manuscript makes the following correction: "by means of wizards using herbs".
142 The manuscript adds: "or those who cast spells".

res, aut falsas scripturas aut ad arbores uel ad fontes aut alicubi nisi ad deum et sanctos eius et ad sanctam matrem ecclesiam dei auxilia quaerere, nisi ad medicos fideles adiutoria pro infirmatibus uariis, sine incantatione: et quisquis hoc fecisset, puram inde agat poenitentiam et confessionem, et de caetero, ne amplius faciet; caueat, ut praua consuetudo auferatur, quod laici faciunt cum ad conuiuium ueniunt, clamant ad presbyteros seu ad clerum: iube me hodie carnem manducare et canta mihi unam missam uel psalmos tantos et nolum datam poenitentiam obseruare. Presbyteri illis eo modo missas non cantent, sed doceant eos sobrie, pie uiuere.

The priests warn the people in every way possible that in the event of animals dying, of plague, of an illness, or any other misfortune, to seek the aid not of unrighteous men or women, nor of seers, witches, sorcerers, false scriptures, trees, springs or any other thing, but of God, his saints and the Holy Mother Church and, in the event of illness, that of Christian doctors, without using charms; whosoever doeth this, let him perform a pure penance and confession and not do the same thing again; be vigilant in order to eradicate this mistaken custom of laypeople when they go to a feast, and say to the priests or the clergy: allow me to eat meat today and sing a mass for me or many psalms, and they wish not to perform the penance ordered. Let the priests for this reason not sing masses for them but teach them to live in a sober and pious manner.

2.14.13 *Canons, 135*

Section 135 of the *Homiliary* assembles a series of canons containing various rules emanating from the Councils of Prague (also edited by von Höfler 1862: 7s.). The specific fragment included here forms part of the rules relating to sexual offences.

Si sanctimonialis cum alia sanctimoniali per aliquod machinamentum fornicata fuerit, VI annos poeniteat. Mulier si cum muliere fornicata fuerit annos tres poeniteant. Sic et illa quae semen uiri sui cibo miscet, ut inde plus accipiat amorem, poeniteat.

Should a nun fornicate with another nun by means of witchcraft, she shall do penance for six years. Should a woman fornicate with another woman, she shall do penance for three years. Let her do the same penance if she mixes a man's semen with her food in order to receive his love.

2.14.14 ***Canons, 135***
This fragment appears after the canons referring to infanticide.

Si aliquis causa explendae libidinis uel odii meditatione, ut ex eo soboles nascatur, homini uel foeminae ad potandum dederit, ut non posset generare aut concipere, ut homicida teneatur.

Should anyone, whether to fulfil a lewd desire or out of hatred of the fact that he shall have offspring, give a man or a woman a filter to drink so that he or she may not beget or conceive, let that person be held a murderer.

2.14.15 ***Canons, 135***
This text is found among the rules governing eating.

Vxor quae sanguinem uiri sui pro remedio gustauerit, XL dies poeniteat. Sic et illa quae semen uiri sui accipiat, III annos poeniteat.

The woman who takes the blood of her husband as remedy, let her do penance for forty days. If she takes her husband's semen, let her do three years of penance.

2.15 *Codex Diplomaticus Brandenburgensis*

The *Codex Diplomaticus Brandenburgensis*, compiled by the historian Adolf Friedrich Riedel, in one of the fundamental texts of the history of the Margraviate of Brandenburg. Several experts in regional history worked from 1838 onwards on a compilation of the texts of this Prussian province based on archives from all over Brandenburg. The material began with documents from the Early Middle Ages and reached up to the period of the Reformation. The complete work is divided into various series which present the sources of each of the cities and regions of the Margraviate, thereby enabling local historical problems to be located and described. A special series refers to the political history of the Margraviate including the battles and negotiations of the Brandenburg sovereigns during the Middle Ages and their relations with the Holy Roman Empire.

The selected text is found in a document recopied in the 16th century.

Edition used: Riedel (1856: 69).
Other editions: Meyer (1931: 24).

2.15.1 sub anno *1114*

Bishop Hartbert tells how, in 1114, in the company of the monk Adalbert of Magdeburg, he destroyed many pagan idols and founded a church.

Ego Herbertus, ecclesie Brandenburgensis minister humillimus, omnibus Christi fidelibus (…) *notum esse cupio. Qualiter pro remedio anime mee et omnium cristianorum ritu sum persecutus paganorum in spe propagande* (…) *religionis cristiane* (…)*, prout potuimus, multa atque innumerabilia destruximus idola et in honore sanctissime Dei genetricis* (…) *in confinio terre Saxonice templa construximus.*

I, Hartbert,[143] humble minister of the church of Brandenburg, wish all of Christ's faithful to know the manner in which, for the benefit of my soul and that of all Christians, I have striven in the hope of spreading the Christian religion among the pagans, and as far as we have been able, we have destroyed many and countless idols and we have built temples in honour of the most Holy Mother of God within the borders of the land of Saxony.

2.16 William of Malmesbury, *Deeds of the English Kings*

William of Malmesbury was an English monk born between 1090 and 1096 in Wiltshire and educated at Malmesbury Abbey. According to tradition, this abbey was founded in the first half of the 7th century by the Irish monk Meildub. From the 11th century onwards it was famous for its library and for having become a major centre of knowledge of its time. After completing his education, William took his vows as a Benedictine monk and reached the position of librarian and preceptor of the said monastery. He never travelled outside England but visited other monasteries on the island, where he had access to other books which were not available in his library.

In around 1120 he wrote his *Gesta regum anglorum* which covers the period from 449 to 1127; his literary model was the Venerable Bede. He followed this work with *Gesta pontificum anglorum*, datable to around 1125. In around 1141 he wrote his *Historia Novella* which recounts events from 1128 to 1142. He conceives history as a branch of moral philosophy.

His knowledge of the classics and of patristics appears to be very thorough for the time (Thomson 1987: 7, 13, 16). He died in 1143 or shortly before.

143 Hartbert was Bishop of Brandenburg from 1092 to 1100 and from 1122 to 1123.

Edition used: Słupecki-Zaroff (1999).
Other editions: Giles (1904), Stubbs (1887).
References: Manitius (1931: 466–471), Thomson (1987).

2.16.1 Deeds of the English Kings *2.189*

William of Malmesbury describes the reign of Emperor Henry III (1039–1056).

Erat imperator multis et magnis uirtutibus praeditus, et omnium pene ante se bellicosissimus, quippe qui etiam Vindelicos et Leuticos subegerit, ceterosque populos Sueuis conterminos, qui usque ad hanc diem soli omnium mortalium paganas superstitiones anhelant; nam Saraceni et Turchi Deum Creatorem colunt, Mahumet non Deum sed eius prophetam aestimantes. Vindelici uero Fortunam adorant; cuius idolum loco nominatissimo ponentes, cornu dextrae illius componunt plenum potu illo quem Graeco uocabulo, ex aqua et melle, Hydromellum uocamus. Idem sanctus Hyeronimus Aegiptos et omnes pene Orientales fecisse, in decimo octauo super Isaiam libro confirmat. Vnde ultimo die Nouembris mensis, in circuitu sedentes, in commune praegustant; et si cornu plenum inuenerint, magno strepitu applaudunt, quod eis futuro anno pleno copia cornu resdponsura sit in omnibus; si contra, gemunt. Hos ergo ita Henricus tributarios effecerat, ut, omnibus solempnitatibus quibus coronabatur, reges eorum quatuor, lebetem quo carnes condiebantur, in humeris suis, per anulos quatuor uectibus ad coquinam uectitarent.

The emperor was endowed with many great virtues and was much more warlike than all his ancestors, for he had subdued the Vendelici[144] and the Lutici[145] and other tribes which bordered the Swabians, these being the only peoples among the mortals who preserve their pagan superstitions to this very day. For the Saracens and the Turks worship a God who is Creator and consider that Mohammed is not a god, but his prophet. But the Vendelici worship Fortune, whose idol they place in the most prominent position and in his

144 It is difficult to determine which people William of Malmesbury is referring to with this designation. The Vendelici were a Celtic tribe who lived in Raetia (Tyrol and Bavaria) in Roman times. It is quite likely that he confuses them with the Venedi. Zaroff believes that the reference is to the Rani.

145 In reality, Henry III did not subdue the Lituci confederation, as this occurred during the minority if Henry IV under the regency of his mother and Henry III's widow, Agnes of Poitou. It was then when, taking advantage of the civil war between the tribes of the north and south of the confederation, Bishop Burchard of Halverstadt destroyed the temple of Radigost (1067–1068).

right hand they place a horn filled with a drink which we call mead, made of water and honey. Saint Jerome, in his book 18 about Isaiah, confirms that the Egyptians and nearly all the Eastern peoples did the same. This is why, on the last day of the month of November, they sit in a circle and drink together; and if they have found the horn full, they applaud with great commotion, because there will be great abundance for all in the following year due to the full horn; if, however, they find the opposite, they cry.[146] Henry had made these people tributaries in such a way that, in all of the ceremonies in which he wore a crown, four of their kings carried on their shoulders, by means of four legs running through a ring, a pot in which they cooked meat.

2.17 Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*

Orderic was born in 1075; he was the oldest son of a French priest, Odelerius of Orleans, in the service of Roger de Montgomery, 1st Earl of Shrewsbury, who had charged him with the service of the chapel of the city. At the age of five, Orderic's education was entrusted to Siward, priest of the Church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in Shrewsbury. At the age of eleven he entered the Norman monastery of Saint Evroul-in-Ouche as a novice and took his vows there under the name of Vital, in honour of one of the members of the Theban Legion, as the Norman monks found his baptismal name extremely difficult to pronounce. In any case, he always used both names, adding the epithet "Angligena" ("English-born"), as he always felt very proud of his English origin. His life in the monastery passed uneventfully. He became deacon in 1093 and superior in 1107. He travelled in England and France on several occasions.

His superiors ordered him to write the history of the monastery de Saint Evroul. However, his work, the *Ecclesiastical History*, reflects a desire to offer a much wider-ranging history. Saint Evroul was a place much visited by the nobility of the time and received visitors from Normandy, the rest of France, England and even Southern Italy, and this enabled Orderic to broaden the horizons of his knowledge. This explains why the narrative is filled with digressions, which frequently constitute the most interesting part of his text.

146 Cf. the same ritual in Saxo Grammaticus 14.39 with reference to the temple of Arcona on the island of Rügen (§ 2.28.4.).

Books 1 and 2 contain little of interest. They recount the history of Christianity. From 855 onwards, his work is a mere catalogue of popes, ending with Innocent I. Books 3 to 6 address the history of the monastery of Saint Evroul, the original nucleus of the work. They were written between 1123 and 1131. Books 4 and 5 contain lengthy digressions about William the Conqueror. Only after 1071 does he narrate events about which he has become a competent historical authority, independently of his sources. Books 7 to 9 narrate the history of France from the Carolingians to the Capetians. The most interesting part begins in 1082, when Orderic recounts contemporary events. The best documented part is the one referring to Duke Robert of Normandy, William Rufus and Henry I of England. His work covers the period, in analytical form, up to the defeat of Stephen of England in Lincoln in 1141. Orderic died possibly in 1142.

Edition used: Pertz (1868: 55).
Other editions: Chibnall (1968–1980), Meyer (1931: 24).
References: Manitius (1931: 522–528).

2.17.1 Ecclesiastical History *4,* sub anno *1069*

In 1069, the King of the Danes, Sweyn II Estridsson, organises an expedition against England.

Leuticia quoque pro Anglicis opibus auxiliares turmas mittebat. In ea populosissima natio consistebat, quae gentilitatis adhuc errore detenta uerum Deum nesciebat; sed ignorantiae muscipulis illaqueata, Guodenen et Thurum Freamque aliosque falsos deos, immo daemones colebat.

Leuticia also sent auxiliary troops to the English garrisons. There was a populous nation there, which, still lost in the errors of paganism, was ignorant of the true God and, caught in the rattrap of ignorance, worshipped Odin, Thor, Freyr and other false gods, or rather demons.

2.18 Henry the Lion, *Diploma Appointing Saint Evermode as Bishop of Ratzeburg*

Ratzeburg was one of the dioceses established in around 1050 by Archbishop Adalbert of Hamburg, who appointed Saint Ariston, who had just arrived from Jerusalem, as the new ordinary bishop of that diocese. In 1066 the Slavs rebelled against the Christians and on 15th July of that year, Saint Ansuerus, Abbot of

Saint George's in Ratzeburg, and several of his monks were stoned to death. In 1154, Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, and Hartwich, Archbishop of Hamburg, refounded the see of Ratzeburg and appointed Saint Evermode as Premonstratensian Canon, disciple of Saint Norbert and provost of the monastery of Our Lady of Magdeburg. In 1157 Pope Adrian IV assigned a cathedral chapter to the see of Ratzeburg.

Edition used: Jordan (1941: 58).

2.18.1 Diploma of Henry the Lion

This is a 13th century copy of an an original granted in 1158 in Lüneburg. The fragment selected forms part of the historical introduction.

Gentes enim paganas nostro ducatui in Saxonia contiguas, Winedos dictas, a priscis temporibus magni Karoli Deo semper et sancte ecclesie rebelles et infestas, postquam tandem magno labore fidei christiane ceruices durissimas submiserunt, sepius ad uomitum ydolatrie relapsas hereditario iure hucusque a progenitoribus nostris in tributum redactas accepimus.

For the pagan peoples who border our Duchy of Saxony, called Wends, always rebellious and contrary to God and the Holy Church since the very times of Charlemagne, after, with great effort, bowing their stubborn necks to the Christian faith, though frequently falling back into the vomit of idolatry due to their ancestral tradition, we have received them from our forebears already subjected to tribute.

2.19 Ebo, *Life of Saint Otto, Bishop of Bamberg*

The name of this author was given as Ebo in the necrology of the monastery of Saint Michael in Bamberg. However, Abbot Andreas, who wrote at the end of the 15th century, transcribed it as *Ebbo*, and this is the name which appears in canonical editions.

Ebo also belonged to the monastery of Saint Michael in Bamberg and, as is the case of the other biographers of Saint Otto, he did not know him personally, although he did receive information from Ulrich, one of the saint's collaborators. Ebo died on 16th May 1163.

He composed his work in 1151, although the authors who believe it was written later than Herbord, date it to 1159 (see the introduction to Herbord, 2.20.). The fact that the two authors do not cite each other mutually might be due to

the fact that they belonged to different monastic parties in the events leading up to the abdication of Abbot Helmerich (1160). Ebo's literary model is that of the chronicler, in contrast to the dialogic model adopted by Herbord, which may suggest that Ebo was earlier than Herbord, who adopted an innovative literary model to differentiate himself as far as possible from Ebo.

The most complete manuscript by Ebo is conserved in the Library of the University of Erlangen 248 (K.m. 142) and dates from the end of the 12th century or the beginning of the 13th.

Saint Otto of Bamberg (1060/1061–1139), also known as the Apostle of Pomerania, played a central role in the work of Christianizing the Baltic Slavs. He was the second son of a Swabian noble family, which did not prevent him from acquiring an excellent education. He went on to serve at the court of Duke Władysław I Herman of Poland as chaplain to Judith of Swabia, second wife of the latter and sister of Henry IV, and he later became chancellor of Emperor Henry IV (1090). The emperor promoted him to the episcopal see of Bamberg in 1102 and he supported the emperor in his conflict with the pope over the issue of the investitures. Pope Paschal II confirmed him in the episcopal see in 1111.

His knowledge of Polish affairs and his apostolic zeal led him to undertake missionary journeys in Pomerania, which are narrated in the works of Herbord, Ebo and the anonymous monk of Prüfling. His first journey took up the years 1124–1125 and enjoyed the institutional support of Duke Bolesław III of Poland and Pope Callistus II. After learning on his return that paganism was reasserting itself in the area, he decided to embark on a second missionary journey in 1127, with the support of Emperor Lothair III, during which he participated in the Diet of Usedom, where he succeeded in converting the Pomeranian nobility with the help of Duke Vratislav I of Pomerania. His missionary work was supported by a notable cast of collaborators, one of whom, Adalbert, was the first Bishop of Wolin (in the Latin texts it always appears as Iulin) in 1140. Previously, his attempts to achieve an independent episcopal see in Pomerania had been thwarted by the Bishops of Magdeburg and Gniezno, who claimed rights over the area. In 1188 this diocese was transferred to Kammin and came to report directly to the Holy See.

Saint Otto's missionary work was grounded in his exemplary life, his daring preaching, for which he always used translators, in the destruction of pagan symbols and temples and the founding of churches in places where previously there had been pagan temples.

He died on 30th June 1139 at the Monastery of Saint Michael in Bamberg and was canonised in 1189 by Pope Clement III.

Edition used: Köpke (1856a).
Other editions: Meyer (1931: 32–40), Robinson (1920), Wikarjak-Liman (1969).
References: Albrecht-Buske (2003), Demm (1970), Denzler (1971), von Gutenberg (1937), von Padberg (2003), Weinrich (2005).

2.19.1 Life of Saint Otto, Bishop of Bamberg *2.1*

The second book begins by recounting the missionary work of Bishop Bernard from Spain, who lived for a time as a hermit, was later consecrated bishop in Rome, but, rejecting the deep-rooted schism in his diocese, became a missionary. When he heard that there were peoples in the North of Europe had still not been converted, he travelled to Pomerania in around 1120.

Audiens (…) *Pomeraniam adhuc gentilitatis errori deditam, zelo pietatis armatus illuc euangelizandi gratia diuertit* (…). *Veniens itaque ad ducem Poloniae, honorifice ut seruus Dei excipitur. Cumque itineris sui causam exposuisset, dux benigne respondit* (…) *tantam gentis illius esse ferocitatem, ut magis necem ei inferrem quam iugum fidei subire parata sit* (…). *Ille autem* (…) *despecto habitu et nudis pedibus urbem Iulin ingreditur, ibique constanter fidei katholicae semina spargere coepit. Ciues autem ex ipso eum habitu despicientes, utpote qui non nisi secundum faciem iudicare sciebant, quis esset uel a quo missus, inquirunt. At ille seruum se ueri Dei, factoris coeli et terrae, profitetur, et ab eo se missum, ut illos ab errore idolatriae ad uiam ueritatis reducat. Illi uero indignati: «Quomodo», inquiunt, «credere possumus te nuntium summi Dei esse, cum ille gloriosus sit* (…)*, tu uero despicabilis* (…)*?»* (…) *Bernhardus autem intrepidus, immo illato sibi terrore constantior: «Si uerbis meis», inquid, «non creditis, uel operibus credite. Domum quamlibet uetustate conlapsam et nulli usui aptam igne inmisso succendite meque in medium iactate, et si domo flammis absumpta, ego illaesus ab igne apparuero, scitote me ab illo missum, cuius imperio et ignis et omnis simul creatura subiecta est et omnia simul elementa famulantur». Hiis auditis sacerdotes et seniores plebis multam inter se conquisitionem habentes aiebant: «Iste insanus et desperatus est».*

(Bernard), when he heard (…) that Pomerania was still delivered to the error of paganism, armed with the zeal of mercy, he travelled there to evangelise it. (…) And thus, when he arrives before the Duke of Poland,[147] he is received with honours as a servant of God. And when he explained the reason for his journey, the Duke responded in a kindly manner (…) that the ferocity of those people

147 Bolesław III Wrymouth (1085–1138).

was so great that they were more disposed to suffer death than the yoke of the faith. (…) But he (…) with a poor habit and barefoot, travelled to the city of Iulin,[148] and there he commenced to spread the seed of the Catholic faith with constancy. The inhabitants, who despised him for his clothes, like those who know not how to judge by anything other than appearances, ask him who he is or who has sent him. And he declared that he was a servant of the true God, creator of heaven and of earth, and that he had been sent by Him to guide them from the error of idolatry to the path of truth. But they say indignantly: "How can we believe that you are the messenger of the greatest God when he is glorious (…) and you a despicable being (…)?" And the intrepid Bernard, courageous though they had filled him with terror, says: "If you do not believe in my words, at least believe in my works. Set alight to a house so old it is about to collapse and is worth nothing, filling it with fire within, and throw me inside and if, after the house has been consumed by the flames, I come out untouched by fire, know that I have been sent by He to whose empire fire and all creatures are subject and whom all the elements obey." When they heard this, the priests and the elders of the village, after much debate among themselves, said: "This man is mad and desperate".

2.19.2 Life of Saint Otto, Bishop of Bamberg 2.7

After obtaining permission from Pope Callistus II (1119–1124), Saint Otto travels to Pomerania and reaches the city of Wolin on 13th August 1124.

Progressus apostolus Pomeranorum, uenit ad urbem magnam Iulin, ubi Odora fluuius praeterfluens lacum uastae longitudinis ac latitudinis facit, illicque mare influit. Ciues autem loci illius crudeles erant et impii (…). *Mos autem est regionis illius, ut princeps terrae in singulis castris propriam sedem et mansionem habeat, in quam quicumque fugerit, tutum ab inimicis asylum possidet. Illuc ergo pius Otto ingressus, orationibus et lacrimis pro conuersione gentis Pomeranicae instabat, sed incassum* (…). *Sed illi prauo sacerdotum suorum consilio seducti, nullatenus sanae doctrinae praeconem recipere uolebant, quin immo de finibus suis cum ignominia eum perturbantes, ad Stetinenses ire compulerunt.*

Setting out, (Otto) the Apostle of the Pomeranians, arrived at the great city of Iulin, where the current of the river Oder creates a lake large in width and

148 In Latin it commonly appears as *Iulin*, which makes it easier to relate to its legendary founder, Julius Caesar. It is the modern-day city of Wolin, al. Wollin, on the island of the same name.

length and from there flows into the sea. The inhabitants of that place were cruel and impious (…). It is the custom of that region that, in each of the strongholds, the prince of the country has his own seat and mansion, where, if someone seeks refuge, he finds a safe asylum from his enemies. Thus, when the pious Otto entered there, with speeches and tears he urged the people of Pomerania to convert, but in vain. (…) For they, seduced by the perverse council of their priests, in no way wished to receive the herald of the true doctrine, but rather, expelling him from their borders with ignominy, they obliged him to go to Stettin.[149]

2.19.3 Life of Saint Otto, Bishop of Bamberg *2.13*

After narrating the successes of Saint Otto's preaching in Szczecin and Wolin, where he achieved mass baptism, the author describes the lengths the pagan priests took to preserve the idol of the god Triglav.

Soli autem pontifices idolorum uiae Domini resistebant, et multas seruo Dei tendentes insidias, occulte eum perimere nitebantur. Sed multitudine plebis cottidie ad fidem conuolante, cum nullus sacrilegis et profanis sacerdotibus ed eum pateret accessus, confusi et reueriti a facie eius (…)*, longius extra regionem illam recesserunt. Et quia apertam famulo Dei persecutionem inferre non poterant, detractionibus et blasphemiis horribilibus eum lacerabant, et quocunque deuenissent, inuidiam ei et inimicicias excitantes, maledicta et probra in eum congerebant* (…)*. Cum uero delubra et effigies idolorum a pio Ottone destruerentur, profani sacerdotes auream imaginem Trigelawi qui principaliter ab eis colebatur, furati extra prouinciam abduxerunt, et cuidam uiduae apud uillam modicam degenti, ubi nec spes ulla requirendi esset, ad custodiendum tradiderunt. Quae mercede ad hoc conducta, quasi pupillam oculi sui includens, profanum illud custodiebat simulacrum, ita ut, trunco ualidissimae arboris cauato, illic imaginem Trigelawi pallio obductam includeret, et nec uidendi ne dicam tangendi illud cuiquam copia esset; solummodo foramen modicum, ubi sacrificium inferretur, in trunco patebat, nec quisquam domum illam nisi profanos sacrificiorum ritus agendi causa intrabat. Quod audiens inclitus Pomeranorum apostolus, multifaria intentione satagebat quoque modo illuc attingere, praemetuens, quod et accidit, post abscessum suum rudibus adhuc et necdum in fide confirmatis plebibus simulacrum illud in ruinam futurum. Set prudenter animaduertens, utpote uir omni*

149 Pomerania belonged to Prussia for centuries and then to Germany. In the present day this city forms part of Poland and is called Szczecin.

sagacitate praeditus, quia si publicam illuc profectionem indiceret, sacerdotes, audito eius aduentu, imaginem Trigelawi rursum ad remotiora loca occultando abducerent, sapienti usus consilio, quendam ex comitibus suis Herimannus nomine, barbarae locutionis sciolum sensuque et ingenio satis acutum, latenter ad uiduam illam destinare curauit. Cui etiam praecepit, tu assumpto habitu barbarico ad sacrificandum Trigelawo se pergere fingeret. Herimannus itaque pilliolum barbaricum et clamidem mercatus, post multa arduae uiae pericula uiduam illam tandem conueniens, asserebat se nuper de procelloso maris gurgite per inuocationem dei sui Trigelawi erutum, ideoque debitum ei pro saluatione sua sacrificium litare desiderantem, ductu eius illo mirabili ordine per ignotos uiae tractus deuenisse. At illa: "Si ab eo", inquit, "missus es, ecce, aedes, in qua deus noster robore cauato inclusus detinetur. Proprium quidem uidere et tangere non poteris, sed ante truncum procidens, eminus foramen modicum, ubi quod uoluisti sacrificium inferas, attende. Quod dum inposueris, reuerenter clauso ostio egredere, et si uitae tuae consultum esse uolueris, caue ne cuiquam hunc patefacias sermonem." Qui alacer aedem illam ingressus dragmam argenti in foramen iactauit, ut sonitu metalli sacrificasse putaretur. Sed concitus quod iecerat retraxit, et pro honore contumeliam Trigelawo, id est sputaculum ingens pro sacrificio obtulit. Deinde curiosius attendens, si forte negotii, pro quo missus erat exsequendi facultas ulla suppeteret, animaduertit imaginem Trigelawi tanta cautela et firmitate trunco inpressam, ut nullo pacto eripi aut saltem loco moueri posset. Unde non mediocri tactus dolore, quidnam ageret aestuabat, dicens intra se: "Heu quod tantum uiae pelagus sine fructu peragraui! Quid respondEbón domino meo, uel quis me hic fuisse credet, cum uacuus rediero?" Et circumferens oculos, uidit sellam Trigelawi comminus parieti affixam—erat autem nimiae antiquitatis et nullo iam pene usui apta—statimque exiliens cum gaudio, infaustum munus parieti detrahit et abscondit, primoque noctis conticinio egressus, omni festinatione dominum suum sociosque reuisit, cuncta quae egerat replicat, sellam etiam Trigelawi in testimonium fidei suae repraesentat. Apostolus itaque Pomeranorum, habito cum suis consilio, sibi quidem et suis ab hac requisitione desistendum censuit, ne non tam zelo iusticiae quam auri cupiditate hoc agere uideretur. Collectis tamen et adunatis principibus ac natu maioribus, iusiurandum ab eis exegit, ut cultura Trigelawi penitus abdicaretur, et confracta imagine aurum omne in redemptionem captiuorum erogaretur.

Only the high priests of the idols resisted the way of the Lord and, setting many traps for the servant of God, endeavoured to destroy him with stealth. But as a multitude of the people attended the faith daily, and that there was no possibility of gaining access to him, the pagan and sacrilegious priests, confounded and fearful in his presence (…) fled the region. And as they could no longer

persecute openly the servant of God,[150] they injured him with calumnies and horrendous blasphemies and, everywhere they went, they stirred up hatred and enmity against him, accumulating calumnies and infamies against him (…). And when the pious Otto destroyed the temples and the images of the idols, the pagan priests stole the golden image of Triglav, which they worshipped as the most important, smuggled it out of the province[151] and delivered it to the safekeeping of a widow[152] who lived on a modest farm,[153] where there was no danger that anybody would come in search of it. Once they had taken this gift to her, she looked after it as if it were the apple of her eye and guarded that pagan idol in the following manner: after making a hole in the trunk of a large tree, she placed the image of Triglav therein, wrapped in a blanket and nobody was allowed to see it, much less touch it; only a small hole was left open in the trunk through which to insert the sacrifice and nobody entered that house unless it was to perform the rituals of the pagan sacrifices. Upon hearing of this, the illustrious Apostle of the Pomeranians thought long and hard about how he could get there, fearing that it may occur that, after leaving those country people, who were not yet completely confirmed in the faith, that idol would be their ruin. But he wisely realised, as befits a man endowed with great intelligence, that if he made a journey there public, the priests, knowing of his coming, would once again move the image of Triglav and hide it somewhere even more remote, so he followed a wise council and ordered one of his retinue, called Hermann, who knew the Slavic language and was endowed with much astuteness and ingenuity, to go in disguise to the house of the widow. He ordered him to go dressed in the Slavic manner and pretend that he was going to offer a sacrifice to Triglav. And thus, Hermann bought himself a cap and a tunic in the Slavic style and, after many dangers along a difficult road, when he reached the house of that widow, declared that he had not long since succeeded in escaping from the tempestuous jaws of the sea thanks to the invocation of his god Triglav, and

150 Because he was a guest of Duke Vratislav, as the Anonymous Monk of Prüfening explains, text 2.21.1.

151 Herbord II, 32 (§ 2.20.3.) tells that Saint Otto destroyed the idol of Triglav in Szczecin and sent the three heads to Rome. Although Ebo does not specify where the anecdote of the hiding of the idol of Triglav occurred, we can deduce that he is writing about the Wolin idol.

152 We can deduce that this was not just an ordinary person but a priestess.

153 The indication that Hermann had to undertake a dangerous journey by boat in order to reach the place where the idol was hidden allows us to suspect that it could have been taken to the island of Rügen, where paganism was not yet threatened by any Christian power.

that he therefore wished to offer him the sacrifice promised for his salvation and that he had arrived there, led by him, following a miraculous order through unknown stretches of the road. And she says: "If you have been sent by him, I have here the altar which contains our god, enclosed in the hole made in an oak. You may not see him nor touch him, but rather, prostrating yourself before the trunk, take note from a prudent distance of the small hole where you must place the sacrifice you wish to make. And after offering it, once the orifice is reverently closed, go and, if you value your life, do not reveal this conversation to anybody". He entered joyfully in that place and threw a silver drachma into the hole, so that it would appear, from the sound of the metal, that he had offered a sacrifice. But after throwing it in, he took back out what he had thrown and, by way of homage to Triglav, he offered him a humiliation, specifically, a large gob of spit as a sacrifice. Afterwards, he looked carefully to see if there was any possibility of carrying out the mission for which he had been sent there and he realised that the image of Triglav had been placed in the trunk so carefully and firmly that it could not be taken out or even moved. Whereby, afflicted by no small sorrow, he asked himself anxiously what he should do, saying to himself: "Woe! Why have I travelled so fruitlessly such a long journey by sea! What shall I say to my lord or who will believe that I was here, if I return empty-handed?" And looking around him, he saw Triglav's saddle hanging nearby on the wall: this was extremely old and now served no purpose and, immediately rushing towards it, he tears the hapless trophy off the wall, hides it and, leaving in the early evening, he hurries to meet up with his lord and his men, tells them what he had done and shows Triglav's saddle as proof of his loyalty. And thus, the Apostle of the Pomeranians, after holding council with his companions, came to the conclusion that that they should desist in their undertaking, unless it should appear that they were driven less by a zeal for justice than by a greed for gold. After summoning and gathering the tribal chieftains and the elders, they demanded, by means of a solemn oath, that they abandon their cult to Triglav and that, once the image was broken, all of its gold would be used to redeem captives.

2.19.4 Life of Saint Otto, Bishop of Bamberg *2.15*

The inhabitants of Wolin who had left the city to trade, converted upon their return in 1125, imitating those who had stayed in the city.

Apostolus itaque Pomeranorum duas illic aecclesias constituit, unam in ciuitate Iulin sub honore sanctorum Adalberti et Wenezlai, qui magnae aput barbaros opinionis erant, ubi profani demoniorum ritus agi solebant, ut ubi spurca pridem commercia, Christi deinceps frequentarentur misteria; alteram extra ciuitatem in

campo, mirae latitudinis et amoenitatis in ueneratione beatissimi apostolorum principis aedificauit, illicque sedem episcopalem statuit.

And thus, the Apostle of the Pomeranians founded there two churches, one in the city of Iulin in honour of Saints Adalbert and Wenceslaus, both of whom enjoyed a great reputation among the Slavs, in the place where it had previously been customary to perform the pagan rites of the demons, there where previously had been loathsome rituals, afterwards were the mysteries of Christ; he built the second outside the city, in the countryside, of great size and beauty,[154] in honour of the most blessed prince of the apostles and there he established the episcopal seat.

2.19.5 Life of Saint Otto, Bishop of Bamberg *3.1*

Once Saint Otto returns to his episcopal see at Bamberg on March 28, 1125, the cities of Szczecin and Wolin return to their idolatrous practices.

Beatissimo patre nostro Ottone post primum gentis Pomeranicae apostolatum ad sedem propriam feliciter reuerso, duae ex nobilissimis ciuitatibus, id est Iulin et Stetin, inuidia diaboli instigante ad pristinas idolatriae sordes rediere hac uidelicet occasione: Iulin a Iulio Cesare condita et nominata—in qua etiam lancea ipsius columpnae mirae magnitudinis ob memoriam eius infixa seruabatur—cuiusdam idoli celebritatem in inicio aestatis maximo concursu et tripudio agere solebat. Cumque uerbo fidei et baptismi lauacro urbe mundata, per beatum pontificem idola maiora et minora, quae in propatulo erant, ignibus conflagrari coepissent, quidam stultorum modicas idolorum statuas, auro et argento decoratas, clam furati penes se absconderunt, nescientes quale per hoc urbis suae operarentur excidium (…). Nam ad praedictam idoli celebritatem cunctis comprouincialibus solito feruore concurrentibus, ludosque et commessationes multiformi apparatu exhibentibus, ipsi dudum absconditas simulacrorum effigies populo inani laeticia resoluto praesentantes, eos ad antiquum paganizandi ritum impulerunt, statimque per hoc diuinae correptionis plagam incurrerunt. Siquidem ludis et saltationibus paganico more omni populo occupato, subito ignis Dei cedidit e coelo super apostatricem ciuitatem (…). Stetin uero amplissima ciuitas et maior Iulin tres montes ambitu suo conclusos habebat, quorum medius, qui et alcior, summo paganorum deo Trigelawo dicatus, tricapitum habebat simulacrum, quod

154 This reference to the size and beauty of the church consecrated to Saint Peter leads us to suspect that it was also on a pre-existing site of pagan worship, possibly in a clearing in a sacred forest.

aurea cidari oculos et labia contegebat, asserentibus idolorum sacerdotibus ideo summum deum tria habere capita, quoniam tria procuraret regna, id est coeli, terrae et inferni, et faciem cidari operiri pro eo quod peccata hominum, quasi non uidens et tacens, dissimularet. Hac itaque potentissima ciuitate ad ueri Dei agnicionem per beatum praesulem adducta, delubra idolorum flammis erant absumpta, duaeque aecclesiae, una in monte Trigelawi sub honore sancti Adelberti, alia extra ciuitatis moenia in ueneratione sancti Petri erant locatae, et ex hoc sacrificia, quae copioso apparatu et diuiciis sacerdotibus fanisque idolorum exhibebantur, nunc aecclesiae Christi uendicabant. Vnde commoti sacerdotes, et prioris pompae delicias cottidie sibi decrescere uidentes, occasionem quaerebant, ut populum ad idolatriam quaestus sui gratia reuocarent. Accidit ergo mortalitatem magnam ciuitati superuenire, et requisiti a plebe, sacerdotes dicebant, abiurationis idolorum causa hoc eos incurrisse, omnesque subito morituros, nisi antiquos deos sacrificiis et muneribus solitis placare studerent. Ad hanc uocem statim conuentus forenses aguntur, simulacra requiruntur, et in commune profanus sacrificiorum ritus ac celebritas repetitur, aecclesiae Christi ex media parte destruuntur.

Once our holy father Otto had come again in peace to his episcopal see, on the completion of his first apostleship to the pagans of Pomerania, two of the best known cities, Wollin and Stettin, moved at the instigation of the devil, returned to their former sordid idolatry under the following circumstances: Wollin, founded and named by Julius Caesar,[155] where his own spear was even kept, placed on a column of great size in order to preserve his memory, a festival was often held in honor of the idol at the beginning of the summer, accompanied by a widely attended celebration. And although the city had been cleansed by the profession of the faith and baptism and, moved by the holy bishop, the people began to burn the larger and smaller idols that were in the open air, some stupid people secretly carried off some small idols adorned with gold and silver, little knowing the misfortune they would bring to their city as a result of this (…). For at the above-mentioned idol festival, all of the people of the province had assembled with their accustomed eagerness and put on all kinds of festivities and feasts and, displaying the images of the idols that they had before hidden to the people untethered in their empty joy, they were driven to resume their pagan rites; this invited divine correction, as while the people were entertained by the pagan festival and dancing, suddenly the fire

155 Cf. the news provided by the Anonymous Monk of Prüfening, text 2.21.2.

of God fell from heaven upon the apostate city (…). Stettin, a big city, larger than Wollin, had three hills in its jurisdiction; the middle one of these, which was also the highest, was dedicated to Triglav, the most important god of the pagans. Its statue had three heads[156] and its eyes and lips were covered with a golden bandage. About the idols, the priests said that their most important god had three heads because it ruled three kingdoms, namely, heaven, earth, and hell, and that its face was covered with a bandage so that it might ignore the sins of men as it did not see them and was silent. When this most powerful city had been brought the knowledge of the true God by the good bishop, the idol's temples were destroyed by fire and two churches were built, one on the Triglav hill in honor of Saint Adalbert, and the other outside the walls of the city in honor of Saint Peter. Because of this, the churches of Christ claimed the sacrifices which were before offered with great abundance and cost to the idol's priests and shrines. Therefore, the priests, indignant because they saw that the pleasures from their former life of luxury were decreasing day after day, sought an opportunity to bring the people back to the worship of idols for their own gain. It happened that a great epidemic occurred in the city, and, when the priests were questioned by the people, they said that this had occurred because they had put away their idols, and that all of them would die immediately if they did not try to appease the gods with sacrifices and the accustomed gifts. In response to this rumor, public assemblies were held in the main square, the idols were sought out, and the pagan rites and sacrifices were performed again by the people, and the Christian churches were half destroyed.

2.19.6 Life of Saint Otto, Bishop of Bamberg *3.3*

In April 1127, Saint Otto of Bamberg returns to Pomerania to resume his missionary work. When he arrives in Magdeburg, he interviews Norbert, the archbishop of said see, who, moved by jealousy, attempts to delay his journey to Pomerania.

Itaque petita ab eo benedictione, postera die Habelbergense episcopium peciit, quod tunc paganorum crebris incursionibus ita destructum erat, ut christiani

156 Images of gods with several heads are common to many religions, even among Indo-European peoples; consider the Roman god Janus, the polycephalous images of gods in India, and the two-headed idol found in Lithuania. Three-headed idols have been described often among the Slavs, such as Triglav of the Pomeranians and the four-headed Sventovit of the Rani. The number of heads seems to emphasize sovereignty over the different levels of the cosmos.

nominis uix tenues in eo reliquiae remanserint. Nam ipsa die aduentus eius ciuitas uexilis undique circumposita[157] *cuiusdam idoli Gerouiti*[158] *nomine celebritatem agebat*.

Having sought his blessing,[159] he set out the next day for the diocese of Havelberg, which had at that time been so completely ruined by the frequent incursions of the pagans that there remained hardly any who bore the Christian name. On the very day of his arrival, flags were placed around the town, which was engaged in celebrating a festival in honor of an idol called Gerovit.

2.19.7 Life of Saint Otto, Bishop of Bamberg *3.5*

Saint Otto arrives in Demmin in May 1127, which was besieged by the Lutici federation, whose temple had been burned down by King Lothair III in 1126.

Igitur ueniens ad urbem Timinam, magnum illic belli apparatum hostilemque Lůticensium incursionem reperit. Nam Lůticenses, quorum ciuitas cum fano suo a gloriosissimo rege Lothario zelo iusticiae nuper igni erat tradita, urbem Timinam uastare ciuesque eius captiuare nitebantur.

Consequently, when he came to the town of Timina,[160] he found there a great military deployment and a hostile incursion of the Lutici. For the Lutici, whose city[161] together with its temple had been recently burnt by the renowned King Lothair in his zeal for justice, were endeavoring to lay waste the city of Timina and to capture its citizens.

2.19.8 Life of Saint Otto, Bishop of Bamberg *3.6*

Saint Otto arrives with the protection of the Duke Vratislav to Usedom, where he can calmly preach once the Lutici had been defeated by the duke. On May 22, 1127, Vratislav himself assembles the nobles of his realm and exhorts them to convert to Christianity.

157 var. *circumpositis*.

158 var. *Gerouuti*.

159 From the Archbishop of Magdeburg, Norbert.

160 Today Demmin, in the state of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern.

161 We do not know what city Ebo refers to, but the reference to the temple of the Lutici seems to indicate that it is the final and definitive destruction of the Radogost-Rethra temple, whose location is unknown. However, it is unclear why the Lutici would direct their vengeance upon the lands of the Duchy of Pomerania, which did not belong to Lothair III.

Ipse enim in puericia sua captiuatus erat in Teutonicas regiones abductus, atque in oppido Merseburgensi baptismi gratiam consecutus; sed inter paganos uiuens, ritum christianae legis exsequi non poterat, ideoque gentem cui praeerat, fidei iugo subici ardenter desiderabat. Considentibus ergo principibus dux ita exorsus est: "(…) Antea quidem multi uerbum Dei his partibus annunciantes uenerunt, quos instictu Satanae occidistis, e quibus etiam unum nuper crucifixistis (…)". Hiis auditis, principes et natu maiores opportunum huic colloquio locum petentes, diu multumque ancipiti sententia nutabundi oberrabant, praecipue sacerdotibus idolorum quaestus sui grati contradicentibus.

He had himself[162] in his youth been taken captive to Teutonic lands and had received baptismal grace in the town of Merseburg, but whilst living amongst pagans he had not been able to observe the customs of Christian law and accordingly he ardently desired that the people he ruled be subjected to the yoke of the faith. Before the assembled nobles, the prince spoke as follows: "(…) In earlier times many have come to these parts to proclaim the word of God, whom, prompted by Satan, you have killed; one of these you recently even crucified …" When they heard this, the nobles and elders, seeking the right to speak in this debate, steadfastly erred, and for a long time they were of uncertain mind, the idol's priests in particular, by virtue of their vocation.

2.19.9 Life of Saint Otto, Bishop of Bamberg *3.8*

Two of Saint Otto's collaborators, Ulrich and his interpreter, Albin, went to the city of Wolgast, famous for its pagan temple, in May 1127. Their missionary work causes a riot in the city, cf. Herbord § 2.20.5.

Causa autem huius inquisicionis et tumultus sacerdos quidam idolorum fuit, qui, audita nouae praedicationis opinione, ad callida argumenta conuersus, cuiusdam fani clamide et reliquis indutus exuuiis, urbem clam egreditur, uicinamque petens siluam, praetereuntem quendam rusticum insolito occursu perterruit. Qui uidens eum uestibus idoli amictum, suspicatus deum suum principalem sibi apparuisse, prae stupore exanimis in faciem corruit, eumque talia dicentem audiuit: "Ego sum deus tuus quem colis; ne paueas, sed surge quantocius, urbemque ingrediens, legationem meam magistratibus omnique populo insinua, ut, si discipuli seductoris illius, qui cum duce Wortizlao apud Uznoym moratur, illic apparuerint, sine dilatione morti acerbissimae tradantur; alioquin ciuitas cum habitatoribus suis peribit". Quod cum rusticus ille summa festinatione ciuibus

162 Duke Vratislav.

denunciasset, illi unanimiter adunati, mandatum dei sui peragere conabantur (…). *Aduesperascente* (…) *die, quidam ex comitibus domni episcopi fanum in eadem urbem situm considerare uolentes, minus caute peragebant; quod cernentes aliqui de ciuibus, suspicati sunt fanum ipsum igni eos tradere uelle, et congregati horrisono armorum strepitu eis occurrere gestiebant. Tum religiosus presbiter Vodalricus ad socios conuersus ait: "Non sine causa congregantur isti; sed sciatis eos reuera ad interitum nostrum festinare". Quo audito, socii retrogradum iter secuti, fugae praesidia petunt. Clericus autem Dietricus nomine, qui iam praecedens eos portis delubri ipsius appropinquauerat, nesciens quo diuerteret, audacter fanum ipsum irrupit, et uidens aureum clipeum parieti affixum, Gerowito, qui deus miliciae eorum fuit, consecratum—quem contingere apud eos illicitum erat—arrepto eodem clipeo obuiam eis processit. Illi autem, utpote uiri stultae rusticitatis, suspicati deum suum Gerowitum sibi occurrere, obstupefacti abierunt retrorsum et ceciderunt in terram. Dietricus autem uidens amentiam eorum, proiecto clipeo aufugit, benedicens Deum, qui de manibus eorum liberare dignatus est fideles suos.*

The cause of this persecution and tumult was an idol priest who, having heard the news of the new preaching, had a novel idea: dressed in the vestments of the temple and all of the other adornments, he left the city in secret and went to the neighboring wood where he terrified a villager who was walking there with his unexpected appearance. Upon seeing him with idol clothing and suspecting that his most important god had appeared unto him, he heard him say the following: "I am your God, whom you worship; be not afraid, rather, rise immediately, enter the city, and spread my message to the magistrates and all the people so that should the disciples of the swindler who lives with Duke Vratislav in Usedom appear, they will be delivered to a cruel death without delay; otherwise, the city and its inhabitants shall perish." When the villager had announced this speedily to the citizens, they unanimously endeavored to carry out the commands of their god (…). In the evening (…) of the same day, some of the venerable bishop's followers wished to examine the temple in that same city and proceeded to do so without further precaution; whereupon some of the citizens suspected that they wished to set their temple ablaze and, assembled together, they went out to meet them with the discordant clatter of arms. Then the pious Ulrich turned to his companions and said: "It is not without reason that they have assembled; be assured that they have been hastened by our entry." Hearing this, the companions turned back on their path and sought refuge for their flight. But a clergyman named Dietrich, who had gone ahead of them and had approached the doors of the temple, not knowing where to turn, boldly burst into the shrine itself, and, seeing a golden shield hanging on

the wall which had been dedicated to Gerovit,[163] their god of war, and which they considered it unlawful to touch, seized the shield and faced them. They, as ignorantly simple men, thought that their god Gerovit was advancing to meet them and, stupefied, they retreated and fell to the ground. Dietrich, perceiving their folly, threw away the shield and fled, thanking God that He had thought fit to deliver His servants out of their hands.

2.19.10 Life of Saint Otto, Bishop of Bamberg *3.9*

In June 1127, Saint Otto performs missionary work in Gützkow.

Apostolus itaque Pomeranorum totam instantem ebdomadam in eadem ciuitate uerbum Dei disseminans, et baptismi gratiam tradens, Iohannem religiosum presbiterum eis praefecit; sicque aliam urbem Chozegowam expetiit, in qua magni decoris et miri artificii fana erant, quae ciues eiusdem loci CCC exstruxerant talentis. Sed et beato patri nostro maximam pecuniae quantitatem offerebant, ne ea deleret, sed pro ornatu loci integra et inconuulsa reseruaret.

And thus, the Apostle of Pomerania was spreading the word of God in that city during that entire week, conferring baptismal grace and finally he appointed over its inhabitants the devout priest Johann; he then made for another town called Chozegow,[164] which contained temples of great adornment and craft that the inhabitants of that place had built for a price of three hundred talents. They also offered our blessed father a very large sum of money for him to refrain from destroying them and rather keep them whole and intact to adorn the place.

2.19.11 Life of Saint Otto, Bishop of Bamberg *3.10*

Saint Otto's missionary work continues in Gützkow throughout the month of June 1127.

Eo igitur tempore, quo fana haec mirandi operis in urbe Chozegowa destruebat, legati honorabiles marchionis Adalberti statum eius curiose inuestigantes, sed et

163 It is possible that this is the medieval Latin transcription of a Slavic theonym *Jarovit*. This deity is usually conferred mainly authority over the sun and fertility, which would be confirmed by the round and golden iconography of the shield. Its functions were likely transferred to an eminently warlike nature due to the difficult circumstances to which West Slavs were subjected. Said hypothesis is confirmed with the etymology of the name: Jarovit is likely an epiclesis comprised of the well-known adjectival suffice *-ovit* (cf. Sventovit) and Old Church Slavonic *jarъ* 'spring:' it would thus mean the renewing spring sunshine.

164 Today Gützkow in Vorpommern.

nuntii de uillis suis Muechelin et Scidingen, iuxta condictum opportuna ei subsidia deferentes, superuenere (…). *Et reuera iocundum erat spectaculum, cum simulacra mirae magnitudinis et sculptoria arte incredibili pulchritudine caelata, quae multa boum paria uix mouere poterant, abscisis manibus et pedibus, effossis oculis ac truncatis naribus, per descensum cuiusdam pontis igni cremanda trahebantur, astantibus idolorum fautoribus, et magno eiulatu, ut diis suis succurreretur ac iniqui patriae subuersores per pontem demergerentur, acclamantibus; aliis uero sanioris consilii e contra protestantibus, quia, si dii essent, semet ipsos defendere possent, sed cum ipsi taceant, nec de loco nisi tracti moueantur, omni sensu ac uitali spiritu penitus carere probentur. Sacerdotes uero idolorum seditionem conflare moliebantur quaestus sui gratia*.

Thus, at the time in which he was destroying the temples of admirable workmanship in the city of Chozegow, honorable ambassadors from Duke Adalbert arrived as well as those sent from his villas at Mücheln and Schidingen, who carefully examined this situation, bringing him the supplies that had been promised (…). And it was indeed a joyous spectacle to see the statues of large size sculpted with incredibly beautiful craftsmanship, which could hardly be moved by a many pairs of oxen, their hands and feet removed, their eyes dug out, and their noses mutilated, dragged down to a bridge to be burned. The sculptors of the idols were present and with loud howls they asked their gods for help and that the wicked subverters of the motherland be cast down from the bridge. By contrast, others who were of wiser counsel protested on the contrary, because if these were true gods they would be able to defend themselves, but as they kept silent and did not move out of their place except when dragged, it was clear that they altogether lacked feeling and life spirit. However, the idol priests, by virtue of their vocation, endeavored to stir up insurrection.

2.19.12 Life of Saint Otto, Bishop of Bamberg *3.11*

A curious miracle which took place during the destruction of the temples of Gützkow (June 1127) is recounted.

Sed non praetereundum uidetur, quid miraculi in destructione fanorum ipsorum apparuerit. Subito enim, astante populi frequentia, insolitae magnitudinis muscae, quae nunquam in terra illa uisae sunt, magno inpetu ex delubris idolorum proruperunt, et tanta densitate omnem ciuitatis ambitum operiebant, ut paene lucem diei tetra caligine obducere uiderentur; sed et oculos et labia uniuersorum nimia inportunitate uexantes, non paruum horrorem aspicientibus ingerebant. Sed cum uiolentius manuum percussionibus abigerentur, nichilominus tamen diutius insistebant, donec fidelibus laudes Dei concrepantibus crucisque uexil-

lum circumferentibus, inuisum monstrum portis apertis euolans, terram barbarorum qui Růtheni dicuntur pernici uelocitate peciit. Vnde cunctorum sapientium iudicio definitum est, non aliud hoc portenti genus nisi demonum expulsionem praesagare, qui christiani nominis coruscantem per nouos doctores gratiam non ferentes, negata sibi in his regionibus mansione, Růthenos adhuc paganico errore irretitos adiere.

But it seems that one should not omit to relate the miracle which was manifested while these shrines were being destroyed. For, all of a sudden, in front of a crowd of townspeople, an unusual cloud of flies, such as had never before been seen in that land, rushed from the idol temples and covered the sky of the city so densely that the daylight seemed to have been transformed into a black darkness, and, as they distressed the eyes and lips of all, they caused to those who saw them no small horror. When they were driven away by violent slaps of the hand, they kept coming on with no less insistence, while in response to the believers who sung aloud the praises of God and carried round the cross and the standard, a yet unseen portent fled out of the open doors and with utmost speed made for the country of the barbarians who are called Ruthenians.[165] In the opinion of all who were wise, this kind of portent presaged none other than the expulsion of the devils, which, as they did not endure the grace of the word of Christ brought by the new teachers, and as they were denied any resting place in these parts, they went to the Ruthenians who were still ensnared in pagan error.

2.19.13 Life of Saint Otto, Bishop of Bamberg *3.15*

Saint Otto mediates with the Duke of Poland, Bolesław, so that he will not start a war with the Pomeranians. He subsequently sends his follower, Ulrich, to evangelize the summer tribe with great risk. On July 31, 1127 Saint Otto returns to Szczecin, whose inhabitants have returned to idolatry.

Apostolus (…) *ad Stetinenses* (…) *iter suum direxit* (…). *Nam pontifices idolorum plebem apostatam in necem eius unanimiter concitauerant* (…). *Otto seruus Dei pontificali redimitus infula, crucisque uexillo praelato, euangelizandi gratia in*

165 The Island of Rügen, the most eminent seat of paganism at the time. Ebo uses the ethnonym "Ruthenians" to refer to the Rani. Medieval chroniclers most often use "Ruthenians" to refer to Rus' inhabitants. Historical Ruthenians were an Aquitani tribe. Clearly, in both cases an ethnonym in Classical Latin with corresponding first syllables is preferred. A parallel can be found with the use of the ethnonym "Vandals" to refer to the Wends (Steinacher 2004).

turbam processit, Vodalricum uice diaconi dalmatica indutum et Adalbertum in loco subdiaconi, aliosque uerbi Dei cooperatores sibi assumens. Erant autem illic piramides magnae et in altum more paganico muratae. Coadunato itaque populo, pius praedicator super unam cum sociis suis ascendens piramidem, per interpretem suum Adalbertum coepit errantibus uiam ueritatis aperire, et nisi ab hac resipiscerent apostasia, aeternum comminari interitum.

The apostle (…) made for Stettin (…). The chiefs of the idols had unanimously sent the apostate masses to their perdition. Otto, the servant of God, in papal attire, preceded by the cross and the standard, went forth to the crowd in order to preach to them. He took with him Ulrich, who wore a deacon's dalmatic, Adalbert, who served as a subdeacon, and others to assist in preaching the word of God. There were there some large pyramids completed with merlons in pagan fashion. The good preacher ascended one of these pyramids with his companions, and through his interpreter Adalbert he began to open the way of truth to those who had gone wrong and to threaten them with eternal punishment if they did not repent their apostasy.

2.19.14 Life of Saint Otto, Bishop of Bamberg *3.16*
Reaction of the pagan priests in Szczecin to the preaching of Saint Otto on July 31, 1127; cf. Herbord § 2.20.8.

Praedicante autem eo, ecce, pontifex idolorum anhelus cucurrit, multoque sudore confertissimam irrumpens turbam, piramidem percussit, ac seruum Dei obmutescere magni clamoris uirtute imperauit. Ipse enim cum suis priori nocte in necem episcopi summo dominicae crepusculo conspirauerat.

As he was engaged in preaching, the chief idol priest came running breathless and perspiring and, breaking through the tight crowd, he struck the pyramid and with a great shout ordered the servant of God to be silent. The previous night he and his companions had planned the death of the bishop when Sunday evening fell.

2.19.15 Life of Saint Otto, Bishop of Bamberg *3.18*
In August 1127, Saint Otto and his followers continue their evangelizing efforts in Szczecin; cf. Herbord § 2.20.9.

Erat autem fanum quoddam longius remotum, ad quod deiciendum fidelem et familiarissimum sibi Vodalricum sacerdotem religiosum direxerat. Sed pauci qui remanserant fautores idolorum de muro prospicientes eum illo tendere iactu lap-

idum et lignorum caput eius conterere moliebantur; qui tamen Deo protegente illaesus euasit, reuersusque ad pium patrem Ottonem insidias eorum retexuit (…). *Destructo igitur fano, cum uir Dei reuerteretur, arborem nuceam praegrandem idolo consecratam cum fonte qui subterfluebat inuenit, quam statim succidere suis inperauit. Accedentes uero Stetinenses suppliciter rogabant, ne succideretur, quia pauperculus ille custos arboris ex fructu eius uitam alebat inopem; se autem iure iurando affirmabant sacrificia quae illic demoniis exhibebantur, generali edicto perpetualiter inhibere. Quorum peticioni doctor piissimus, dictante aequitatis ratione, nauiter annuit. Dum uero mutuis haec conferunt sermonibus, ecce, barbarus ille custos arboris ex inprouiso accurrit, seruoque Dei post tergum clam assistens, eius sanctum uerticem francisca annisu forti appeciit; sed Dei nutu frustrato ictu, ponti firmo tabulatu strato, cui tunc forte superitabat, franciscam tam ualide infixit, ut difficultate extrahendi moram percussori faceret*.

There was a temple in a remote location to which he had sent the pious priest Ulrich, loyal to him and trusted by him in the utmost, to knock it down. But the few idol worshipers left, when they saw him from atop the wall, endeavored to stop him by throwing rocks and logs at him to break his head; however, by the protection of God he escaped unharmed and when he returned to his pious superior, Otto, he told him of their plots (…). Finally, when the temple had been destroyed, and the man of God was returned, he found an enormous walnut tree[166] which was consecrated to the idol together with a fountain that flowed beneath. He at once ordered his companions to cut it down. But the people of Stettin came out and pleaded that it should not be cut down because the indigent man who was its guardian[167] subsisted on its fruit; they swore under oath that by a public edict they would forever prohibit the sacrifices which had been there offered to demons. Moved by the justice of their reasonings, the pious teacher kindly acceded. However, while they were engaged in these discussions, the barbarian who was the guardian of the tree suddenly arrived and, approaching the servant of God from behind, struck a violent blow with an ax at his sacred head; but by God's will he missed and struck the ax with such force into the wooden floor of the bridge on which he was standing that the difficulty of drawing it out delayed the assailant.

166 It may also be an oak tree.

167 He was undoubtedly a priest of the sacred tree. This would explain his furious reaction to Saint Otto.

2.20 Herbord, *Dialog on the Life of Saint Otto of Bamberg*

Herbord became a member of Saint Michael's monastery in Bamberg in 1145. He composed his work on the life of the apostle of Pomerania, Saint Otto of Bamberg, around 1158–1159. There is a great deal of debate on whether his work precedes or follows Ebo's. The first author to suggest that Herbord's work precedes Ebo's was Klempin, followed by Köpke, who, nevertheless, changed his mind throughout his life. In any case, there is historical material contained in Herbord's work that is not in Ebo's work, which we assume derives from independent sources not known to him. Moreover, the dialog format notably contrasts with the chronological model used by Ebo. However, book III seems to borrow remarkably from Ebo's materials. On this controversy and the life of Saint Otto, see the introduction to Ebo (2.19.).

Herbord does not make any reference to himself in his work. We know that, at the death of Saint Otto, disputes arose at the heart of the monastic community and that Herbord probably have sided with those who pressured abbot Helmerich to abdicate, which indeed occurred in 1160. Herbord died in 1168.

Codex Monacensis 23582 (ZZ. 582), written in the 14th century, contains the entire *Dialog*. It is preserved in Szczecin.

Edition used: Köpke (1868).
Other editions: Meyer (1931: 24–31), Robinson (1920), Wikarjak-Liman (1974).
References: Albrecht-Buske (2003), Demm (1970), Denzler (1971), von Gutenberg (1937), Manitius (1931: 596–598), Weinrich (2005).

2.20.1 Dialog on the Life of Saint Otto of Bamberg *2.14*

On June 4, 1124 after traveling around regions devastated by the war, Saint Otto of Bamberg arrives in Pomerania and first goes to Pyritz.

Inde ad castrum ducis Pirissam undecima hora diei propinquantes, ecce, illic hominum ad MMMM ex omni prouincia confluxisse, ut eramus eminus, aspeximus; erat enim nescio quis festus dies paganorum, quem lusu, luxu cantuque gens uesana celebrans, uociferationes alta nos reddidit attonitos.

From there, as we drew near to Pyrissa,[168] at the duke's[169] camp, at the eleventh hour of the day, since we were above them, we saw some four thousand men who had gathered from the entire province, because it was some unknown

168 Pyritz.
169 Vratislav I of Pomerania.

pagan festival day that was celebrated by this wild people with sport, debauchery, song, and howling so loud that we were astonished.

2.20.2 Dialog on the Life of Saint Otto of Bamberg *2.22*

Interview of Duke Vratislav by Saint Otto of Bamberg occurring on August 3, 1124.

Dux etiam: "Scio", inquit, "christianae sanctitati esse contrarium plures uxores uel concubinas habere"; simulque tactis sanctorum reliquiis, sicut christianis iurare mos est, coram episcopo populo aspiciente, XXIV concubinas, quas ritu gentili suae legitimae uxori superduxerat, publice abiurauit. Quod uidentes alii complures eiusdem enormitatis praesumptores, abiurata et ipsi coniugum pluralitate, uni thoro exemplo ducis fidem se seruaturos polliciti sunt.

The Duke (Vratislav) says: "I know that to have more than one wife or to have concubines is inconsistent with Christian holiness," and while touching the relics of the saints, as is the custom when Christians take oaths, in the presence of the bishop and the people, he publicly renounced the twenty-four concubines which, in accordance with pagan custom, he had taken in addition to his lawful wife. Seeing that, the many others who had presumptuously committed this great deed, also renounced polygamy and promised that they would follow their chief's example and be faithful to one marriage bed.

2.20.3 Dialog on the Life of Saint Otto of Bamberg *2.30–34*

After staying in the city of Szczecin clandestinely, having received guarantees of safety from Duke Bolesław III, on November 1, 1124 Saint Otto of Bamberg begins his missionary work with a sermon, followed by the destruction of the pagan temples.

30. *"Et primo ipsis deceptoribus, diis uestris surdis et mutis, sculptilibus, et inmundis spiritibus qui in eis sunt, signo crucis armati, quantocius renunciate, fana diruite, simulacra conterite, ut hostibus eius eiectis a uobis Dominus Deus uester, Deus uiuus et uerus, in medio uestri habitare dignetur. Nisi enim omnes alios abiciatis ipsum habere propitium non potestis. Fugit enim et indignum sibi reputat aliorum consortium deorum, et nulla communicatio templo eius cum idolis. Sed scio, quia nondum satis confiditis; scio, quod timetis demones, inhabitatores fanorum et sculptilium uestrorum, et idcirco non audetis ea comminuere. Sed pace uestra sit, ut ego ipse cum fratribus meis sacerdotibus et clericis simulacra et continas illas aggrediar; et si nos crucis sanctae signaculo praemunitos illaesos permanere uideritis, eodem crucis muniti tropheo, uos omnes nobiscum in securi et ascia excisis ianuis et parietibus, deicite illas et incendite."*

31. Quod cum audissent et annuissent, episcopus et sacerdotes, celebrata missa et accepta communione, armati securibus et sarpis, continas aggrediuntur et fana, comminuentes et excidentes omnia, scandentes tecta et conuellentes. Stabant autem ciues aspicientes, quid dii facerent miserrimi, utrumnam tecta sua defenderent necne. At ubi destructoribus nichil mali euenire uident: « Si », inquiunt, « aliquid diuinae uirtutis haberent isti, quorum sacra et templa conuelluntur, utique defenderent se. Si autem se defendere aut sibi prodesse non ualent, quomodo nos defendere uel nobis prodesse poterunt? » Et haec dicentes facto impetu diruunt et comminuunt omnia, ipsamque lignorum materiam inter se diripientes, ad domo suas in usum foci coquendis panibus et cibis comportabant. Et quia plus rapiendi plus habere fas erat, omnes illae continae numero IV mira celeritate confractae sunt ac direptae.

Tiemo: Quare templa illa uocabant continas?

Sefridus: Sclauica lingua in plerisque uocibus latinitatem attingit, et ideo puto ab eo quod est continere continas esse uocatas.

32. Erant autem in ciuitate Stetinensi continae quattuor, sed una ex his, quae principalis erat, mirabili cultu et artificio constructa fuit, interius et exterius sculpturas habens, de parietibus prominentes imagines hominum et uolucrum et bestiarum, tam proprie suis habitudinibus expressas, ut spirare putares ac uiuere; quodque rarum dixerim, colores imaginum extrinsecarum nulla tempestate niuium uel imbrium fuscari uel dilui poterant, id agente industria pictorum. In hanc aedem ex prisca patrum consuetudine captas opes et arma hostium, et quicquid ex praeda nauali uel etiam terrestri pugna quaesitum erat, sub lege decimationis congerebant. Crateres etiam aureos uel argenteos, in quibus augurari, epulari et potare nobiles solebant ac potentes, in diebus solempnitatum quasi de sanctuario proferendos ibi collocauerant. Cornua etiam grandia taurorum agrestium deaurata et gemmis intexta, potibus apta, et cornua cantibus apta, mucrones et cultros, multamque suppellectilem preciosam, raram et uisu pulcram, in ornatum et honorem deorum suorum ibi conseruabant, quae omnia episcopo et sacerdotibus, ubi fanum dirutum fuerat, danda censebant. Sed ille: « Absit a me », inquit, « ut a uobis ditemur, nam talia et his meliora domi nobis habundat; uos ea potius quorum sunt in uestros usus cum Dei benedictione distribuite. » Et aqua benedicta omnia conspergens et crucis super ea benedictione facta, iussit, ut inter se illa diuiderent. Erat autem ibi simulacrum triceps, quod in uno corpore tria capita habens Triglaus uocabatur; quod solum accipiens, ipsa capitella sibi cohaerentia, corpore comminuto, secum inde quasi pro tropheo asportauit, et postea Romam pro argumento conuersionis illorum transmisit, scilicet ad uidendum domno apostolico et uniuersali ecclesiae, quid ipse illius obedientiarius uellendo et plantando, aedificando et destruendo,[170] *apud illam gentem profecisset. Tres*

170 Jer. 1:10.

uero aliae continae minus uenerationis habebant minusque ornatae fuerant. Sedilia tantum intus in circuitu exstructa erant et mensae, quia ibi conciliabula et conuentus suos habere soliti erant. Nam siue potare siue ludere siue seria sua tractare uellent, in easdem aedes certis diebus conueniebant et horis. Erat praeterea ibi quercus ingens et frondosa, et fons subter eam amoenissimus, quam plebs simplex numinis alicuius inhabitatione sacram aestimans, magna ueneratione colebat. Hanc etiam episcopus cum post destructas continas incidere uellet, rogatus est a populo ne faceret. Promittebant enim nunquam se ulterius sub nomine religionis nec arborem illam colituros nec locum, sed solius umbrae atque amoenitatis gratia, quia hoc peccatum non sit, saluare illam potius quam saluari ab illa se uelle. Qua suscepta promissione: « Acquiesco », inquit episcopus, « de arbore; sed illud unum, uiuum numen sortium uestrarum, de medio tolli oportet, quia nec augurium nec sortilegium exercere christianis licet ».

33. Habebant enim caballum mirae magnitudinis et pinguem, nigri coloris et acrem ualde. Iste toto anni tempore uacabat, tantaeque fuit sanctitatis, ut ullum dignaretur sessorem, habuitque unum de quatuor sacerdotibus templorum custodem diligentissimum. Quando ergo itinere terrestri contra hostes aut praedatum ire cogitabant, euentum rei hoc modo per illum solebant praediscere: Hastae IX disponebantur humo, spacio unius cubiti ab inuicem disiunctae. Strato ergo caballo atque frenato, sacerdos, ad quem illius pertinebat custodia, tentum freno per iacentes hastas in transuersum ducebat ter atque reducebat. Quod si pedibus inoffensis hastisque indisturbatis, equus transibat, signum habuere prosperitatis et securi pergebant; sin autem, quiescebant. Hoc ergo genus sortium aliasque ligneas calculationes, in quibus naualis pugnae uel praedae considerabant auguria, quamuis multum renitentibus aliquibus, Dei tandem auxilio penitus abrasit, ipsumque profani uaticinii caballum, ne simplicibus esset offensionis laqueus, in aliam terram uendi praecepit, asserens hunc magis quadrigis quam propheciis idoneum. Cumque omnes superstitiones et enormitates suas episcopo docente abiecissent, monuit, ut omnes christianos fratres suos reputantes, ne uenderent, nec interficerent, neque captiuando torquerent, nec terminos eorum turbarent, nec praedas ex eis tollerent, sed fraterne ac socialiter se cum omnibus gererent, eademque ab illis mutuo sperarent. Et quod omni immanitate crudelius erat, femineos partus enecare, ne ultra fieret, mulieres collaudare monebat. Nam usque ad haec tempora, si plures filias aliqua genuisset, ut ceteris facilius prouiderent, aliquas ex eis iugulabant, pro nichilo ducentes parricidium.

34. Emundata igitur ciuitate ab immanitate scelerum et spurcitiarum, abdicata etiam coniugum pluralitate, adiuuantibus et coeuangelizantibus illis qui ante uniuersalem populi consensum fidem quasi priuatim acceperant, fiunt cathecismi per uicos et capita platearum (…).

30. The bishop (…) says (…): "And first of all, armed with the sign of the cross, you must immediately renounce the impostors, your gods who are deaf and dumb, your images, and the unclean spirits inside them; destroy the temples and break in pieces the idols, so that when His enemies have been cast out by you, your Lord God, who is the living and true God, may condescend to dwell in your midst. For, unless you cast away all other gods, He cannot look upon you with favor; for He refuses and disdains any alliance with other gods and His temple has nothing in common with idols. But I know that you do not yet fully believe; I know that you fear the demons that inhabit your temples and sacred images, and that therefore you will not dare to destroy them. However, if it be for your peace of mind, I and my brother priests and clergy will attack the idols and the *continas* and if you see that we are protected by the sign of the holy cross and remain uninjured, then, protected by the same victorious symbol, may you join with us with axes and hoes, after destroying the doors and walls, and knock them down and burn them."

31. Having heard this and agreed, the bishop and the priests, after having celebrated mass and receiving communion, armed with axes and hoes, proceeded to attack the *continas* and the temples, cutting down and demolishing everything, climbing the roofs and tearing them down. The inhabitants of the city contemplated what their miserable gods would do, and whether or not they would defend their temples. But when they saw that no evil befell the destroyers, they said: "If these gods possessed any divine power, they would surely defend themselves from those who destroy their temples and sacred places. But if they are unable to defend or help themselves, how can they defend or help us?" Saying this, in a collective impetus, they knocked down and destroyed everything, and they divided amongst themselves the wood from the beams and carried it to their own homes to be used in the stove and for cooking bread and food. And as it was held to be right that he who seized most should have most, all four *continas* were broken down and demolished with astonishing swiftness.

Tiemon: Why did they call their temples *continas*?

Sefrid: The Slavic language has many words that are connected to Latin, and therefore I think that they are called *continas*[171] because of the verb "to enclose" (*continere*).[172]

171 Köpke relates *contina* to Pol. *konczyna* "end, roof," so he proposes an ordinary meaning: "covered building." Słupecki (1994: 12–13) compares it to Pol. *kąt* "corner," and therefore postulates an etymology of "building with four corners."

172 The same etymology is proposed by the Anonymous Monk of Prüfening, § 2.21.3.

32. There were also four *continas* in the city of Stettin, but one of them, the principal one, was built with marvelous skill and adornment, with sculptures within and without, the walls showing images of men, birds, and beasts, the appearance of which was so natural that they might have been thought to be living and breathing. Another especially remarkable aspect was that the colors of the images outside were not dimmed or washed off either by snow or rain, owing to the technical perfection of the painters. Into this temple, in accordance with the ancient custom of their ancestors, the people brought the stores and arms of their enemies which they captured as spoils from land or sea combat, pursuant to the law of the tithe. The gold and silver kraters with which their nobles and great men were accustomed to make prophesies, feast, and drink, had been brought out and placed there. They had also preserved there for the adornment and honor of their gods horns of wild bulls covered with gold and set with gems, made to be drunk from, and horns adapted as musical instruments, swords and knives, and much exotic furniture beautiful to look upon, all of which they thought to deliver to the bishop and the priests once the temple had been destroyed. But he said: "Be it far from me that we should be enriched by you, for we have at home things like these and even better; you should rather distribute them for your own use with the blessing of God." And after sprinkling them all with holy water and blessing them with the cross, he commanded that they should divide them amongst themselves. There was also a three-headed idol, because to a single body corresponded three heads and it was called Triglav; although once the body was destroyed its three heads adhering to it was the only thing that he took with him as a trophy and afterwards he sent them to Rome as a proof of the conversion of the people, so that the Holy Father[173] and the whole Church might see what results he, the obedient servant, had attained amongst these people by uprooting and planting, building and destroying.[174] The three other *continas* were held in lower estimation and were less ornamented. They only had seats and tables on the inside as the people were accustomed to hold councils and meetings there. For they like to drink, play, and transact serious business there and in the same temple they met on certain days and hours. There was also there a large and leafy holm oak tree with a delightful fountain underneath, which the simple-minded people regarded as rendered sacred by the presence of a certain god, and treated with great veneration. After the destruction of the *continas*, when the bishop wished to cut it down, the people begged him not to, because they promised that they

173 Honorius II.
174 Jer. 1:10.

would never again venerate in the name of religion either that tree or that place, but that only due to its shade and the agreeableness of the place, which were not in themselves sinful, they desired to save it rather than be saved by it. Having received this promise the bishop said: "I agree as regards the tree, but you must eliminate live numens from your prophesies, as it is not lawful for Christians to practice or receive augury or sorcery."

33. For they possessed a horse of great size and luster which was black and very spirited. It was idle throughout the year and was regarded as being so holy that no one was worthy to ride it and it had as its diligent guardian one of the four priests of the temple. Thus, whenever the people contemplated setting out on an expedition by land to attack or loot their enemies, they were accustomed to forecasting the result in this way: nine spears were placed on the ground separated from one another by the space of a cubit. When then the horse was saddled and bridled, the priest who was in charge of it led the horse only by the bit and brought him three times across the spears on the ground. And if the horse crossed without stumbling or trampling the spears, they proceeded on their expedition as this was considered an omen of prosperity and safety. Otherwise, they abandoned the endeavor. Ultimately, although this practice was observed by some, by the help of God, the bishop did completely away with all prophecies of this kind and with the other calculations that were made with wood, by which they sought auguries of a naval battle or piracy, and the horse of the unholy prophesy itself, so that it would not ensnare the simple-minded people in sin, he ordered that it should be sold and sent to another region, saying that it was better fitted to be a cart horse than to furnish prophesies. When, thanks to the teachings of the bishop, they cast away all their superstitions and follies, he admonished them that they should regard all Christians as their brothers, and therefore they should not sell them as slaves, kill them, capture them for torture, disturb the boundaries of their lands, or plunder their spoils, but should behave towards all of them in a fraternal and sociable manner, and should expect the same conduct in return from them. And so that they would no longer do what was more inhumane than any other cruelty, kill newborn infants, he urged them to praise women. For up until that time, if a woman gave birth to more daughters than they could easily provide for, they strangled some of them, as they disregarded infanticide.

34. Thus, when the city had been purged of the cruelty of crime and filth and the practice of polygamy had been eradicated, trusting in the cooperation and evangelization of those who had received the faith in private, with the consent of all the people, catechism was preached in the hamlets and most important squares (…).

2.20.4 Dialog on the Life of Saint Otto of Bamberg *3.4*

In May 1127, Saint Otto is in Usedom, protected by Duke Vratislav. The priests of Wolgast, fearing the arrival of the Christian missionaries, incite the pagan people against them.

Ipsi uero sacerdotes idolorum non minima causa huius conscissionis erant, appositi eis quibus displicebat quod factum fuerat, sua nimirum lucra cessatum iri non ignorantes, si cultura daemonum illic aboleretur; unde modis omnibus rem praepedire moliti, uaria calliditatis suae argumenta uisionibus, sompniis, prodigiis et uariis terroribus confixerunt. Quin etiam in Hologosta ciuitate, quo tunc proxime aduenturus nunciabatur episcopus, sacerdos qui illic idolo ministrabat, nocturno tempore uicinam siluam ingressus, et in loco editiori secus uiam inter condensa fruticum sacerdotalibus indutus astabat, et mane summo quendam rusticum de rure ad forum gradientem his alloquitur: "Heus tu", inquit, "bone homo!" At ille respiciens in eam partem, unde uocem audierat, inter uirgulta personam candidis indutam, quamuis dubia luce, uidere coepit et timere. Et ille: "Sta!", inquit, "et accipe quae dico. Ego sum deus tuus; ego sum qui uestio et graminibus campos et frontibus nemora; fructus agrorum et lignorum, fetus pecorum, et omnia quaecumque usibus hominum seruiunt, in mea sunt potestate. Haec dare soleo cultoribus meis, et his qui me contempnunt auferre. Dic ergo eis qui sunt in ciuitate Hologostensi, ne suscipiant deum alienum, qui eis prodesse non possit; mone etiam, ut alterius religionis nuncios, quos ad eos uenturos praedico, uiuere non patiantur". Haec ubi attonito ruricolae demon uisibilis edixerat, ad densiora nemoris se contulit impostor. Rusticus uero quasi de oraculo stupidus, corruens pronus, adorauit in terra. Deinde abiens in ciuitatem coepit annunciare uisionem. Quid plura? Credidit populus; iterum atque iterum circundantes hominem, eadem saepius narrare cogebant, moti uidelicet monstri nouitate. Postremo, acsi nescius omnium aduenit sacerdos, indignationem primo simulans quasi de mendacio, deinde attendius audire et obtestari coepit hominem, ut uera tantum narrans, nullo figmento populum sollicitaret. At ille, ut erat rusticanae simplicitatis, manus tendere, oculos ad coelum leuare magnisque iuramentis et forti protestatione rem ita se habere asserens, etiam locum ipsius apparitionis se ostensurum pollicetur. Tunc sacerdos conuersus ad populum, uane suspirans: « En, hoc est », inquit, « quod toto anno dicebam! Quid nobis cum alieno deo? Quid nobis cum religione christianorum? Iuste mouetur et irascitur deus noster, si post omnia benefacta eius stulti et ingrati ad alium conuertimur. Sed ne iratus occidat nos, illis irascamur et occidamus eos, qui nos seducere ueniunt».

The idol priests themselves were not the lesser cause of this division, united with those who disliked what had occurred, not ignoring that the majority of

their own profits would disappear if the worship of demons were to be abolished there: they tried therefore by every possible means to hinder the matter, and interwove visions, dreams, prodigies, and various horrors into their ingenious arguments. What is more, in the city of Hologost,[175] where it was announced the bishop would soon visit, the priest who served the idol there, entering a neighboring wood at night, stood in a raised place off the path in the most dense foliage, dressed in his priestly garments, and at dawn he thus addressed a peasant who was going from the country to the market: "Hey you," he said, "good man!" The peasant, looking towards the spot from which he had heard the voice, despite the scant light, began to see in the thicket someone dressed in white and was afraid. And the priest said: "Halt! Hear what I say. I am your god. I am he who covers the fields with grain and the forests with leaves; the fruit of the fields and the trees, the offspring of the livestock, and everything that is enjoyed by men are in my power. I give them to my worshipers and take them from those who scorn me. Tell then the inhabitants of the town of Hologost that they must not accept a foreign god who cannot help them; also warn them not to let live the messengers of the other religion who I predict will come to you." After the visible spirit had spoken thus to the astonished peasant, the impostor withdrew to the denser parts of the wood. The peasant, stupefied as though he had heard the voice of an oracle, fell prone and worshiped him. He then went to the city and began to tell of the vision. Why say more? The people believed him; surrounding the man more and more, they compelled him to tell it many times, moved by the novelty of the miracle. Finally the priest, as if he were entirely ignorant of it, arrived and at first pretended to be indignant, as if it were a lie; he then began to listen more attentively to the man's testimony so that, as if only by telling the truth, he would rouse the people without any kind of fiction. And the peasant, as he was characterized by his crude simplicity, stretched forth his hands, lifted his eyes to heaven, and, assuring that the facts were thus with vows and vigorous protest of the truth of it, he even promised that he would point out the place of the apparition. Then the priest turned to the people with a deceptive sigh and said: "Well, this is what I have been saying for a whole year! Of what import is a foreign god to us? What does the Christian religion offer us? Our god is rightly disturbed and irritated if after receiving all of his benefits we turn to others, like fools and ingrates. But, lest he be angry with us and kill us, let us rise up against and kill those who come to seduce us."

175 Wolgast.

2.20.5 Dialog on the Life of Saint Otto of Bamberg *3.6*

May 1127. The allies of Saint Otto, Ulrich and his interpreter Albin, along with their companions, enter Wolgast, which causes a disturbance among the pagans.

Videntes autem pagani qui conuenerant illos a coepta uia reuersos, persequi eos quidem non audebant, sed ad illum clericum interficiendum omnes accurrerunt. Quo uiso, ille aliud quo declinaret non habens, fanum ipsum audacter, quamuis exterritus, intrauit. Erat autem illic clipeus pendens in pariete mirae magnitudinis, operoso artificio, auri laminis obtectus, quem contingere nulli mortalium liceret, eo quod esset illis nescio quid in hoc sacrosanctum ac paganae religionis auspicium, in tantum ut nunquam nisi belli solummodo tempore a loco suo moueri deberet. Nam, ut postea comperimus, deo suo Gerouito, qui lingua latina Mars dicitur, erat consecratus, et in omni proelio uictores sese hoc praeuio confidebant. Clericus autem, uir acris ingenii, dum metu mortis in templo huc illucque diffugeret, telum aliquod uel atibulum quaeritans, clipeum corripuit, et a mento collo iniecto, laeuaque loris inserta, in medium turbae furentis e ianua prosiliit. Rustici uero prodigialem armaturam uidentes, partim in fugam conuersi, partim etiam quasi exanimes facti in terram cadunt; ille autem proiecto clipeo, uersus hospicium ad socios currere coepit, et pedibus timor addidit alas.

The pagans, seeing that they had encountered those who had turned back on the path on which they had started, did not dare to follow them, but all of them rushed to kill the clergyman. When he saw this, having nowhere to turn from them, notwithstanding his terror, he audaciously entered the temple itself. There, hanging on the wall, was a shield of admirable size, with a wrought finish, covered with sheets of gold, which no human being could touch, because there was in it some sacrosanct virtue from their pagan religion, so that it would never be moved out of its place save only in time of war. For, as we afterwards found, it was dedicated to their god Gerovit, who in Latin is called Mars, and the people were confident that if they brought it with them, they would be victorious in every battle. The clergyman,[176] who was a man of keen intelligence, as he fled in fear of death hither and thither in the temple, searching for a weapon, or a place in which to hide, seized the shield and, his neck protected from the chin down, wrapping his left hand in the straps, he rushed from the door into the midst of the raging crowd. When the peasants beheld his extraordinary armor,

176 Ebo (§ 2.19.9.) attributes the anecdote to one of Saint Otto's companions, Ulrich.

some turned to flee, while others fell on the ground, as though they were lifeless; and he threw away the shield and began to run to the aid of his companions and fear gave wings to his feet.

2.20.6 Dialog on the Life of Saint Otto of Bamberg *3.7*

Saint Otto heads to Gützkow in June 1127.

Dein omni populo ualefaciens, et in multa caritate omnipotenti Deo illos committens, ad Gozgaugiam iter diuertit. In hac siquidem ciuitate mirae magnitudinis ac pulchritudinis templum fuit, sed episcopus cum de fide christianae religionis eos per interpretem alloqueretur—nam dux ad sua negocia iam ab eo discesserat—illi ad omnia se paratos asserebant, si modo fanum eorum intactum remanere potuisset; magnis enim sumptibus nuper exstructum fuerat, multumque in illo gloriabantur, eo quod uideretur magnum totius ciuitatis esse ornamentum. Temptabant etiam, occulte immittentes quosdam, pontificis animum lenire muneribus pro aedis conseruatione, tandem rogantes, ut uel in basilicam ordinaretur. Sed episcopus constanter agens, indignum esse dicebat, aedem sub titulo demonis aedificatam immundoque ritu profanatam diuinibus usibus mancipari.

After, he bade good-bye to all the people and having with much affection committed them to Almighty God, he returned to Gozgaugiar.[177] In this city there was a temple of admirable size and beauty, but when the bishop spoke through an interpreter to its inhabitants concerning the Christian faith—for the Duke had already left there on his own business—they declared that they were prepared for anything if only their temple might remain intact; it had been recently built at great expense and they were very proud of it because it appeared to be an ornament to the whole city. They moreover made attempts, secretly bribing some with gifts, to soften the disposition of the bishop in the hope that the building might be preserved, begging him ultimately to transform it into a Christian basilica. But the bishop remained firm and said it was unfitting that a building erected in honor of a demon and profaned by indecent rites should be transferred to divine service.

2.20.7 Dialog on the Life of Saint Otto of Bamberg *3.16*

In July 1127 Saint Otto of Bamberg returns to Szczecin, where a quasi-civil war had erupted between the converts to Christianity and the pagans.

177 Gützkow.

Nefandi quippe sacerdotes, dum peste ac mortibus homines et iumenta quodam anno ex inaequalitate aeris ibi laborarent, a diis malum hoc immissum asserebant, et uoluntate populi ecclesiam sancti Adalberti martiris, tintinnabulo et campanis deiectis, destruere coeperant; unusque illorum dum malleo cementarii altare percuteret, subito languore ac stupore a Domino percussus est. Cumque malleus de manu eius caderet, cecidit et ipse.

The abominable priests, when that year[178] men and beasts suffered the plague and death owing to the changes in the air, declared that this calamity had been sent by the gods, and, with the consent of the people, they began to destroy the church of the martyr Saint Adalbert, beginning by breaking down the tintinnabulum and the bells; and while one of them was striking the altar with a mason's hammer, he was suddenly struck by god with languor and limpness. And as soon as the hammer fell from his hand, he too fell.

2.20.8 Dialog on the Life of Saint Otto of Bamberg *3.18*

Disturbances occurring on July 31, 1127 in the city of Szczecin between pagans and Christian missionaries, cf. Ebo § 2.19.4.

Vnus sacerdotum, uir Belial, plenus furore, pinguis et procerus, in medium turbae sese fortiter intrudens, cambucam suam manu gestabat, spiransque et anhelans usque ad ipsos gradus accessit, leuataque manu semel et bis columpnam graduum ualidissime percussit. Dein clamore magno et uerbis nescio quibus contumeliose prolatis, silentium mandat loquenti, suaeque uocis grossitudine magnum tonans, sermonem interpretis et episcopi pariter oppressit, populoque ait: "Sic, o insensati, stulti et inertes, quare decepti et incantati estis? Ecce, hostis uester, et hostis deorum uestrorum! Quid expectatis? Ferentne impune et contemptum et iniuriam?" Omnes autem incedebant hastati. Ait ergo: "Haec dies omnibus erroribus eius finem imponet!" Omnesque adhortans, singillatim quosque de quorum malignitate certus erat, propriis nominibus compellebat. Et quicunque spiritu uesano agitabantur, quibusque familiare fuit audacter magis quam consulte rem agere, ad dicentis uocem inflammati, hastas leuant.

One of the priests, who was a man of Belial, full of fury, fat and tall, rushed into the midst of the crowd and, brandishing his spear in his hand, advanced snorting and panting as far as the steps, he raised his hand once, and twice struck

178 This refers to the previous year, 1126.

the column of the stairs with force. Later, with a great uproar and unknown words of abuse, he demanded silence while he spoke and his raucous voice boomed, drowning the speech of the interpreter and the bishop and he said to the people: "Senseless, foolish, and feeble people, why are ye so deceived and bewitched? Behold, your enemy and the enemy of your gods here! For what do ye wait? Are they to bring contempt and insult with impunity?" And all the people with spears advanced. He said, "This day shall put an end to all error!" Encouraging them all, he one by one called on those known for their malice by name. And those who were inspired by a cruel spirit, those who were accustomed to act with rashness rather than with discretion, roused by the voice of the speaker, began to raise their spears.

2.20.9 Dialog on the Life of Saint Otto of Bamberg *3.22*

The Christians miraculously prevailed over the pagans and conversions to Christianity increased in Szczecin in August 1127.

Verumtamen laetis euentibus temptatio non defuit. Nam cum delendis et exstirpandis fanis idolorum et sacris diligentius insisteret episcopus, etiam arborem nucis mirandae pulchritudinis idolo dicatam, ne scandalo esset rudibus, uolebat incidere. Vicini autem, qui umbra eius et amoenitate saepe delectati fuerant, ne incideret eam, rogabant. Porro agri possessor uehementius irasci atque indignari coepit, aliisque modeste agentibus, hic minis et clamoribus longius assistens, furorem cordis euomuit.

However, there was no shortage of obstacles in those happy events. For when the bishop insisted on destroying and removing the idol temples and their sacred places, he even wished to cut down the admirably beautiful walnut tree dedicated to the idol, so that it would not lead to the peasants' disgrace. The local people, who often enjoyed its shade and agreeableness, urged him not to. Later the owner of the field[179] began to become irritated and greatly indignant and, being surrounded by others who worked at first timidly, then with threats and shouts, he hurled the fury of his heart.

2.20.10 Dialog on the Life of Saint Otto of Bamberg *3.23*

The row between the bishop and the inhabitants of Szczecin continues over keeping the sacred tree. The priest Adalbert mediates in the debate.

179 In Ebo (§ 2.19.15.) this character becomes a guardian for the sacred tree, likely a priest, who attempts to kill Saint Otto.

De arbore uero ne incideretur, tandem ciues multis precibus obtinuerunt, iureiurando firmantes, nichil unquam diuinitatis uel sanctitatis arbori sese adscripturos, neque numinis uel idoli alicuius uice se illam habituros, sed magis pro utilitate fructuum et amoenitate umbrarum.

And the inhabitants, after much supplication that the tree not be cut down, affirmed by solemn oath that they would never relate the tree to any divinity or holy entity, that in it no numen or holy being would live, but rather only the utility of its fruit and the pleasantness of its shade.

2.20.11 Dialog on the Life of Saint Otto of Bamberg *3.24*

Saint Otto goes to Wolin in September 1127, but is ambushed on the way.

Maligni uero sacerdotes, pleni demonibus, cum iam aperte non possent, uel per insidias seruo Dei nocere moliti sunt. Conducta etenim magna sicariorum multitudine uiam abeuntis in arctioribus nauigii locis obsederunt, suis amicis istarum rerum nesciis, mortem episcopi quasi per diuinationem praenunciantes. At ubi ad insidias uentum est, hostes arma corripiunt, funambulos tenent, nauigantes inuadunt, sanguinem episcopi super omnia sitientes. At uero Stetinenses et nostri qui cum episcopo erant arma capiunt, ex rate prosiliunt, partim terra partim aqua consistunt, uim uiribus audacter arcentes. Cumque aliquamdiu pugnatum esset, hi qui de insidiis erant a Stetinensibus coeperunt agnosci; et confusi de malefacto fugerunt. At sacerdos, qui haec machinatus fuerat, eadem hora domi cum amicis suis residens, paralisi et uehementissimo languore uexari coepit, suis, ut arbitror, diis eum non inmerito laniantibus. Cumque ore, oculis ac tota facie distorta, frontem ad scapulas uerteret, et miserabili corporis agitatione in mortem solueretur, exclamauit: «Haec patior propter insidias et mala quae contra Ottonem feci!» In hac uoce uitam finiuit. Tantus autem foetor subsecutus est, ut Pluto ipse infernalis—uel quisquis illic maximus est—ab huius faucibus spirare putaretur. Item alius quidam de sacerdotibus Ottoni contrarius, cum ad negocia sua cum institoribus forte nauigaret, et in insula quadam nautae, ut assolent, ad suas commoditates applicuissent, iste alienata mente, nec uultu nec uoce sanum quid agens, a comitibus notatus est. Cumque seorsum ab aliis in silua ueluti per amentiam uagaretur, iuuenes quidam quasi per lasciuiam secuti, delirum fune per guttur ad arborem ligant et discedunt. Ille uero incautis motibus, uinculorum impatiens, se soluere luctabatur, sed diuino iudicio constrictus, per funem, qui collo iniectus erat, interclusso anhelitu, mortuus est.

As they could no longer do so openly, the wicked priests, full of demons, attempted to kill the servant of God through machinations. They brought

together a great number of assassins, set them on the route by which he was leaving at the narrowest parts where the ship would pass, and predicted to their friends, who knew nothing of these things, the death of the bishop, as though by divination. And when the moment of the ambush arrived, the enemies took up their arms, detained the skippers and attacked the sailors, thirsty for the blood of the bishop above all. But the people of Stettin and our men who were with the bishop seized their arms, expelled them from the ship, sending some to land and others into the water, boldly repelling the attack by force. When the fight had gone on for some time, those who had taken part in the trap began to be recognized by the people of Stettin and fled in shame from the scene of their crime. But the priest who had made this plot, who at the same hour was at home with his friends, began to suffer a paralysis and an intense fit of fainting, as, in my view, his gods were ripping him apart, not without reason. With his appearance, eyes, and entire countenance contorted, his forehead twisted toward his back and he exclaimed. "This is happening to me because of the traps and wickedness I brought against Otto!" With this exclamation his life ended. And such a stench arose that it is supposed that infernal Pluto himself, or whoever holds the highest authority there, hurled it from his fauces. Similarly, another priestly enemy of Otto, while sailing in the company of traders for his business, and the sailors, as they are accustomed, anchored on an island for their needs, this man, with his mind gone mad, without doing any sane thing, nor even with the appearance of his voice, he signaled to his companions. And as he wandered angrily through the woods, separate from the others, some boys followed him to ridicule him and tied the lunatic to a tree by the neck with a rope and left. And he, with careless movements, impatient because of the tether, struggled to untie himself, but moved by divine will, his breathing was cut off by the rope that he had around his neck and he died.

2.20.12 Dialog on the Life of Saint Otto of Bamberg *3.26*
Saint Otto's preaching in Wolin. September 1127.

"Moneo ut illius calamitatis memores, nec Iulium ipsum nec Iulii hastam, nec statunculas idolorum uel simulacra ullo modo colatis denuo, pristina mala iterantes, ne mortem, pestilentiam incendia et bella diuina ultione incurratis."

(The bishop … says …): "My advice to you is that, mindful of that calamity, you do not again worship in any way either Julius, or the spear of Julius, or the little idol statues, or images, repeating thus your former errors, lest you incur death, pestilence, fire, and war by the vengeance of God."

2.21 Anonymous Monk of Prüfening, *Life of Saint Otto, Bishop of Bamberg*

Of the three biographies of Saint Otto of Bamberg, the work of the Anonymous Monk of the monastery of Prüfening, written between 1159–1163, is believed to be the third and to lack information that is not already found in the other two authors' accounts, although it seems that, in any case, he may have known companions of Saint Otto of Bamberg (1060–1139). By contrast, Manitius (1931: 594–596), following Haag (1874), considers it to be the oldest biography of Saint Otto. On this argument, see the introductions to Ebo (Text 2.19) and Herbord (Text 2.20). On the life of Saint Otto of Bamberg, see the introduction to Ebo (Text 2.19). Similarly, Manitius (1931: 594–596) believes that its style is notably better than that of the other biographies of the saint.

Edition used: Köpke (1856b).
Other editions: Hofmeister (1924), Meyer (1931: 40–42), Petersohn (1999), Robinson (1920).
References: Albrecht-Buske (2003), Demm (1970), Denzler (1971), von Gutenberg (1937), Haag (1874), Manitius (1931: 594–596), Weinrich (2005).

2.21.1 Life of Saint Otto, Bishop of Bamberg *2.5*

Entering Pomerania, Saint Otto performs missionary work in Petri, then in Chamin, and finally arrives in Wolin on August 4, 1124.

Tertia deinde Iulin ciuitas fuit. Haec a Iulio Caesare, qui eam olim exstruxerat, uocabulum trahens iuxta Oderam fluuium haud procul a mari sita est (…). *Mos* (…) *iste antiquitus a gentibus seruabatur, ut quamdiu quis libere in domo principis habitaret, nisi primum consulto principe de graui crimine coargutus, nichil a quoquam molestiae sustineret. Quo contra episcopo uix uspiam tutus ad manendum supererat locus, publicis uero se inferre conspectibus sine graui sui suorumque periculo non audebat. Quotienscunque enim in publicum praedicandi gratia processisset, uideres barbaros cum gladiis ac fustibus, ueluti unumquemque casus armauerat, certatim erumpere, puluerem alios spargere, alios lapides crebro iactare, fremere dentibus, uocibus strepere, ut, nullo nocendi genere praetermisso, cuncti pariter in unius necem hominis conspirasse uiderentur.*

Then, the third city was Wollin. This city, named after Julius Caesar, who in days of old built it, was located next to the Oder River not far from the sea (…). Long (…) have the gentiles maintained the following custom, namely, that all the time that someone freely inhabited the house of the prince, unless they

were previously accused of a serious crime and sentenced by the prince, they should not be inconvenienced by anyone. Against this, the bishop hardly had any safe place to turn and he no longer dared expose himself to public observation without grave danger to his person or to his companions. Every time he had gone out to preach, the barbarians could be seen going out to dispute with swords and sticks, as if chance wished that each of them arm themselves, and while some threw dirt, others threw rocks ceaselessly, ground their teeth, shouted, such that, without leaving any form of intimidation aside, it would be clear that they all conspired equally to achieve the death of a single man.

2.21.2 Life of Saint Otto, Bishop of Bamberg *2.6*

He continues telling of Saint Otto's missionary work in Wolin in August of 1124, cf. Ebo § 2.19.5.

Nam usque ad id temporis Iulinensibus, quod quidem doleamne an rideam nescio, uenerabiliter reseruata Iulii Caesaris lancea colebatur, quam ita rubigo consumpserat, ut ipsa ferri materies nullis iam usibus esset profutura. Quam tamen episcopus, ut tanto eos errore absolueret, L talentis argenti uoluit comparare, non magni pendens quamlibet grauem rerum suarum iacturam, dummodo gentiles uendita uanitate emerent suam. Et episcopus quidem hoc facere, ut fidelis et prudens negotiator, cui de animarum salute res agitur, cogitabat. Pagani uero, ut impii et infideles, uehementer abnuere, lanceam diuinioris esse naturae, nichil ei transitorium uel caducum posse conferri, ac proinde nullo umquam a se pretio extorquendam, in qua praesidium sui, patriae munimentum et insigne uictoriae esse constabat.

Until that time, the people of Wollin—of this I do not know whether to lament or laugh—had kept the spear of Julius Caesar as an object of veneration, which rust had consumed to such an extent that the iron itself was no longer of use. However, in order to free them from such an immense error, the bishop wished to buy it from them for fifty talents of silver, not because he appraised it at such a price to so spend his funds, but rather with the purpose of the pagans reaching theirs at the price of their sold vanity. And the bishop reflected on how to do this, as a loyal and prudent negotiator on whom the salvation of souls depends. But the pagans, impious and unbelieving as they were, rejected the proposal vehemently, alleging that the spear was of a divine nature, that it could not be exchanged for something temporary and that it would not be taken from them under any circumstance, given that it was known that in it was their protection, the security of their motherland, and the symbol of their victory.

2.21.3 Life of Saint Otto, Bishop of Bamberg *2.11*

The bishop leaves Wolin and goes to Szczecin, where he begins his missionary work in November 1124; cf. Herbord § 2.20.3.

Episcopus laetabatur quidem ad gloriam Christi, sed tradere eis fidei sacramenta nolebat, priusquam et deorum fana destruerent, et ipsam denique ciuitatem ab uniuersis ydolatriae sordibus emundarent. In ea siquidem ciuitate domus duae, continas dixere priores, ingenti cura uel arte constructae, haud grandi ab inuicem interuallo distabant, in quibus ab stulto paganorum populo deus Triglous colebatur. Praeterea et equum formae praestantis, qui dei Trigloi[180] *dicebatur, ciues alere consueuerunt. Nam et sella eius auro et argento, prout deum deceret, ornata in altera continarum ab ydolorum pontifice seruabatur, qua nimirum equus diuinus instructus, loco et tempore constituto procederet, cum ad captanda auguria uario errore delusus gentilis ille populus conueniret. Erat uero auguriorum huiusmodi consuetudo. Hastis pluribus sparsim positis, equum Trigloi per eas transire fecerunt. Qui cum nullam earum deambulando contingerent, ualens uidebatur augurium, et equis sedentes pergerent ad praedandum. At si quam earum suo contigisset incessu, interdictam sibi diuinitus equitandi facultatem arbitrantes, ad sortes se illico contulerunt, quatinus ex earum consideratione cognoscerent, utrum nauigando an potius ambulando praedatum ire deberent. Omnem uero quam ceperant praedam decimare solebant, et de quolibet euentu deum Trigloum consulturi, praefatas semper continas frequentabant.*

The bishop was certainly happy by the glory of Christ, but he did not wish to give them the sacraments of the faith before the temples of the gods were destroyed and the city itself cleansed of all the filth of idolatry. For in said city there were two buildings that the elders called *continas*, for this reason, because they *contained*[181] the images of the gods, built with great talent and art, that were not far from one another, wherein the ignorant masses of the pagans worshiped the god Triglav. The people also had the custom of rearing a horse with a beautiful figure that was said to be the property of the god Triglav. And a saddle adorned with gold and silver, such that was worthy of the gods, was kept by the idol priest in the second *contina*, wherein the horse—undoubtedly instructed by the deity—came out at the opportune time and place, when that gentile people, deceived by many errors, agreed to receive auguries. The custom of receiving auguries was as follows: with several spears placed on the ground,

180 var. *Trigloy*.

181 The same etymology as in Herbord § 2.20.3.

they had the horse of Triglav pass between them. If upon passing, it did not touch any of them, the augury was considered valid and, mounting their horses, they embarked upon their military expedition. But if on its path it stumbled over any of them, they thought that the ability to ride horses had been prohibited by the deity and at that point they gathered to receive other auguries to the extent that they knew and valued them, in order to ascertain whether it was best to embark upon the expedition by boat or on foot. All that they took as spoils they were accustomed to offer as tithe and to learn of any matter that may be consulted with the god Triglav, they constantly visited said *continas*.

2.21.4 Life of Saint Otto, Bishop of Bamberg *2.12*

Saint Otto destroys the pagan temples of Szczecin. November 1124.

Tandem fana ista data sunt in potestatem episcopi, et iussu eius diruta ac destructa, ita ut ligna eorum non solum a fidelibus sed ab ipsis ydolorum cultoribus certatim rapi cerneres, non tam colendis olim numinibus seruandisue deorum insignibus proficua, quam nutriendis iam ignibus coquendisque holeribus profutura. Ea uero quae in fanis oblata fuerant, aqua benedicta respersa, ciuibus uniuersa restituit, ut quae illi non recte optulerant, hic recte diuideret, dum diabolicis mancipata seruiciis ad usum hominum detorqueret. Neque enim ex his quippiam uolebat ipse contingere, quamquam illic inter alia uasa aurea et argentea plurima haberentur. Quod quidem in eo mirabile multum multumque laudabile gentibus uisum est, maxime cum is qui contemptum seculi hominibus persuaderet, et quae prima mortales ducunt, aurum uidelicet et argentum contempnendo calcaret. Truncum Trigloi ipse contriuit, sed tria eius capita deargentata, a quibus et Triglous dictum est, secum postea inde abduxit, quae deinde beatae memoriae papae Kalixto in testimonium sui laboris et conuersionis ac credulitatis illarum gentium cum debita Christo gratiarum actione direxit.

In the end, these temples were furnished to the authority of the bishop and, in accordance with his order, they were destroyed and razed, such that you could see its timber endlessly brought not only to faithful Christians, but even to those idol worshipers, and they did not use them to preserve the deities of old or worship the standards of their gods, but rather to feed their homes and cook their stews. The offerings that were in the temples, after being sprinkled with holy water, were all returned to the inhabitants of the city, so that what had been unjustly offered to the idol was divided justly and the goods given to the service of the demons would revert to the benefit of men. And he himself did not wish to touch even a single gold or silver cup of those there among other treasures. Which seemed at the time very admirable and worthy of praise

to the people, above all when he who preached to the men the contempt of this world trampled with disdain the things that the mortals deemed most important, specifically gold and silver. He himself destroyed the wood of the Idol of Triglav, but he took its three silver-plated heads, which gave it the name Triglav, with him in order to send them to Pope Callixtus[182] of happy memory, in testament to his efforts, the conversion of those people, and their prior credulity, in due thanksgiving to Christ.

2.22 Helmold of Bosau, *Chronicle of the Slavs*

Helmold was born around 1118–1125. Criticism prior to Stoob supposed that he hailed from the area of Nordalbingia, close to Segeberg. However, Stoob (1963: 2–3) postulates that he came from an area south of the Elbe and that he subsequently moved to Segeberg, where he received his training at the monastery founded by his teacher Saint Vicelinus between 1134–1138, approximately.[183] The monastery was destroyed during the Slavic revolt of 1138 and the monks had to move to Faldera (Wippenthorp) on the border between Slavia and Holstein. However, Helmold was sent to Braunschweig to complete his education in 1139–1143 with Gerold, who would subsequently become the bishop of Oldenburg. Helmold became a deacon in Faldera starting in 1150 and there he would remain until the death of Saint Vicelinus in 1156. He subsequently became assistant to Bishop Gerold, who appointed him priest of Bosau. It was there that he composed his *Chronicle*, writing the first book between 1167–1168 and the second in 1172. He died after 1177.

The *Chronicle of the Slavs* is divided into two parts: the first encompasses the period of the conversion of the Saxons until 1168, and the second until 1171. Following the model of Adam of Bremen, he begins with the Christianization of the 9th century and arrives at his own time. His narration of previous events borrows heavily from Adam, from whom he literally copies. After the death of archbishop Adalbert, the *Chronicle* focuses on the conquest of the territories of the lower Elbe and the missions in eastern Holstein, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, and Pomerania. After the success of the Christianization during the reign of Obotrite Prince Henry, Duke Lothair, and the mission of Saint Vicelinus, the critical period for the kingdoms of the sons of Prince Henry arrives as well as the death of Lothair. The second book includes Duke Henry the Lion and

182 Actually, Honorius II.

183 Regarding said monastery, see the donation made to it in 1137 by Lothair III (von Ottenthal 1927: 182–184).

Count Adolf of Holstein as historic protagonists and recounts the struggles to control the land of the Obotrites, the foundation of the border colonies, and the triumph of the Christianizing mission. Helmold also recounts the policy of the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire and their campaigns in Italy within the Investiture controversy (1075–1122), always remaining clearly loyal to the Popes. He recounts the proclamation and course of the First Crusade (1096–1102) and is an indispensable source for the history of the Second Crusade (1147). However, all the testimonies he provides referring to the different territories of Northern Germany are highly imprecise.

The missionary aspects referring to his mentors, Saint Vicelinus and the bishops Gerold and Conrad, are highly detailed, because they come from his first-hand experience and his relationship with the local church.

The author's attitude toward the Slavs is remarkable, as he obviously criticizes them for being pagan, but justifies their political resistance against the Saxons, who he accuses of being covetous and of not being concerned with the conversion of the Slavs, but rather with political and economic control of the Baltic coast. Helmold's chronicle is primarily, like Adam's, a missionary history.

Edition used: Schmeidler (1937).
Other editions: Lappenberg (1869), Lappenberg-Pertz (1868), Meyer (1931: 42–47), Stoob (1963), Tschan (1966).
References: Christiansen (1997: 62–63), Kahl (1953, 1962), Janson (2003), Léger (1900), Manitius (1931: 493–498), von Padberg (1994), (2003), Regel (1883), Scior (2002), Smalley (1974: 125–128).

2.22.1 Chronicle of the Slavs *I, 2*

Helmold begins his work explaining the ethnic and political divisions of the Slavs. Chapter 1 closely follows Adam of Bremen I, 7; II, 19–22; IV, 10, 12, 13, 16, 18. He enhances, however, Adam's information locating the settlements of the Prussians, Bohemians, Moravians, Carantanians, Sorbs, and Hungarians. On Helmold's sources, see Regel (1883). Chapter I, 2 focuses on the city of Jumne, but before this he provides a geographical description of the towns on the Pomeranian coast, where the Rani live. It follows Adam of Bremen II, 21–22, IV, 18, 20, scholia 14, 16, 56, and 121.

Rani, qui et Rugiani,[184] *gens fortissima Slauorum, qui soli habent regem, extra quorum sententiam nichil agi de publicis rebus fas est, adeo metuuntur prop-*

184 var. *ruiani.*

ter familiaritatem deorum uel pocius demonum, quos maiori pre ceteris cultura uenerantur. Hii igitur sunt Winulorum populi diffusi per regiones et prouincias et insulas maris. Omne hoc hominum genus ydolatriae cultui deditum, uagum semper et mobile, piraticas exercentes predas.

The Rani, who along with the Rujani,[185] a very powerful tribe of Slavs, are the only ones who have a king, outside of whose decrees no deeds in public affairs are legitimate: to such an extent that they fear the proximity of their gods, or rather, their demons, to which they give more reverence than the rest.[186] Therefore, these are villages of the Vindi[187] widespread throughout the regions, provinces, and sea isles. This entire race of men is dedicated to idol worship and is always wandering and vagabond, for they engage in the practice of piracy.

2.22.2 Chronicle of the Slavs *1.6*

After tracing the conquest and Christianization of Saxony, the division of the Carolingian Empire, the mission of Saint Anscar in Sweden, and the missionary work of the see of Bremen, Helmold includes an etiological history based on a popular etymology of the divinity of Rügen, Sventovit, who is confused for the martyr Saint Vitus,[188] patron saint of the Saxon monastery of Corvey. This serves to appeal to a primitive conversion of the Rani to Christianity and therefore their subsequent return to paganism would allow the Slavs to be judged as relapsed heretics.

Tradit ueterum antiqua relatio, quod temporibus Ludouici II, egressi fuerint de Corbeia monachi qui Slauorum salutem sitientes, impenderunt seipsos ad subeunda pericula et mortes pro legatione uerbi Dei. Peragratisque multis Slauorum prouinciis peruenerunt ad eos qui dicuntur Rani siue Rugiani[189] *et habitant in corde maris. Ibi fomes est errorum et sedes ydolatriae. Predicantes itaque uerbum*

185 Rujani and Rani appear as synonyms. They are the inhabitants of the Island of Rügen.

186 On the political structure of the Rani, cf. Conte (1991: 53).

187 Vindi appears as a synonym to Veneti (a variant of Wends) and Wilzi. According to Helmold 1.2, they were a federation of peoples comprised by the Circipani, Tholenzi, and Redarii. The name of this federation varied from time to time. Einhard *Vita Karoli* 12 and *Annales*, an. 789 called them the Wetalabi. In the times of Helmold, the Wilzi are also called Lutici, cf. Álvarez-Pedrosa (2004: 27–29).

188 In Slavonic *Svent Vit*. On the credibility of this story, see Schildgen (1881), Thompson (1928: 449, n. 2), Soczyński (1984), and Janson (2003). Helmold repeats the same story, with slight variations, in 2.108 (§ 2.22.12.). Saxo Grammaticus briefly references it in *Gesta Danorum* 14.1.6 (§ 2.28.1.).

189 var. *ruiani*.

Dei cum omni fiducia omnem illam insulam lucrati sunt, ubi etiam oratorium fundauerunt in honorem domini ac saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi et in commemoracionem sancti Viti, qui est patronus Corbeiae. Postquam autem, permittente Deo mutatis rebus, Rani a fide defecerunt, statim pulsis sacerdotibus atque Christicolis religionem uerterunt in superstitionem. Nam sanctum Vitum, quem nos martirem ac seruum Christi confitemur, ipsi pro Deo uenerantur, creaturam anteponentes creatori. Nec est aliqua barbaries sub celo, quae Christicolas ac sacerdotes magis exorreat; solo nomine sancti Viti gloriantur, cui etiam templum et simulachrum amplissimo cultu dedicauerunt, illi primatum deitatis specialiter attribuentes. De omnibus quoque prouinciis Slauorum illic responsa petuntur et sacrificiorum exhibentur annuae soluciones. Sed nec mercatoribus, qui forte ad illas sedes appulerint, patet ulla facultas uendendi uel emendi, nisi prius de mercibus suis deo ipsorum preciosa quaeque libauerint, et tunc demum mercimonia foro publicantur. Flaminem suum non minus quam regem uenerantur. Ab eo igitur tempore, quo primo fidei renuntiauerunt, haec supersticio apud Ranos perseuerat usque in hodiernum diem.

For an old relation of our ancestors tells that in times of Ludovicus II a group of monks famous for their holiness left Corvey.[190] Hungry for the salvation of the Slavs, they insisted on suffering dangers and death in order to preach the word of God. After passing through many provinces, they arrived at those who were called Rani or Rujani and lived in the middle of the sea. That is the home of error and the seat of idolatry. After faithfully preaching the word of God, they won over the entire island, where they even founded an oratory in honor of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ and in memory of Saint Vitus,[191] who is the patron saint of Corvey. Later, the situation having changed with permission from God, the Rani moved away from the faith and, immediately driving out the priests and the Christians, changed religion for superstition. For they worshiped Saint Vitus, who we revere as a martyr and servant of Christ, as a god, setting creatures over the creator. There is no other barbarism under heaven more horrifying to Christians and priests; they only rejoiced in the name of

190 The Benedictine monastery of Corvey (Lat. *Corbeia*) in Westphalia was founded in 815 by the monks of Corbie Abbey in Picardy.

191 Saint Vitus was martyred in 303 in the Diocletian persecution, while still a boy, along with his teachers Modestus and Crescentia. In the 8th century the relics of Saint Vitus were brought to the monastery of St-Denis by Abbot Fulrad. They were later presented to Abbot Warin of Corvey in Germany, who solemnly transferred them to this abbey in 836. Saint Vitus is a very popular saint; he is in fact invoked for disorders that can range from epilepsy to tarantula bites with the so-called "Saint Vitus Dance." His feast day is on June 15. The cathedral of Prague is dedicated to this saint.

Saint Vitus, to whom they even dedicated a temple and a statue with a very significant cult and they attribute especially to him the primacy of the gods. They ask of him prophetic answers regarding all the provinces of the Slavs, and pay sacrificial tribute annually. Not even the traders who coincidentally arrive at those places can sell or buy anything if they do not first make an offering of some precious object from their wares to the god and only then can they make their goods available to the public at the market. They honor their high priest no less than they would a king. And thus, from the time that they renounced their first faith, this superstition perseveres among the Rani until the present.

2.22.3 Chronicle of the Slavs *1.21*

In 1057 war breaks out within the Lutici Federation, pitting the Redarii and the Tholenzi against the Kessini and Circipani. Helmold explains the cause of said civil war in the selected paragraph. After several initial losses, the Redarii and the Tholenzi called to their aid Svein Estridsson, King of Denmark, Bernhard, Duke of Saxony, and Gottschalk, Prince of the Obotrites, all of them Christian princes who took advantage of their victory not to impose Christianity in the area, but to divvy up the plunder, according to the chronicler's bitter reflection.

Siquidem Riaduri siue Tholenzi propter antiquissimam urbem et celeberrimum illud fanum, in quo simulachrum Radigast ostenditur, regnare uolebant, asscribentes sibi singularem nobilitatis honorem, eo quod ab omnibus populis Slauorum frequentarentur propter responsa et annuas sacrificiorum impensiones.

Given that the Redarii and Tholenzi[192] wished to control the federation due to the age of their city and the preeminence of their temple, in which the image of Redigast[193] is displayed, they demanded for themselves the singular honor of primacy, because all of the Slavic peoples came to it to consult the oracle and offer yearly sacrifices.

2.22.4 Chronicle of the Slavs *1, 36*

In 1093 Prince Henry, son of Prince Gottschalk, takes power of the Obotrites and moves to Lübeck. In 1111 the Rani go up the Trave River in their boats and

192 The Redarii and the Tholenzi are two peoples that were part of the Lutici confederation. They lived east of Peene, although Helmold confuses their location in this chapter with that of the Kessini and the Circipani. Adam of Bremen 2.71, 3.22; 23 and scholia 16 and Helmold himself 1.2, state the correct location.

193 See texts 2.8.5. and 2.11.1.

blockade Lübeck. With the help of the Saxons, he defeats the Rani and the Wagrians, Polabians, Pomeranians, and the Lutici Federation become his tributaries.

Sunt autem Rani, qui ab aliis Runi appellantur, populi crudeles, habitantes in corde maris, ydolatriae supra modum dediti, primatum preferentes in omni Slauorum nacione, habentes regem et fanum celeberrimum. Vnde etiam propter specialem fani illius cultum primum ueneracionis locum optinent, et cum multis iugum imponant, ipsi nullius iugum paciuntur, eo quod inaccessibiles sint propter difficultates locorum. Gentes, quas armis subegerint, fano suo censuales faciunt; maior flaminis quam regis ueneracio apud ipsos est. Qua sors ostenderit, exercitum dirigunt. Victores aurum et argentum in erarium dei sui conferunt, cetera inter se partiuntur.

The Rani,[194] who others call Runi, are a cruel people; they live in the middle of the sea and are devoted to idolatry beyond measure and maintain primacy above all the Slavic nations, as they have a king and a celebrated temple. Thus, due to the special veneration of this temple, they hold the highest place of respect and, imposing their yoke upon many, they themselves answer to no one because it is difficult to reach them due to the complexities of their location. They make tributaries for their temple out of the peoples subjugated by force; among them the veneration given to their high priest is greater than that for the king. There where the oracle shows them, they direct their troops. When they are victorious, they offer up gold and silver to the purse of their god and the rest they divide amongst themselves.

2.22.5 Chronicle of the Slavs *1.38*

An episode from Obotrite Prince Henry's campaign against the Rani, dated between 1113 and 1114.

Videntes igitur Rugiani impetum uiri timuerunt timore magno miseruntque flaminem suum, qui cum ipso de pace componeret (…). *Porro apud Ranos non habetur moneta, nec est in comparandis rebus nummorum consuetudo, sed quicquid in foro mercari uolueris, panno lineo comparabis. Aurum et argentum, quod forte per rapinas et captiones hominum uel undecumque adepti sunt, aut uxorum suarum cultibus impendunt, aut in erarium dei sui conferunt*.

194 Also called Rujani. They are the inhabitants of the Island of Rügen.

When the Rani perceived the impetuosity of that man[195] they experienced great fear and sent their high priest to make peace with him (…). For among the Rani there is no minted coin, nor custom of using coins to buy goods, rather, if you wish to buy something at the market, you will pay for it with pieces of linen. The gold and silver that they obtain from looting, kidnapping men, or any other way they give to adorn their wives or offer it to the purse of their god.

2.22.6 Chronicle of the Slavs *1.47*

Saint Vicelinus receives from Adalbert, Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, the role of preaching the Gospel to the Wagrians and the Polabians. To do so, in 1127 he founds a monastery in Faldera (Neumünster) in the area of the Nordalbingians, a Germanic village on the Slavic pagan border, Christianized only in name, comprised of tribes of the Sturmarii, Holzati, and Ditmarsians. Helmold describes the pagan setting surrounding the monastery of Faldera.

Cumque peruenissent ad locum destinatum, perspexit habitudinem loci campumque uasta et sterili mirica perorridum, preterea accolarum genus agreste et incultum, nichil de religione nisi nomen tantum Christianitatis habentes. Nam lucorum et fontium ceterarumque supersticionum multiplex error apud eos habetur (…). *Cepitque pia sollicitudine circumiacentes uisitare ecclesias, prebens populis monita salutis, errantes corrigens, concilians dissidentes, preterea lucos et omnes ritus sacrilegos destruens*.

When (Vicelinus[196]) arrived at the agreed upon location (in Faldera[197]), he contemplated the look of the place: the field, inhospitable as an enormous and sterile moor, and the kind of inhabitants, rural and uncivilized, who religiously speaking were not Christian except by name. A multifarious error of worship of forests, fountains, and other superstitions is maintained among them (…). With pious request he began to visit the churches of the area, to give the people

195 Henry, Prince of the Obotrites.

196 Saint Vicelinus (Wissel, Witzel) was Helmold's teacher and his reference for how to act with the Slavs during his mission. Born in Hameln, Lower Saxony, c. 1086, he was educated in the Paderborn Cathedral school and also in Laon, France. He was named cannon of Bremen, where he was in charge of the cathedral school. He was a disciple of Saint Norbert, the founder of the Premonstratensians. He performed his missionary work among the Slavs of Holstein, Segeberg, and Hogesdorf. In 1149 he was named Bishop of Oldenburg, but Frederick Barbarossa stopped him from taking possession of his seat. He died in Lorraine, France in 1154.

197 In German it was called Wippenthorp, Holstein on the border with the Slavs, where Saint Vicelinus founded a monastery; today it is called Neumünster.

advice for their salvation, to correct those who erred, to settle the dissidents, and also to destroy the sacred forests and all the sacrilegious rites.

2.22.7 Chronicle of the Slavs *1.52*

In chapter 1.52 he outlines the story of Eric Harefoot's rise to the throne of Denmark. The battle in which he defeated King Magnus took place in 1134. This gives cause for an ethnographic digression in the following chapter regarding the religion of the Slavs under Pribislav, Prince of the Wagrians and the Polabians, and Niklot, Prince of the Obotrites.

Inualuitque in diebus illis per uniuersam Slauiam multiplex ydolorum cultura errorque supersticionum. Nam preter lucos atque penates, quibus agri et opida redundabant, primi et precipui erant Prone[198] *deus Aldenburgensis terrae, Siwa*[199] *dea Polaborum, Radigast deus terrae Obotritorum. His dicati erant flamines et sacrificiorum libamenta multiplexque religionis cultus. Porro sollempnitates diis dicandas sacerdos iuxta sortium nutum denuntiat, conueniuntque uiri et mulieres cum paruulis mactantque diis suis hostias de bobus et ouibus, plerique etiam de hominibus Christianis, quorum sanguine deos suos oblectari iactitant. Post cesam hostiam sacerdos de cruore libat, ut sit efficacior oraculis capescendis. Nam demonia sanguine facilius inuitari multorum opinio est. Consummatis iuxta morem sacrificiis populus ad epulas et plausus conuertitur. Est autem Slauorum mirabilis error; nam in conuiuiis et compotacionibus suis pateram circumferunt, in quam conferunt, non dicam consecracionis, sed execracionis uerba sub nomine deorum, boni scilicet atque mali, omnem prosperam fortunam a bono deo, aduersam a malo dirigi profitentes. Vnde etiam malum deum lingua sua Diabol siue Zcerneboch,*[200] *id est nigrum deum, appellant. Inter multiformia autem Slauorum numina prepollet Zuanteuith,*[201] *deus terrae Rugianorum, utpote efficacior in responsis, cuius intuitu ceteros quasi semideos estimabant. Vnde etiam in peculium honoris annuatim hominem Christicolam, quem sors acceptauerit, eidem litare consueuerunt. Quin et de omnibus Slauorum prouinciis statutas*[202] *sacrificiorum impensas illo transmittebant. Mira autem reuerentia circa fani diligentiam affecti sunt; nam neque iuramentis facile indulgent neque ambitum fani uel in hostibus temerari paciuntur.*

198 var. *proue*.
199 var. *siwe, synna*.
200 var. *zcerneboth*.
201 var. *zvantevich*.
202 var. *statuas*.

In those days, the multifarious worship of idols and the error of superstition were fortified throughout Slavia. For apart from the sacred forests and the household deities, which abounded in the country and the cities, the most important and preeminent gods were Prone,[203] god of Oldenburg country, Siwa, goddess of the Polabians, and Redigast, god of Obotrite country. Priests, sacrificial libations, and assorted religious worship were dedicated to them. When the priest, in accordance with the decision of the oracles, declares the solemnities that must be carried out in honor of the gods, men, women, and children gather and sacrifice as victims to their gods cows and sheep and also Christian men, in whose blood they say their gods take great delight. Once the victim is brought down, the priest drinks of their blood to make himself more effective when receiving oracles. For it is the opinion of many that it is easier to conjure the demons with blood. Once the sacrifices have been consumed according to custom, the people feast and celebrate. There is yet another striking error of the Slavs: for in their feasts and carousals they pass around a bowl into which they utter words, I will not say of dedication, but of execration, in the name of the gods, good and evil, trusting that all happiness is ordered by the good god and misfortune by the bad. Hence they call the evil god in their language Diabol or Černebog, id est, black god.

Standing apart among the multiform divinities of the Slavs is Sventovit,[204] the god of the land of the Rani, as he is the most unerring in oracles, given their perspective that the others are demigods. Thus, in his honor, they had become accustomed to annually sacrificing a Christian man chosen by fate. Fixed amounts for all sacrifices in his honor were also sent from all the provinces of the Slavs. They dedicate great attention to the service of the temple with extraordinary reverence, for they do not easily forgive transgressions against oaths or bear the temple being defiled by enemies.

2.22.8 Chronicle of the Slavs *1.69*

Hartwich, Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, decides to reestablish the episcopal sees that once existed in West Slavia: Oldenburg, Ratzeburg, and Mecklenburg. In 1149 Vicelinus is named Bishop of Oldenburg.

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203 We chose the variant *Prone* instead of the one preferred by publishers *Proue*. The paleographic similarity of the signs for *n* and *u* has favored the generalization of *Proue* in the other appearances of the theonym. However, in favor of *Prone* is a more credible etymology, relating it to Perun.

204 His name, which contains the root **svent*, which means sanctity or divine power, and a suffix *–vit* of possession, seems to characterize a sovereign god.

Inde progrediens uisitauit Aldenburg, ubi sedes quondam episcopalis fuerat, et receptus est a barbaris habitatoribus terrae illius, quorum deus erat Prone[205]*. Porro nomen flaminis, qui preerat supersticioni eorum, erat Mike. Sed et princeps terrae uocabatur Rochel, qui fuerat de semine Crutonis,*[206] *ydolatra et pirata maximus. Cepit igitur pontifex Dei proponere barbaris uiam ueritatis, quae Christus est, adhortans eos, ut relictis ydolis suis festinarent ad lauacrum regeneracionis*.

Continuing the journey, (Saint Vicelinus) visited Oldenburg, where the episcopal seat once existed, and was received by the inhabitants of that country, whose god was Prone. The name of the high priest who governed this superstition was Mike. And the prince of the country, an idolatrous pirate if there ever was one, was called Rochel, who was of the Cruton line. The bishop of God began to show the barbarians the way of truth, which is Christ, calling on them to abandon their idols and hasten their baptismal regeneration.

2.22.9 Chronicle of the Slavs *1.71*

Prince Niklot of the Obotrites complains to Duchess Clement of Saxony, the wife of Henry the Lion (1129–1195) that the Kessini and Circipani refuse to pay the tribute that they had pledged. The Duke of Saxony orders Count Adolf of Holstein to support Prince Niklot against the Kessini and Circipani (1151).

Abiitque comes cum duobus milibus et amplius electorum, Niclotus quoque contraxit exercitum de Obotritis, et abierunt pariter in terram Kycinorum et Circipanorum et peruagati sunt terram hostilem omnia uastantes igni et gladio. Fanum quoque celeberrimum cum ydolis et omni superstitione demoliti sunt.

And the count[207] arrived with some two thousand chosen men, and also Niklot[208] recruited the army of the Obotrites and together they arrived in Kessini and Circipani country and traversed the country of their enemy ravaging all with blood and fire. They also destroyed the exceedingly famous temple[209] along with its idols and all vestige of superstition.

205 See footnote 203.
206 var. *crictonis*.
207 Count Adolf II of Holstein (1130–1164).
208 Prince of the Obotrites (1130–1160).
209 The temple of Redigast in Redarii country.

2.22.10 Chronicle of the Slavs *1.84* (*83*)

On January 6, 1156 Bishop Gerold celebrates the Epiphany in the Oldenburg cathedral, deserted after the war and in the midst of an icy cold spell. Prince Pribislav receives the bishop and his followers with great displays of hospitality. On the following day, they enter the territory of the Slavs.

Manentes autem apud regulum nocte illa cum die ac nocte subsequenti transiuimus in ulteriorem Slauiam, hospitaturi apud potentem quendam, cui nomen Thessemar; is enim nos accersierat. Accidit autem, ut in transitu ueniremus in nemus, quod unicum est in terra illa, tota enim in planiciem sternitur. Illic inter uetustissimas arbores uidimus sacras quercus, quae dicatae fuerant deo terrae illius Pronen,[210] *quas ambiebat atrium et sepes accuratior lignis constructa, continens duas portas. Preter penates enim et ydola,*[211] *quibus singula oppida redundabant, locus ille sanctimonium fuit uniuersae terrae, cui flamen et feriaciones et sacrificiorum uarii ritus deputati fuerant. Illic omni secunda feria populus terrae cum regulo et flamine conuenire solebant propter iudicia. Ingressus atrii omnibus inhibitus nisi sacerdoti tantum et sacrificare uolentibus, uel quos mortis urgebat periculum, his enim minime negabatur asilum. Tantam enim sacris suis Slaui exhibent reuerentiam, ut ambitum fani nec in hostibus sanguine pollui sinant. Iuraciones difficillime admittunt, nam iurare apud Slauos quasi periurare est ob uindicem deorum iram. Est autem Slauis multiplex ydolatriae modus, non enim omnes in eandem supersticionis consuetudinem consentiunt. Hii enim simulachrorum ymaginarias formas pretendunt de templis, ueluti Plunense ydolum, cui nomen Pogada,*[212] *alii siluas uel lucos*[213] *inhabitant, ut est Prone*[214] *deus Aldenburg, quibus nullae*[215] *sunt effigies expressae. Multos etiam duobus uel tribus uel eo amplius capitibus exsculpunt. Inter multiformia*[216] *uero deorum numina, quibus arua, siluas, tristicias atque uoluptates attribuunt, non diffitentur unum deum in celis ceteris imperitantem, illum prepotentem celestia tantum curare, hos uero distributis officiis obsequentes de sanguine eius processisse et unumquemque eo prestantiorem, quo proximiorem illi deo deorum. Venientibus autem nobis ad nemus illud et profanacionis locum adhortatus est nos episcopus, ut ualenter accederemus ad destruendum lucum*[217]*. Ipse quoque desiliens*

210 text: *prouen.*
211 var. *oppida.*
212 var. *pogaga, podaga.*
213 var. *locos.*
214 texto: *proue.*
215 var. *mille.*
216 var. *multifaria.*
217 var. *locum.*

equo contriuit de conto insignes portarum frontes, et ingressi atrium omnia septa atrii congessimus circum sacras illas arbores et de strue lignorum iniecto igne fecimus pyram, non tamen sine metu, ne forte tumultu incolarum [*lapidibus*] *obrueremur*.

After staying with the prince[218] that night and the following day and night, we traveled[219] into Slavia to be received by a powerful man called Thessemar; for he had invited us. It happened that on the way we arrived at a forest, the only one in that territory, which extends along the entire territory, across a plain. There, among the ancient trees, we saw sacred oaks that had been dedicated to the god of that country, Prone; they were surrounded by a vestibule and a wooden fence built with great care that had two gates. For, besides the household deities and the idols that abounded in that hamlet, that place was a sanctuary for the entire country, to which a priest, religious festivities, and several sacrificial rites were assigned. Every Monday, the people met there in council with the prince and the priest to administer justice. Access to the vestibule was prohibited to all, except for the priest and those who wished to offer sacrifices or those in danger of death, who were never denied the right to refuge. For the veneration that the Slavs show for the aspects of their religion is so great that they do not tolerate the area around the sanctuary being tainted with blood, not even in times of war. They rarely accept solemn oaths, as for the Slavs swearing is like perjury and with it they expose themselves to the vengeful wrath of the gods. Among the Slavs there are many modes of idolatry and not all of them coincide with the same kind of superstition. Some create in their temples statues of fantastic forms, such as the idol of Plön, who is called Pogada,[220] others live in forests and groves, as is the case of the god Prone of Oldenburg, of whom no image exists.[221] Many carve idols with two, three, or more heads. Within the multifarious aspect of the manifestations of their divinities, to which their fields, forests, sadness, and happiness are entrusted, they do not deny that there is one god in heaven who reigns above the others, that this is the only one responsible for celestial matters, and that the others obey him; each assuming a role, they come from his line and are more powerful the closer they are to said god. When we arrived

218 Pribislav of the Obotrites, son of Niklot (died in 1178).

219 Helmold accompanies Bishop Gerold on his pastoral visit of the diocese. This is why he employs first person plural.

220 Helmold's text offers two variants: *podaga* and *pogaga*. Its etymology was related by Jakobson (1985:8) to the Proto-Slavic root **dag*—"to burn."

221 If we follow var. *mille*, something quite different is understood: "of which there are thousands of images."

to that forest and place of sacrilege, the bishop[222] exhorted us to valiantly dedicate ourselves to its destruction. He himself, jumping from his horse, destroyed with his crosier the decorated pieces of the gates and, entering into the vestibule, we collected all the wood from the fence around the sacred trees and with that mountain of firewood we made a pyre that we set ablaze, not without fear that we would be crushed by a rebellion from the local people.

2.22.11 Chronicle of the Slavs *1.84* (*83*)

Bishop Gerold sends priest Bruno, a disciple of Saint Vicelinus, to preach in Oldenburg, 1156–1157.

Statim enim, ut uenit Aldenburg, aggressus est opus Dei cum magno feruore et uocauit gentem Slauorum ad regenerationis gratiam, succidens lucos et destruens ritus sacrilegos (…). *Et inhibiti sunt Slaui de cetero iurare in arboribus, fontibus et lapidibus, sed offerebant criminibus pulsatos sacerdoti ferro uel uomeribus examinandos*.

As soon as he arrived[223] at Oldenburg, he began the work of God with great fervor and summoned the pagan Slavs to the grace of regeneration, cutting down the sacred forests and eliminating their sacrilegious rites (…). The Slavs were subsequently prohibited from swearing on the trees, fountains, and rocks; instead, they presented those accused of a crime to the priest for him to probe them with an iron or plowshare.

2.22.12 Chronicle of the Slavs *2.108* (*12*)

In 1168 Valdemar I of Denmark summons a large army, in which Kazamir and Buggeslav, Princes of the Pomeranians and Pribislav, Prince of the Obotrites, participate, and attacks Rügen. The chronicler makes an excursus on the religion of the Rani.

Et fecit produci simulachrum illud antiquissimum Zuanteuith,[224] *quod colebatur ab omni natione Slauorum, et iussit mitti funem in collo eius et trahi per medium exercitum in oculis Slauorum et frustatim concisum in ignem mitti. Et destruxit fanum cum omni religione sua et erarium locuples diripuit. Et precepit, ut discederent ab erroribus suis, in quibus nati fuerant, et assumerent cultum ueri Dei* (…).

222 Bishop Gerold of Oldenburg, successor of Saint Vicelinus, held said seat from 1155 to 1160. He would subsequently become Bishop of Lübeck (1160–1163).

223 Priest Bruno.

224 var. *zuenteuich*.

De omni enim natione Slauorum, quae diuiditur in prouincias et principatus, sola Rugianorum gens durior ceteris in tenebris infidelitatis usque ad nostra tempora perdurauit, omnibus inaccessibilis propter maris circumiacentia.

Tenuis autem fama commemorat Lodewicum Karoli filium olim terram Rugianorum obtulisse beato Vito in Corbeia,[225] *eo quod ipse fundator extiterit cenobii illius. Inde egressi predicatores gentem Rugianorum siue Ranorum ad fidem conuertisse feruntur illicque oratorium fundasse in honore Viti martiris, cuius ueneracioni prouincia consignata est. Postmodum uero, ubi Rani, qui et Rugiani, mutatis rebus a luce ueritatis aberrarunt, factus est error peior priore; nam sanctum Vitum, quem nos seruum Dei confitemur, Rani pro deo colere ceperunt, fingentes ei simulachrum maximum, et seruierunt creaturae pocius quam creatori. Adeo autem haec supersticio apud Ranos inualuit, ut Zuanteuith*[226] *deus terrae Rugianorum inter omnia numina Slauorum primatum obtinuerit, clarior in uictoriis, efficacior in responsis. Vnde etiam nostra adhuc etate non solum Wagirensis*[227] *terra, sed et omnes Slauorum prouinciae illuc tributa annuatim transmittebant, illum deum deorum esse profitentes. Rex apud eos modicae estimacionis est comparacione flaminis. Ille enim responsa perquirit et euentus sortium explorat. Ille ad nutum sortium, porro rex et populus ad illius nutum pendent.*

Inter uaria autem libamenta sacerdos nonnunquam hominem Christianum litare solebat, huiuscemodi cruore deos omnino delectari iactitans. Accidit ante paucos annos maximam institorum multitudinem eo conuenisse piscacionis gratia. In Nouembri enim flante uehementius uento multum illic allec capitur, et patet mercatoribus liber accessus, si tamen ante deo terrae legitima sua persoluerint. Affuit tunc forte Godescalcus quidam sacerdos Domini de Bardewich inuitatus, ut in tanta populorum frequentia ageret ea quae Dei sunt. Nec hoc latuit diu sacerdotem illum barbarum et accersitis rege et populo nuntiat irata uehementius numina nec aliter posse placari, nisi cruore sacerdotis, qui peregrinum inter eos sacrificium offerre presumpsisset. Tunc barbara gens attonita conuocat institorum cohortem rogatque sibi dari sacerdotem, ut offerat deo suo placabilem hostiam. Renitentibus Christianis centum marcas offerunt in munere. Sed cum nil proficerent, ceperunt intentare uim et crastina bellum indicere. Tunc institores onustis iam de captura nauibus nocte illa iter aggressi sunt et secundis uentis uela credentes tam se quam sacerdotem atrocibus ademere periculis.

Quamuis autem odium Christiani nominis et supersticionum fomes plus omnibus Slauis apud Ranos inualuerit, pollebant tamen multis naturalibus bonis. Erat enim apud eos hospitalitatis plenitudo, et parentibus debitum exhibent honorem.

225 var. *corbegia*.

226 var. *zuanteuit, zuanteuich*.

227 var. *wairensis*.

Nec enim aliquis egens aut mendicus apud eos aliquando repertus est. Statim enim, ut aliquem inter eos aut debilem fecerit infirmitas aut decrepitum etas, heredis curae delegatur plena humanitate fouendus. Hospitalitatis enim gratia et parentum cura primum apud Slauos uirtutis locum optinent. Ceterum Rugianorum terra ferax frugum, piscium atque ferarum. Vrbs terrae illius principalis dicitur Archona.

(Valdemar) caused the antique statue of Sventovit, which is venerated throughout the country of the Slavs, to be taken out and ordered that a rope be placed around its neck and it be dragged among the entire army in view of the Slavs and, once it was reduced to kindling, that it be tossed into the fire.[228] And he destroyed the temple with all of its cultural apparatuses and looted the shrine's rich treasure. And he ordered them to abandon the error into which they had been born and to accept the worship of the true God (…).

Of the entire nation of the Slavs, which is divided into provinces and principalities, the Rani are the only ones who remained most obstinate in the varied ignorance of paganism until our time, thanks to their being inaccessible to all others as they are surrounded by sea.

A vague account[229] tells that Ludovicus, son of Charlemagne, many years ago dedicated Rani country to Saint Vitus of Corvey, whose monastery he himself founded. It is said that preachers that had converted the Rani or Rujani pagans to the true faith came from there and that there was founded an oratory in honor of the martyr Saint Vitus, to whose veneration that province was consecrated. But after this, the political circumstances having changed, when the Rani—also called Rujani—abandoned the light of truth, they believed a more egregious fallacy than the previous one: for the Rani began to adore Saint Vitus, who we believe is a servant of God, as a god and created a great idol in his honor and "served the creature more than the Creator."[230] This superstition was so powerful among the Rani that Sventovit, the god of Rani country, obtained primacy above all the deities of the Slavs for being the most illustrious in victory and the most unerring in oracle responses. Therefore, in our time not only the country of the Wagrians, but all the provinces of the Slavs send him annual tributes, recognizing him as god of gods. To them, the king is held in lower esteem than the high priest. The high priest issues responses to prophesies and carries out oracular inquiries. He depends on the command of the oracles, but then

228 The scene of the destruction of the idol is described in much greater detail in Saxo Grammaticus, text 2.28.7.

229 The same story in § 2.22.2. and 2.28.1.

230 Rom. 1:25.

the king and the people depend on his commands. Among the many offerings made, the priest had the custom of sacrificing a Christian man from time to time, declaring that the gods enormously delighted in such blood. It happened that just a few years ago there was a large crowd of traders gathered there to buy fish. In November, when a very strong wind blows, many herring are caught there and the merchants are given free access, as long as they first pay the god the tribute provided for in their law. One Prince Gottschalk of Bardowiek, priest of the Lord, went there, invited to carry out Godly deeds for the great crowd of believers. But this was not hidden from the barbarian priest for long and, having gathered the king and the people, he announced that the immeasurable wrath of the gods could not be placated by anything other than the blood of the priest who had dared to walk among them to offer a foreign sacrifice. Astonished, the barbarians summoned the merchants and asked them to deliver the priest to offer him up to their god as a scapegoat. When the Christians refused, the Rani offered one hundred Marks in recompense. As they did not attain anything, the opted to try to take him by force and warned there would be war the following day. Then, the merchants, since their boats were already loaded with fish, started on their way back that same night and, trusting their sails to favorable winds, both they and the priest escaped those awful dangers.

Although hate for the name of Christ and the fuel of superstition prevailed among the Rani more than among the other Slavs, they were nevertheless graced with many virtues of natural character. This included the hospitality they gave bountifully and parents being duly honored. A destitute person or beggar could never be found among them. As soon as illness or age made one invalid or decrepit, they were entrusted to the care of their heir to be cared for with humanity. Their eager hospitality and care for their parents are considered the first of the virtues of the Slavs. Otherwise, the land of the Rani is fertile in fruit, fish, and livestock. The largest city of that country is called Arkona.

2.23 Emperor Frederik I, *Diploma* on the Founding of the Bishopric of Schwerin

Berno (died 1191) was the first bishop of Schwerin. He was a Cistercian monk in Amelungsborn Abbey. Henry the Lion appointed him the Bishop of Mecklenburg, possibly around 1160. Berno moved the diocese, which until then had been inactive due to the intense military activity of the Slavs in the area, to Schwerin, where he founded a cathedral in 1171 and the Cistercian monasteries of Doberan and Dargun. He was the one who got Pribislav, son of Niklot, prince of the Obotrites, to convert to Christianity, taking the name Henry. Dur-

ing the schism provoked by Frederick I Barbarossa (1122–1190, emperor from 1155), Berno, like all Cistercians, remained loyal to the legitimate Pope, Alexander III; however, his archbishop, the Archbishop of Bremen, joined the cause of the Antipope Victor IV.

The *diploma* from which we have extracted a passage is a forgery, as is conclusively determined by the editor, Appelt (1985: 21), following Jordan (1939: 56 ff.). It is believed to have been copied by the notary Nikolaus Pakebusch in the 16th century from an original document from Frederick I on the founding of the bishopric of Schwerin. It does not follow the chancery models found in bishops' ratifications from the era.

It is difficult to know if the part referring to Berno's missionary activity is part of the forgery or if it appeared in the original document.

Edition used: Appelt (1985: 20–22).
Other editions: Hasselbach-Kosegarten (1862: 66s.), Meyer (1931: 47–48).
References: Jordan (1939: 94ss.).

2.23.1 Diploma from Emperor Frederick

Document dated January 1, 1170 in Frankfurt. Frederick I authorizes the monk Berno to found the bishopric of Schwerin within the territory of the pagan Slavs.

Notum esse uolumus (...), *qualiter quidam pauper spiritu monachus nomine Berno* (...) *gentem paganorum transalbinam, sub principe tenebrarum in tenebris infidelitatis et idolatrie inclusam, primus predicator nostris temporibus aggresus est* (...), *ipsos baptisans, ydola comminuens, ecclesias fundans* (...) *postremo quia gens Ruyanorum,*[231] *ydolatrie spurcitia Deo et hominibus inuisa, uerba predicationis flecti noluit, idem* (...) *fructum* (...) *inuenit; nam ad hoc principes et omnem populum animauit, ut ydolatriam zelo christiani nominis armis ad fidem cogeret, et ita cum tyronibus Christi, quasi ipse signifer effectus, maximo ydolo eorum Szuenteuit*[232] *destructo, in die beati Viti martiris inuitos ad baptismum coegit.*

We want it to be known how a monk, poor in spirit, named Berno, was the first preacher who in our times went to the pagans beyond the Elbe, who submitted to the Prince of Darkness in the blackness of a lack of faith and of idolatry; and how he baptized them, demolishing idols, founding churches and, finally, given

231 var. *Ruynarum*.
232 var. *Szuentzerit, Szuenzeuit*.

that the Rani, hateful before God and men because of the corruption of idolatry, did not want to humble themselves to the words of the preaching, he found the following means: he encouraged the princes and the entire people to do this, to, with the zeal of the Christian name, force, with the help of arms, idolatry to turn to faith and thus, together with the soldiers of Christ, with whom he himself joined as standard bearer, having destroyed their supreme idol, Sventovit, he pushed them, unwillingly, to be baptized on the day of the martyr Saint Vitus.[233]

2.24 Herbert of Clairvaux, *Book of Miracles*

Herbert of Clairvaux, monk of Clairvaux, abbot of Mores and later archbishop of Torres, Sardinia between 1181 and 1198, wrote three books in 1178 on the miracles of the Cistercian monks: *De miraculis libri tres*. This work was widely disseminated among the order's monasteries, as it had the distinction of the author having met Saint Bernard of Clairvaux in person.

It is a compilation of anecdotes on the visions and miracles that had been experienced by the monks of the first monasteries of the Cistercian reform. The author presents a lot of curious information regarding northern Europe; thus, the information he provides regarding idols may refer to Slavic religious traditions from northern Germany or from the Island of Rügen itself, as it was of great trade importance in the era in which Herbert wrote his work.

Edition used: Migne (1879, vol. 185: 1381).
Other editions: Kompatscher-Gufler (2005).
References: Griesser (1947), Palm (1937: 43–51), Słupecki (1994: 43), Szacherska (1968: 88–89).

2.24.1 Book of Miracles *3.35*

The prior chapter tells the story of a pious Danish woman who was abused by an impious husband until she died. Miracles began to happen around the site of her grave, while a terrible stench identified her killer. The next chapter tells how some Cistercian monks who went to perform baptisms in the land of the pagan Slavs could hear the noise of the demons that were leaving the country.

233 This same event is narrated by Saxo Grammaticus in § 2.28.4.

Quidam honestus frater de monasterio Fonteneti, ante conuersionem suam profectus est aliquando mercimonii causa ad terram paganorum. Habebat autem comitem secum quemdam alium Christianum iuuenem. Dum ergo ibi demorarentur, contigit ut in quemdam lucum, spatiandi causa, soli peruagarentur. Cumque deuenissent in cuiusdam loci secreti amoenitatem, repererunt ibi quoddam simulacrum enorme, intrinsecus ligneum, extrinsecus pice linitum, quod ueluti truncus ad stipitem arboris stabat erectum. Illuc ergo secretius adoraturi, aut etiam immolaturi, de uilla proxima ueniebant ii qui circa nefandi numinis obsequium sese deuotiores, imo uero dementiores exhibebant. Succensi itaque fidei zelo christiani iuuenes, exsecrabilem statuam in frusta comminuerunt, et protinus igne supposito in fauillam et cinerem redegerunt. Quo facto fugam arripuere maturius, ne forte a fanaticis cultoribus deprehensi, poena simili punirentur. Neque enim tantae adhuc erant constantiae, ut hoc ausi fuissent in propatulo facere.

An honest brother from the monastery of Fontaney,[234] before its conversion, set off on a business trip to pagan land.[235] Another young Cistercian accompanied him. While they were traveling, they took a walk by themselves in a certain forest. When they reached a pleasant area that was far away from that place, they found there an enormous wooden statue, varnished on the outside with pitch, which was fixed to a tree as if it were its trunk. There the inhabitants of the neighboring town went to secretly worship and even offer sacrifices, which were devoutly, or better said, dementedly displayed around it as offerings to the abominable deity. The young men, inflamed by zeal of the Christian faith, reduced the execrable statue to splinters and then, setting fire to it, they turned it to ash. Having done this, they hurriedly fled, so as not to meet a similar fate if captured by the idolatrous fanatics; as their courage was not so great that they dared to do this openly.

2.25 Henry of Antwerp, *Treatise on the Capture of Brandenburg*

Henry of Antwerp was prior in Brandenburg between 1217 and 1231. As he explains himself, he wrote his opuscule *Tractatus de captione urbis Brandenburg* when he was still very young. The historical narration does not go beyond

234 The Abbey of Fontenay was founded by Clairvaux monks in 1119.

235 Herbert does not clarify where this land of pagans is located; however, given that the prior miracle refers to a Danish woman and the next miracle involves the conversion of the Slavs, it is not preposterous to assume that this refers to the Slavs. The trade activity in these territories was very active in this era.

1165, and therefore it could have been written around 1180. It gives a series of historical data that seem very reliable.

Pribislav (c. 1075–1150) was the last Slavic prince of the Stodorans tribe which controlled the Northern March of Brandenburg, between this city (Brenna in Slavic) and Spandau. Pribislav rose to power in 1127. When he was baptized, he took the name Henry and he has been recorded in history with a compound name, Pribislav-Henry. His conversion to Christianity strengthened his alliances with the Germanic nobility; thus, he was the godfather of the eldest son of Albert the Bear, Otto. This position resulted in generous recompense: Lothair III granted him the status of king in 1134. Since he did not have children, he named Albert the Bear (c. 1110–1170) as the heir to his state, which he turned into the Margraviate of Brandenburg.

Edition used: Holder-Egger (1880b).
References: Kahl (1964: 1, 486–495), Słupecki (1994:203).

2.25.1 Treatise on the Capture of Brandenburg

This is the introduction with the historical background to the chronicle of the capture of the city of Brandenburg.

Innumeris annorum circulis ab urbe Brandenburg condita temporibus paganorum principum misere sub paganismo euolutis, Henricus, qui Sclauice Pribesclauus, christiani nominis cultor, ex legittima parentela sue successione huius urbis ac tocius terre adiacentis tandem Deo annuente sortitus est principatum. In qua urbe idolum detestabile tribus capitibus honoratum a deceptis hominibus quasi pro deo colebatur. Princeps itaque Henricus populum suum spurcissimo idolatrie ritui deditum summe detestans, omnimodis ad Deum conuertere studuit. Et cum [*non*] *habebat heredem, marchionem Adelbertum sui principatus instituit successorem. Vidua igitur ipsius, cum sciret populum terre ad colenda idola pronum,* [*mallens*] *Teutonicis terram tradere, quam prophano idolorum cultui ultra consentire, sapientibus usa consiliis, maritum suum iam triduo mortuum, nullo sciente preter familiarissimos suos, inhumatum obseruauit et marchionem Adelbertum, quem sibi heredem instituerat* (…) *aduocauit. Ideo marchio Adelbertus* (…) *immunditia idolatrie infectos urbe expulit*.

After innumerable years had passed since the founding of the city of Brandenburg under the miserable rule of the paganism of infidel princes, Henry, called Pribislav in Slavic, who practiced Christianity, arrived, with the consent of God, to the principality of this city and all its adjacent land by the legitimate succession of his ancestors. In this city the misguided inhabitants honored a despic-

able three-headed idol and they worshiped it like a god. And the prince Henry, who enormously detested his people for having taken to the dirty rite of idolatry, endeavored by all possible means to convert them to God. And, because he did not have an heir, he established the marquis Albert as his successor in the principality. And his widow,[236] since she knew that the people of this land were given to idol worship, preferring to hand her country over to the Germans than to allow profane idol worship any longer, after consulting with wise men,[237] three days after the death of her husband, without anyone knowing except her closest confidants, buried him and called the marquis Albert, who her husband had named heir. And the marquis Albert expelled those infected by the filth of idolatry from the city.

2.26 Archbishop Absalon, *Testament*

Absalon (Axel) of Lund, born in 1128, was the son of Asser Rig, an important nobleman from Seeland. He was raised in his father's castle in Fjenneslev along with prince Valdemar, who would later become King Valdemar I the Great. He studied at the University of Paris and became a teacher at the Abbey of Saint Genevieve. In 1158 he was named bishop of Roskilde and in 1178 archbishop of Lund, primate of Denmark and Sweden, and he occasionally held the role of papal legate. He played an active role in Danish politics as an advisor to Valdemar I (1158–1181) and to his son Canute VI (1182–1202). He had two main objectives: he worked to achieve the effective independence of Denmark from the Holy Roman Empire and to make Denmark the leading power in the Baltic. To that end, he promoted a campaign against the Slavs on the Island of Rügen, which resulted in the eradication of the last enclave of Slavic paganism (1160–1168). The Archbishop was directly involved in this campaign and a very detailed account of his actions has been recorded in the last books of the *Gesta Danorum* (Deeds of the Danes) by Saxo Grammaticus.

He died on March 21, 1201 in the Benedictine Abbey of Sorø, which had been founded by his father. Presumably, his testament was written one year before his death, around 1200.

Edition used: Migne (1844–1855: 209:18).
Other editions: Hasselbach-Kosegarten (1862: 191s.), Meyer (1931: 48).
References: Randsborg (2003).

236 The chronicler tells us that she was named Petrissa.
237 It can be assumed that these were the Christian priests who served Pribislav-Henry.

2.26.1 Testament of Archbishop Absalon

The text is part of the bestowals from the will of Archbishop Absalon. The interest Absalon and his circle had in archeology can be seen through their preservation of these vessels, which were looted from the temples of Rügen. Said interest has other notable parallels indicated by Randsborg (2003: 58–59).

Ex testamento legauit et donauit Venerabilis Dominus Absalon, Lundensis Ecclesiae Archiepiscopus (…) *Dominae Margaretae duos ciffos*[238] *Roianorum idolorum.*

The venerable archbishop of the church of Lund, Absalon, in his testament bequeathed and bestowed (…) to madam Margaret[239] two vessels of the idols of the Rani.

2.27 Vincentius of Cracow, *Chronicle of the Poles*

Beatus Vincentius of Krakow, also known as Wincenty Kadłubek, was born in Karwów (c. 1161) to a noble family. He received an extensive education; he definitely studied in Bologna, and perhaps also in Paris. Upon the death of Fulko, Bishop of Krakow, he was promoted to the episcopal see of this city (1207); in 1218 he resigned and took vows as a Cistercian monk in the monastery of Jedrzejów. He died in 1223. In 1764 he was beatified by Clement XIII. His *Chronica polonorum siue originale regum et principum Poloniae*, in four books, is a mixed literary work of dialog and chronicle. Book I tells the legendary origins of Poland, including the mythical story of the founding of Krakow that we have selected, as it contains an old Indo-European myth. Book II is intended as a continuation of the *Chronica polonorum* by Gallus Anonymous. Books III and IV narrate events that were contemporary to Vicentius himself. Book IV ends with the reign of Mieszko III the Old, which ended in 1202; therefore this date is likely when the work was written. The first three books are written in the format of a dialog between Bishop Matthew of Krakow (1145–1165), who narrates the historical events, and Archbishop John of Gniezno (1148–1165), who

238 We must assume a reading *scyphos*.

239 There were many women with this name in Archbishop Absalon's family, and therefore it is not certain who was the recipient of this loot from the Slavic temple. The absence of any family designation also allows us to postulate that he could be referring to Margaret, the daughter of Valdemar I, a nun in the abbey of Roskilde.

extracts the moral lessons from the narration. This work was extremely popular, and had an extraordinary impact on the political ideology of Low Medieval and Renaissance Poland.

Edition used: Plezia (1994).
Other editions: Bielowski (1872: 256–257), Kürbis (2003).
References: Álvarez-Pedrosa (2009b), Balzer (1934–1935), Banaszkiewicz (1989, 2002), von Guttner-Sporzynski (2017), Presa (1997: 549), Skibiński (1998).

2.27.1 Chronicle of the Poles *1.5–7*

Vicentius gives the first mythical king of the Poles the name Graccus, evidently to give his story a more "Roman" tone. However, we can suppose he was called Krak in Slavic, a name comparable to Krok, the equivalent Bohemian cultural hero we find in Cosmas of Prague. Graccus arrives from Carinthia and is chosen by the Poles to defeat their foreign enemies. Graccus gives the Poles their first legal system. The cultural hero has two sons, and the younger bears his same name.

Matthaeus: Vnde a Carintia rediens Graccus, ut erat sententioso beatus sermone, agmen omne in concionem uocat, omnium in se ora conuertit, omnium uenatur fauorem, omnium sibi conciliat obsequia (…). *Proinde rex ab omnibus consalutatur; iura instituit, leges promulgat. Sic ergo nostri ciuilis iuris nata est conceptio, seu concepta natiuitas.* (…).

Igitur Polonia florentissimis per Graccum aucta succesibus statuit eius prolem regni successione dignissimam, nisi alterum filiorum eius fratricidii foedasset piaculum.

Erat enim in cuiusdam scopuli anfractibus monstrum atrocitatis immanissimae, quod quidam holophagum dici putant. Huius uoracitati singulis heptadibus secundum dierum supputationem certus numerus armentorum debebatur; quae nisi accolae, quasi quasdam uictimas obtulissent, humanis totidem capitibus a monstro plecterentur. Quam Graccus non ferens perniciem, ut erat clementior filius erga patriam, quam pater erga filios, clam filiis accitis, digerit propositum, pandit consilium (…) *Coria enim armentorum, accenso plena sulphure, loco solito pro armentis collocant, quae dum auidissime glutit holophagus, exhalantibus intro flammis suffocatur. Moxque iunior, tam uictoriae quam regni, non quasi consortem, sed aemulum fratrem occupat ac trucidat. Cuius funus crocodilinis prosequitur lacrimis, a monstro mentitur occissum, a patre tamen gratulanter, quasi uictor, excipitur. Saepe namque moeror funeris, gaudio uincitur uictoriae. Sic iunior Graccus paterno succedit imperio, heres nefarius!* (…) *Nam paulo post, dolo deprehenso, piaculi deputatus supplicio, exsilii perpetuitate damnatus.*

1.7. *Matthaeus: Immo in scopulo holophagi mox fundata est urbis insignis, a nomine Gracci dicta Graccouia, ut aeterna Graccus uiueret memoria* (…) *Quam quidam a crocitatione coruorum, qui eo ad cadauer mostri confluxerant, Cracouiam dixerunt. Tantus autem amor demortui principis senatum proceres, uulgus omne deuinxerat, ut unicam eius uirgunculam, cuius nomen Vanda, patris imperio surrogarent*.

(Matthew): There was, in the twists and turns of a certain crag, a monster of extraordinary cruelty who some believe was called Holophagus. On every Monday, a certain number of cattle heads had to be surrendered to his voracity; if the inhabitants of the region did not obtain them so as to offer them as victims, they were punished by the monster with an equal number of human heads. Since Graccus could not stand such misfortune, as he was a son who was more compassionate towards his homeland than a father towards his children, having gathered together his sons[240] in secret, he explains to them his intent, and shares his decision[241] (…). And thus, in the place they usually put the livestock, they placed an animal skin full of ignited sulfur, which Holophagus greedily devoured: he choked on the smoke of the flames inside him. At that point, the younger son[242] overtakes his older brother, not as a partner in the kingdom's victory, but as a rival, and he kills him. He cries crocodile tears at his funeral, and lies and says that he was killed by the monster and, in spite of that, is received by his grateful father as a conqueror: sometimes the sadness of a funeral is overcome by the joy of victory. And thus young Graccus succeeded his father in the empire, loathsome heir! But a short while later, the deceit having been discovered, he was given a punishment of atonement and was condemned to exile in perpetuity. (…)[243]

1.7. Matthew: In the place of Holophagus' crag, a famous city was founded and named after Graccus, Gracow, so that Graccus could live on in eternal memory. This city, because of the cawing (Lat. *crocitatio*) of the crows that converged there on the monster's cadaver, was called Cracovia. The great love for the dead prince overcame the worthy men of the senate, and the entire people, to the point that they chose for her father's throne his only daughter, named Wanda.[244]

240 There were two sons, and the younger was also called Graccus.

241 We must suppose that in this decision, Graccus (the father) suggests that the victor will be the one to succeed him on the throne. Speeches by the father and sons on virtue follow.

242 Who is named Graccus, like his father.

243 Chapter 1.6 consists of Archbishop John's moral reflection.

244 This is another notable parallel with the story of Krok as told by Cosmas of Prague, as he is also succeeded by his daughter Libuše.

2.28 Saxo Grammaticus, *Deeds of the Danes*

Saxo Grammaticus (1150–1220), the most important medieval source for knowledge of Danish history and Germanic mythology, is an individual whose life we have no knowledge of through direct sources. His dates of birth and death are, themselves, conjecture, based on some references to contemporary events cited in the Preface of his work. Likewise, stating that his place of birth was Zealand is also a guess, based solely on the fact that there seems to be a certain preference for this region in his work.

He himself tells us that he belonged to a family of warriors, as his father and grandfather participated in the campaigns of Valdemar I (1157–1182). He presents himself as a follower of Absalon, Bishop of Roskilde and Archbishop of Lund,[245] who was an important figure in Danish politics during the reign of Valdemar I, as the king's main advisor and tactician (even in military campaigns, in which he played an active role), and as a key player in the alliance between the church and the crown, which resulted in an era of tremendous stability in the Danish kingdom. To Saxo, the alliance and friendship between the king and the bishop, which seals the alliance between the crown and the church, is the reason for the great splendor and strength of Valdemar I's reign.

We do not know exactly what Saxo's position was in the archbishop's court. He presents himself modestly as "the last of his *comites*," which does not offer much clarification, as *comes* can designate a man of confidence, a follower, and even a servant. We can speculate, however, that his position was not so modest, as he enjoyed a certain degree of trust and esteem, since it was Absalon himself who asked him to write the history of the kingdom of Valdemar I, which Saxo extended and turned into his great work on the history of the Danes. It is believed that he began writing around 1185, and that he continued after the death of his mentor, Absalon (1202), under the patronage of the latter's successor, Anders. He completed his work in 1216, writing the Preface, where he makes the only references to himself.

There are also serious questions about whether he was a member of the clergy or a layman. There is no information to decide in favor of one option or another; the only thing that is certain is that he definitely served as secretary to Absalon after having acquired a thorough education in Paris or another important center of European culture. Davidson (1980: 10) points to testimony from the sons of Danish nobility of the era who were educated in Paris to serve as trusted scribes and secretaries.

245 See the introduction to text 2.26.

In any event, he received detailed training in Latin, in the classics, and in law, which is reflected in the structure and style of his work. He displays an in-depth knowledge of not only the Latin language, but also of classical authors, who he likes to paraphrase, and of the arts of composition and rhetoric, theology, and law. To this knowledge he owes the epithet Grammaticus ("master in letters"), which is attributed to him by the *Compendium Saxonis* and is consecrated as part of his name beginning with the first edition of his book.

As a result of his desire to demonstrate his knowledge, his Latin is difficult, with classical compositions and structures that give his writing a peculiar pomposity, as well as a complicated selection of vocabulary and his tendency to include words and phrases from Latin authors in his text, with a clear preference for Valerius Maximus.

His work, known as *Gesta Danorum* (although we do not know what title the author gave his own work), consists of 16 books, plus a prologue that was written after the work was definitively completed. The books recount the history of the Danes from their obscure traditional and mythical past to the times of the author.

Books 1–9 tell of the Dane's prehistory, based on oral traditions and mythological stories. Book 9 ends with the reign of Gorm the Old (died c. 958), the first documented Danish king. Books 10–16 narrate the medieval history of the Danish kings until the submission of Pomerania by King Canute VI, c. 1185.

Book 14, which covers a period of 44 years, from 1134 to 1178, tells of the ascension to the throne of King Valdemar I, who, supported by Bishop Absalon, is able to return Denmark to the power it had lost during the preceding years of civil confrontations. Among other achievements, this king returned the Slavs of the Baltic coast to Danish rule in a series of victorious wars, which lead Saxo to describe Slavic citadels, customs, and worship, making his account one of the most important sources of knowledge of the northwestern Slavs in the medieval era.

The extraordinary length of this book compared to the other 15 has generated some questions about the structure of the work. Riis (1977) proposed an internal restructuring that has been discussed, cf. Christensen (1981).

The order in which the books were written has also been the subject of controversy. The fact that the first nine books have a more elaborate style and are full of quotes and passages in verse has led some to suggest that they were the last ones written, as an addition to the original assignment, which was a compilation of recent history and the events in which Bishop Absalon took part under Valdemar I. However there are no data that definitively prove this, and the difference in style could be because Saxo began to review a first draft and did not complete all of the books.

Saxo's work was lost for a long time. It was partially known thanks to a summary called *Compendium Saxonis*, included in the *Chronica Jutensis* (14th century), which only includes a fourth of the entire work. The title *Gesta Danorum* and the cognomen *Grammaticus* for its author come from this summary.

The original manuscripts have also been lost. Four fragments are preserved, the most important of which is the Angers Fragment, which seems to be written in Saxo's own hand.

The full text, however, is known to us thanks to the *editio princeps* of Christiern Pederse, which was made in Paris in 1514, printed and illustrated by Jodocus Badius Ascensius, using a full manuscript of Saxo's work which had been preserved in the archiepiscopal see of Lund. All subsequent editions, evidently, are based on this edition's text. Christiansen's translation and commentary (1980–1981) includes a limited copy of a part (folios 96b–199b) of this first edition.

Edition used: Christiansen (1980–1981).
Other editions: Holder (1886), Meyer (1931: 48–56), Müller (1839–1858).
References: Damgaard-Søresen (1991), Davidson (1979–1980), Grinder-Hansen (2001), Jensen (2002), Manitius (1931: 502–507), Nyberg (2004), Riis (1977), (2006), von Padberg (2003).

2.28.1 Deeds of the Danes *14.1.6–7*

The episode is from the brief but forceful reign of Erik II in Denmark (1134–1137). During the early years of his reign, his kingdom is unexpectedly attacked by the Slavs, and so he undertakes an expedition against the Rani,[246] the Slavs who inhabit the Baltic coast to the northeast of the Pomeranians. He sets sail with a great fleet and is able to cut off Arkona, the Rani's main fortress, by closing access to the isthmus that connects it to the rest of the territory. The people of Arkona have no choice but to surrender.

Igitur Archonenses, cum nec uires conserendi belli haberent neque locum ad contrahenda auxilia suppetere cernerent, necessitate uicti salutem et in Christiana sacra transitionem pacti, statua, quam uenerabantur, retenta, Danis se tradunt. Erat enim simulacrum urbi praecipua ciuium religione cultum crebrisque fini-

246 The date of this expedition is unsure. Saxo seems to place it in the fall of 1134, but it is likely that this date is premature. It could be (Christiansen 1981: 3, 713 n. 8) the Pomeranians' raid on the coast of Scania in 1135, which was detailed by Snorri in *Magnuss Saga Blinda* 9–12. Erik II's response, attacking the Rani, makes one think that the two Slavic nations were attacking together, or perhaps Erik simply felt supported by a renewal of the alliance with the emperor.

timorum officiis celebratum, sed falso sancti Viti uocabulo insignitum. Quo asseruato, oppidani ueterem sacrorum morem penitus abrogari passi non sunt. Primum itaque sollemni ritu prolui iussi, stagnum maiore pellendae sitis quam initiandae religionis ardore petentes, sub specie sacrorum fessa obsidione corpora refecerunt. Datur Archonensibus pariter rerum diuinarum antistes, qui et iis cultioris uitae formam praescriberet et nouae religionis rudimenta contraderet. Sed post abscessum Erici cum antistite pulsa religio. Siquidem Archonenses, abiecta obsidum caritate, pristinum statuae cultum repetentes, qua fide diuinum susceperint, prodiderunt.

So the people of Arkona,[247] as they did not have resources to continue the war, nor could they discern a place from which to seek help, vanquished by need, surrendered to the Danish, agreeing to their salvation and their conversion to Christianity, but retaining a statue that they worshiped. This statue was an image worshiped by the citizens during the important religious rites for the city, and in many other neighboring areas, but which they had falsely given the name Saint Vitus.[248] This was saved, as the inhabitants could not bear for their old ritual uses to be completely abolished. As a result, for the first time they were ordered to purify themselves in solemn rite,[249] but they, more interested in the pool out of a desire to satiate their thirst than to enter into the religion, refreshed their bodies that had been exhausted by the war with the excuse of the rites. The people of Arkona were also given a priest,[250] to teach them a more civilized way of life, and to bring them the rudiments of the new religion. But after Erik withdrew, the religion was expelled along with the priest. In any case, the people of Arkona, setting aside their love for the hostages, returning to their original worship of the statue, betrayed the divine oath they had accepted.

247 The fortress of Arkona was located at the northeastern end of the Island of Rügen, on the Baltic coast, on a promontory joined to land by a narrow isthmus, which in subsequent mentions (see Saxo 14.39.2–3) is described to us as fortified.

248 Later, see 14.39.2–13, Saxo alludes to the fact that the Rani were conquered by Charlemagne and forced to pay tribute to Saxo of Corvey, but they abandoned Christianity when he died. In any event, this seems to be a reworking of the legend that tells that Louis the Pious had delivered Rügen to the Abbey of Corvey and founded a chapel to Saint Vitus (see Helmold, text 2.22.2.). All of this was used later to support a claim to the sovereignty of Rügen by the Corvey monks.

249 That is, to baptize themselves through immersion. The forced baptism of the Rani, a practice that was common, also appears in Ebo 3.23.30.

250 The Latin term, *antistes*, can refer to a bishop, but also to any type of religious authority, see Christiansen (1981).

2.28.2 Deeds of the Danes *14.25.2*

In the spring of 1160, the Danes are preparing a campaign against the Rani; and the Rani, not confident in their forces, send Dombor as a messenger to request peace. As a guarantee of his good faith in requesting peace, he offers the king a pagan practice, which Bishop Absalon rejects.

Quod videns Domborus pacem, quam ante supplex petiverat, sub aequis tantum condicionibus offerebat. Ceterum Absalonis apud regem interventum poscebat. A quo oblationem suam liquida fide prosequi rogatus, pignoris loco lapillum se aquae iniecturum asseruit. Siquidem icturis foedus barbaris religioni erat calculum in undas conicere seque, si pacto obviam issent, mersi lapidis exemplo perituros orare. Sed contra poscente obsides Absalone fucosaque superstitionum mendacia in rebus seriis recipienda negante, haudquaquam Domboro mutua petendorum obsidum fiducia defuit.

When he saw this,[251] Dombor[252] ventured to ask for the peace that he had earlier sought as a supplicant on equal terms. He even asked Absalon to intercede on his behalf before the king. Absalon asked him to make his offer without deception, and he said that he could throw a pebble in the water by way of a guarantee. Because when the barbarians were going to make a deal, they observed the rite of throwing a pebble in the water, saying that if they broke the agreement, then they would perish, just as the stone had sunk.[253] But when, on the contrary, Absalon insistently demanded hostages, and he refused to accept the false and eccentric lies of superstitions in serious affairs, not even then did Dombor lack the confidence to ask for a mutual exchange of hostages.

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251 That the king's troops were having trouble starting the attack due to bad weather, and the delay threatened to cause the allies to disperse.

252 This character, the typical example of "vain eloquence" that Saxo criticizes, is presented as a Rani nobleman who is entrusted with this diplomatic mission, probably because of his oratory skills. The name can be identified with the Slavic *Domabor*, "defender of the house."

253 This custom of validating an oath by throwing a stone seems to be well documented among the Indo-Europeans. In this case, the act of throwing the stone is likened to the destiny of he who breaks the oath, as the Roman negotiator says before the Carthaginians in Polybius 3.25: "'If I swear truly, may only good come to me; if I think or act differently, while others see their homeland, their laws, their own lives, their own temples and tombs safe, may I alone be expelled as I now throw this stone.' And saying these words, he threw a stone with his hands." Another, purely Slavic interpretation can be found when Vladimir I of Kiev ratifies the treaty with the Bulgarians: "there will no longer be peace between us when the stone begins to float and the hop begins to sink," see *PVL* s.a. 6493.

2.28.3 Deeds of the Danes *14.27.17*

Valdemar I had ascended to the throne, and Absalon had been named bishop, thereby sealing a complete alliance between the throne and the church, which led to a period of great strength and splendor for the Danish kingdom. The text refers to an expedition against the Rani in 1160.

Vrbem quoque Rostock, oppidanorum ignauia destitutam, nullo negotio perussit. Statuam etiam, quam gentis profana credulitas perinde ac caeleste numen diuinis honoribus prosequebatur, incendio mandauit.

And, without any effort at all, he also set fire to the city of Rostock,[254] which had been deserted through the cowardice of its citizens. And he took a statue,[255] which the ungodly credulity of the people worshiped with divine honors as if it were a heavenly spirit, and threw it into the flames.

2.28.4 Deeds of the Danes *14.39.2–13*

Valdemar sets off to conquer the Rani's territory, on a date that is not well established, but probably c. 1168, in retaliation for the Slavs' breaking the alliance while he was being attacked by the Norwegians. Valdemar's advance does not meet with resistance, but driven by his thirst for bloodshed, he decides to besiege the fort of Arkona. This gives the author occasion to describe the fort, which was located on an elevated promontory, surrounded by the sea on three sides, and connected to land by a fortified isthmus. The text describes the interior layout of the city, and the temple erected in its center and its rituals.

Medium urbis planities habebat, in qua delubrum materia ligneum, opere elegantissimum uisebatur, non solum magnificentia cultus, sed etiam simulacri in eo collocati numine reuerendum. Exterior aedis ambitus accurato caelamine renitebat, rudi atque impolito picturae artificio uarias rerum formas complectens. Vnicum in eo ostium intraturis patebat. Ipsum uero fanum duplex saeptorum ordo claudebat, e quibus exterior parietibus contextus puniceo culmine tegebatur, interior

254 The city, on the left bank of the Warnow River, about seven miles above Warnemüde, was increasingly gaining importance in Saxo's era, until finally becoming the most important city in Mecklenburg. Its classification as an *urbs* has more to do with the city's status during the era of the chronicle than during the time of the fire set by the Danish which is narrated here, in that it was probably nothing more than a set of houses and huts located between the dock and the pagans' shrine.

255 This idol may have been Radigost, if the inhabitants of Rostock belonged, as it seems they did, to the Obotrites (Christiansen 1981: 3, 780 n. 276) and not to the Kessinians.

uero, quattuor subnixus postibus, parietum loco pensilibus aulaeis nitebat nec quicquam cum exteriore praeter tectum et pauca laquearia communicabat.

Ingens in aede simulacrum, omnem humani corporis habitum granditate transscendens, quattuor capitibus totidemque ceruicibus mirandum perstabat, e quibus duo pectus totidemque tergum respicere uidebantur. Ceterum tam ante quam retro collocatorum unum dextrorsum, alterum laeuorsum contemplationem dirigere uidebatur. Corrasae barbae, crines attonsi figurabantur, ut artificis industriam Rugianorum ritum in cultu capitum aemulatam putares. In dextra cornu uario metalli genere excultum gestabat, quod sacerdos sacrorum eius peritus annuatim mero perfundere consueuerat, ex ipso liquoris habitu sequentis anni copias prospecturus. Laeua arcum reflexo in latus brachio figurabat. Tunica ad tibias prominens fingebatur, quae ex diuersa ligni materia creatae tam arcano nexu genibus iungebantur, ut compaginis locus non nisi curiosiori contemplatione deprehendi potuerit. Pedes humo contigui cernebantur, eorum basi intra solum latente. Haud procul frenum ac sella simulacri compluraque diuinitatis insignia uisebantur. Quorum admirationem conspicuae granditatis ensis augebat, cuius uaginam ac capulum praeter excellentem caelaturae decorem exterior argenti species commendabat.

Sollemnis eidem cultus hoc ordine pendebatur: Semel quotannis post lectas fruges promiscua totius insulae frequentia ante aedem simulacri, litatis pecudum hostiis, sollemne epulum religionis nomine celebrabat. Huius sacerdos, praeter communem patriae ritum barbae comaeque prolixitate spectandus, pridie quam rem diuinam facere debuisset, sacellum, quod ei soli intrandi fas erat, adhibito scoparum usu diligentissime purgare solebat, obseruato, ne intra aedem halitum funderet; quo quoties capessendo uel emittendo opus habebat, toties ad ianuam procurrebat, ne uidelicet dei praesentia mortalis spiritus contagio pollueretur.

Postero die, populo prae foribus excubante, detractum simulacro poculum curiosius speculatus, si quid ex inditi liquoris mensura subtractum fuisset, ad sequentis anni inopiam pertinere putabat. Quo annotato, praesentes fruges in posterum tempus asseruari iubebat. Si nihil ex consuetae fecunditatis habitu deminutum uidisset, uentura agrorum ubertatis tempora praedicabat. Iuxta quod auspicium instantis anni copiis nunc parcius, nunc profusius utendum monebat. Veteri deinde mero ad pedes simulacri libamenti nomine defuso, uacuefactum poculum recenti imbuit, simulatoque propinandi officio statuam ueneratus, tum sibi, tum patriae bona ciuibusque opum ac uictoriarum incrementa sollemnium uerborum nuncupatione poscebat. Qua finita, admotum ori poculum nimia bibendi celeritate continuo haustu siccauit repletumque mero simulacri dexterae restituit. Placenta quoque mulso confecta, rotundae formae, granditatis uero tantae, ut paene hominis staturam aequaret, sacrificio admouebatur. Quam sacerdos sibi ac populo mediam interponens, an a Rugianis cerneretur, percontari

solebat. Quibus illum a se uideri respondentibus, ne post annum ab iisdem cerni posset, optabat. Quo precationis more non suum aut populi fatum, sed futura messis incrementa poscebat.

Consequenter sub simulacri nomine praesentem turbam consalutabat, eamque diutius ad huius numinis uenerationem sedulo sacrificii ritu peragendam hortatus, certissimum cultus praemium terra marique uictoriam promittebat. His ita peractis, reliquum diei plenis luxuriae epulis exigentes, ipsas sacrificii[256] *dapes in usum conuiuii et gulae nutrimenta uertere, consecratas numini uictimas intemperantiae suae seruire cogentes. In quo epulo sobrietatem uiolare pium aestimatum est, seruare nefas habitum.*

Nummus ab unoquoque mare uel femina annuatim in huius simulacri cultum doni nomine pendebatur. Eidem quoque spoliorum ac praedarum pars tertia deputabatur, perinde atque eius praesidio parta obtentaque fuissent. Hoc quoque numen trecentos equos descriptos totidemque satellites in iis militantes habebat, quorum omne lucrum, seu armis seu furto quaesitum, sacerdotis custodiae subdebatur, qui ex earum rerum manubiis diuersi generis insignia ac uaria templorum ornamenta conflabat eaque obseratis arcarum claustris mandabat, in quibus praeter abundantem pecuniam multa purpura uetustate exesa congesta fuerat. Illic quoque publicorum munerum ac priuatorum ingens copia uisebatur, studiosis beneficia poscentium uotis collata.

Hanc itaque statuam, totius Sclauiae pensionibus cultam, finitimi quoque reges non absque sacrilegii[257] *respectu donis prosequebantur. Quam inter ceteros etiam rex Danorum Sueno propitiandi gratia exquisiti cultus poculo ueneratus est, alienigenae religionis studium domesticae praeferendo, cuius postmodum sacrilegii infelici nece poenas persoluit.*

Alia quoque fana compluribus in locis hoc numen habebat, quae per supparis dignitatis ac minoris potentiae flamines regebantur. Praeterea peculiarem albi coloris equum titulo possidebat, cuius iubae aut caudae pilos conuellere nefarium ducebatur. Hunc soli sacerdoti pascendi insidendique ius erat, ne diuini animalis usus, quo frequentior, hoc uilior haberetur. In hoc equo opinione Rugiae Suantouitus—id simulacro uocabulum erat—aduersum sacrorum suorum hostes bella gerere credebatur. Cuius rei praecipuum argumentum exstabat, quod is nocturno tempore stabulo insistens adeo plerumque mane sudore ac luto respersus uidebatur, tamquam ab exercitatione ueniendo magnorum itinerum spatia percurrisset.

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256 var. *côniuii*.

257 Some editions correct the text *non absque sacrilegium* by eliminating *non*. Christiansen maintains the reading, indicating that Saxo perhaps wanted to emphasize precisely the deliberate nature of King Sven's sin.

Auspicia quoque per eundem equum huiusmodi sumebantur: Cum bellum aduersum aliquam prouinciam suscipi placuisset, ante fanum triplex hastarum ordo ministrorum opera disponi solebat, in quorum quolibet binae e transuerso iunctae conuersis in terram cuspidibus figebantur, aequali spatiorum magnitudine ordines disparante. Ad quos equus ductandae expeditionis tempore, sollemni precatione praemissa, a sacerdote e uestibulo cum loramentis productus, si propositos ordines ante dextro quam laeuo pede transscenderet, faustum gerendi belli omen accipiebatur; sin laeuum uel semel dextro praetulisset, petendae prouinciae propositum mutabatur, nec prius certa nauigatio praefigebatur, quam tria continue potioris incessus uestigia cernerentur.

Ad uaria quoque negotia profecturi ex primo animalis occursu uotorum auspicia capiebant; quae si laeta fuissent, coeptum alacres iter carpebant; sin tristia, reflexo cursu propria repetebant. Nec sortium iis usus ignotus exstitit; siquidem tribus ligni particulis, parte altera albis, altera nigris, in gremium sortium loco coniectis, candidis prospera, furuis aduersa signabant. Sed ne feminae quidem ab hoc scientiae genere immunes fuere; quippe foco assidentes absque supputatione fortuitas in cinere lineas describebant; quas si pares numerassent, prosperae rei praescias arbitrabantur; si impares, sinistrae praenuntias autumabant.

Huius igitur urbis non magis rex munimenta quam ritus euertere cupiens, uniuersae Rugiae profanos cultus eius excidio deleri posse arbitrabatur. Neque enim dubium habebat, quin exstante simulacro facilius gentis moenia quam sacrilegia domarentur. Itaque quo ocius expugnationem perageret, ingentem lignorum materiam faciendis machinis opportunam magna cum totius exercitus fatigatione propinquis e siluis petendam curauit.

Quibus dum artifices coaptandis intenderent, frustra his rebus operam dare asseuerabat, sperato citius urbem capturos. Interrogatus, quonam id augurio deprehensum haberet, ex hoc potissimum augurari se dixit, quod Rugiani, quondam a Karolo Caesare expugnati sanctumque Vitum Corwegiensem religiosa nece insignem tributis colere iussi, defuncto uictore libertatem reposcere cupientes, seruitutem superstitione mutarunt, instituto domi simulacro, quod sancti Viti uocabulo censuerunt; ad cuius cultum, contemptis Corwegiensibus, pensionis summam transferre coeperunt, affirmantes domestico Vito contentos externo obsequi non oportere. Quamobrem Vitum, ueniente sui sollemnis tempore, eorum moenia turpaturum, a quibus tam similem monstro figuram acceperit. Merito namque eum ab his iniuriam poenas exigere debere, qui uenerabilem eius memoriam sacrilego cultu complexi fuerant. Hoc se non ex somniorum aut rerum accidentium coniecturis, sed sola praesagientis animi sagacitate colligere testabatur. Admirabilior cunctis quam credibilior praedictio exstitit.

In the city center there was a flat space,[258] where a temple made of wood could be found, which was very elegantly crafted, worthy of veneration not only because of the magnificence of its decorations, but also because of the divinity of the image placed inside. The outside perimeter of the building gleamed with a well-maintained covering, which consisted of shapes of different things painted in a crude, primitive style. Only one entry door could be seen. However, the temple itself was closed off by two enclosures, of whose walls the outside set was covered by a red roof; the interior, on the other hand, which was supported over four pillars, shone with wall hangings instead of walls, and did not share any structure with the exterior except the roof and a few beams.[259]

In the temple, an enormous statue, which exceeded any type of human body in size, left one stunned, with its four heads and equal number of necks, of which two seemed to look at the chest and another two at the back. And of the two located on the front as well as the two on the back, one seemed to be gazing to the right and the other to the left. They had close-shaved beards and very short hair, such that one could think that the maker had imitated the Rani's style of doing their hair. In its right hand it held a horn decorated with several types of metal, that the priest who was an expert in their rites would fill each year with pure wine, in order to make predictions about the coming year's harvest through the state of the liquor itself.[260] On the left there was a bow in the arm turned towards the side. There was a sculpted tunic that fell to its feet, which, made of different types of wood, connected to the knees with a junction that was so invisible that the point of union could only be discovered after a very careful examination. The feet were at ground level, with the base hidden below the floor. Not very far away were some bridles and a chair for the statue, and many emblems of the deity. The admiration for these things was

258 Schuchhardt (1926: 13–24) thought that he had discovered the Temple of Arkona. Subsequent excavations determined that what had been found was part of the fort, but that the temple area had slid into the sea due to erosion (Herrmann 1974). The stone foundations that were at first identified as part of the temple are the remains of a subsequent chapel, since the temple described by Saxo was probably a wooden building, see Dyggve (1959).

259 It seems that it was a square structure, covered with a sloped roof. The purpose of the entire structure was to prevent the interior of the temple, where the god resided, from being seen. The paintings on the interior, on the other hand, were meant as an "iconostasis," as a way of showing the deity to the people, see Christiansen (1981: 3, 835 n. 476).

260 The emblems of the god, which is clearly a supreme deity, represented its functions, and likely denote a multi-functional deity: the horn represents fertility and abundance, and the weapons, the bow and sword, represent military strength.

further increased by a sword of an astonishing size, whose scabbard and hilt, in addition to excellent embossed decorations, were also covered in splendid silver.

The solemn worship[261] of this idol was organized according to the following rules: Once a year, after the harvest, with the indiscriminate attendance of the entire island before the idol's temple, after offering a sacrifice of livestock, they celebrated a solemn feast in the name of their religion. Their priest, who could be easily distinguished by his long beard and hair, against the common style in his homeland, on the day before the rites were to be completed, would carefully clean the *sancta sanctorum*, which only he was allowed to enter, using even a broom, and taking much care that his breath did not enter the building; to do so, whenever he needed to inhale or exhale, he would run to the door, so as to prevent, evidently, the presence of the deity from being tarnished by contact with a mortal spirit.

The next day, while the town looked on attentively in front of the doors, the priest, taking the vessel from the hand of the idol, would observe it very carefully, and if the amount of liquor in said vessel had decreased, he thought that the next year there would be scarcity. And taking note of this, he would order that some of this year's harvest be saved for the times to come. If he did not see that the liquor had decreased at all from its usual height, he would announce that times of agricultural abundance would come.[262] According to this omen, he would sometimes recommend that the current year's provisions be used more sparingly, and other times with greater generosity. Then, after pouring the old wine at the feet of the idol as a libation, he filled the empty vessel with new wine, and representing the role of cup bearer, he would worship the statue, and would make petitions for himself, for the homeland, and for the citizens, with invocations of solemn words, for the deity to increase their wealth and victories. Having done this, bringing the vessel to his mouth, he would empty it in one single swig, drinking very quickly, and, once again filled with wine, he would return it to the statue's right hand.[263] The sacrifice also included a cake made with wine and honey, round in shape, and so large that it was almost the size of a man. The priest, positioning it between himself and the people,

261 The reliability of the information included by Saxo in this passage is reinforced by the tripartite structure of the rite that he describes, and by other comparative data (Álvarez-Pedrosa 2012).

262 Cf. William of Malmesbury § 2.16.1.

263 The worship of Sventovit described by Helmold 1.52, 2.108 does not allude to these elements (§ 2.22.7. and 2.22.12.), and, on the contrary, describes human sacrifices, which Saxo, in his own interest, does not mention, since in the time he writes, the Rani, then converted, were firm allies of the Danes.

would usually ask if he could be seen by the Rani. And if they responded that he could be seen, he would request that the next year he not be able to be seen by them.[264] With this type of petition, he was not asking for his destiny or that of his people, but rather to increase future harvests.

Then he would greet the crowd present in the name of the idol, and he urged them to continue to pay tribute to this deity with a sacrificial ritual that was carefully executed, and he promised them victory on land and sea as a sure reward for their worship. Once this had all been done in this way, and spending the rest of the day at feasts full of extravagances, they transformed the sacrificial festivals into the practice of the feast, and into food for their gluttony, making the victims consecrated to the deity serve their immoderation.[265] At this feast, it was considered pious to transgress sobriety, and bad luck to maintain it.

Every year, every man and woman paid a coin as a donation for the worship of this idol. The idol was also given a third of the loot and the results of plundering,[266] as if they had been attained and taken for his protection. This same god had three hundred horses and the same number of men who served as warriors on them,[267] and all of their earnings, obtained through arms or robbery, were given to the custody of the priest, who, using the profits from these things, would create different types of emblems and various adornments for the temple, and store them in tightly closed chests, in which, in addition to abundant money, a large amount of purple cloth had accumulated, eaten by time. There could also be seen an enormous amount of public and private donations, given by the fervent offerings of those who asked the deity for favors.

Additionally this statue, the costs of which were paid by all of Slavia,[268] was also sent gifts by neighboring kings, not without them considering it sacrilege. And even, among others, the king of the Danes, Sven, to obtain its propitiation,

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264 We do not know if this was an enormous cylindrical cake, as the Russian *kulič*, or if it had been baked in the shape of a wheel and for the ceremony was stood up on its edges. In this case, the sun symbolism, similar to the Roman *summanalia*, or the *rathacakra* of India, seems evident. The question about the cake seems to have survived in Russia and Bulgaria, see Petazzoni (1955: 240, 252).

265 Thus in 1124 Otto of Bamberg prohibited the Pomeranians from eating the meat or blood of the animals used for the sacrifice, or anything else impure, see Ebo *Vita Ottonis* 2.12.

266 Other Slavic temples were also used to store a large part of the nation's war bounty, see, among others, Thietmar 6.23. Helmold 1.6 (§ 2.22.2.) says that all foreign merchants had to pay a toll to Sventovit before selling their goods.

267 He seems to be the only deity of the Eastern Slavs that had his own *družina*, battalion of warriors.

268 Helmold 2.108 (§ 2.22.12.) says that Sventovit was sent tributes from territories as far west as those of the Wagrians.

honored the deity with an exquisitely crafted vessel, preferring devotion to a religion other than his own, and for this sacrilege, he later paid the price of a miserable death.

This deity also had in many other places other temples, which were governed by priests of a lower rank with less power.[269] In addition to this, it had in its possession its own private horse, which was white, and whose mane and tail hair it was considered a bad omen to cut. Only one priest was allowed to feed it and ride it, so that the use of the divine animal was not seen as less valuable by being more frequent. In the opinion of the Rani, it was believed that Sventovit—that was the name of the idol—waged war against the enemies of his cult on this horse.[270] The most important argument supporting this was that, when the horse remained in the stable the entire night, very often he would appear in the morning covered with sweat and mud, as if, returning from exercising, he had traveled long distances.

Through this same horse they also obtained omens[271] in this way: when they thought it was right to start a war against another province, the servants would place before the temple a triple row of spears, in any of which each two, joined in a cross, were driven with their points down into the earth, such that they separated the rows into spaces of an equal size. When it was time to begin the expedition, the priest, after saying a solemn prayer, would bring the saddled horse out of the arcade before them, and if he went through all the rows before him with the right foot before the left, it was received as a favorable omen for the war; if, on the contrary, he put the left foot before the right, even if it were only once, the decision to take the province was changed,[272] and no voyage was considered safe until they saw three hoof prints in a row of favorable steps.

Also when they wanted to undertake other endeavors, they obtained omens regarding their intentions from the first animal they found; and if these omens were good, they would continue on, full of good spirits, but if, on the contrary, they were bad, they would turn around and go home, retracing their steps. They

269 There is also a hierarchy among the three temples of Triglav in Szczecin, see Herbord 2.32 (§ 2.20.3.).

270 Dumézil (1929: 34–36; 155–193) offers parallels of this belief in that the god rode the sacred horse.

271 Both the veneration of the horse as well as predictions using horses are documented among other Slavs, in Redigost, Rethra, and Szczecin. Referring to the Germans, Tacitus *Germania* 10 says that they believed that the sacred horses were confidants of the gods.

272 Therefore, whether the omen was favorable or not depended largely on matching the distance between the rows to the horse's stride.

were also familiar with the practice of drawing lots; instead of the lots, they would put three little pieces of wood, black on one side and white on the other, into their laps, and the white parts meant favorable omens and the black parts, adverse omens. And not even women were indifferent to this type of science; since, sitting before the fire, without paying attention, they would draw random lines in the ash; and when they counted them, if they were even, they considered that an omen of success, and if they were uneven, they said that that was a portent of bad luck.[273]

Thus the king, who wanted to tear down the walls of this city, but not more so than to tear down the ritual, believed that the ungodly worship of the Rani could be eradicated by destroying said ritual. And he had not the slightest doubt that as long as the idol remained standing, it would be easier to break the walls than the sacrilegious practices of the people. And thus, to carry out the attack faster, he obtained a great supply of wood, suitable for making machines, taken from the nearby forests with the great effort of the entire army.

When the craftsmen began to assemble them, he said that it was useless to devote themselves to that work, and that they were going to conquer the city earlier than expected. Asked where he had received this omen, he said that he was the most prepared to make that prediction, that the Rani had been conquered in another time by Charlemagne, and they were ordered to worship with tributes to Saint Vitus of Corvey, famous for his holy death,[274] and, once the conqueror had died, wishing to recover their freedom, they exchanged servitude for superstition, erecting their own idol, which they gave the name Saint Vitus; and, having rejected those from Corvey, they began to transfer the main part of their contribution to worshiping this idol, saying that, satisfied with their domestic Vitus, they did not need to respect the foreign one. And that for this Vitus, as the date of his feast was approaching,[275] he was going to tear down the walls of those who had accepted an image so similar to a monster. And that in reparation, he must, rightly, demand punishment for the insult from those who had invoked his sacred memory in sacrilegious worship. And he declared

273 All of these systems of drawing lots and predicting the future are common to many peoples and have been described for all cultures of Northern Europe from the times of Tacitus, *Germania* 10.

274 The conquest of Rügen by Charlemagne, and its submission to the Abbey of Corvey, were alluded to before, see texts 2.22.12 and 2.28.1., with bibliography.

275 The feast of Saint Vitus is celebrated on June 15, but it is impossible to know whether the fall of Arkona in fact coincided with this date. The legend that the people of Arkona were conquered and baptized on that day is old, although its authenticity is not very certain, see text 2.23.1.

solemnly that he did not deduce this from speculations from dreams or accidental things, but only out of his sagacity and his foresighted thought.[276] The prediction seemed to everyone more admirable than believable.

2.28.5 Deeds of the Danes *14.39.15*

This text is a continuation of the prior episode, which narrates the siege of Arkona's walls by King Valdemar.

Interea oppidani portam urbis, quo minor eam attentandi facultas pateret, ingenti glaebarum aceruo praestruxerant, aditumque coacta caespitum compage claudentes, tantum ex eo opere fiduciae contrahebant, ut turrim, quae supra portam sita fuerat, signis tantum aquilisque protegerent. Inter quas erat Stanitia[277] *magnitudine ac colore insignis, cui tantum uenerationis a populo Rugiano tributum est, quantum omnium paene deorum maiestas obtinuit. Eam enim prae se ferentes in humana diuinaque grassandi potestatem habebant, nec quicquam iis, quod libitum foret, illicitum habebatur: populari urbes, aras demoliri, fas ac nefas in aequo ponere, cunctosque Rugiae penates aut ruinis aut incendiis euertere potuissent, tantumque superstitioni indultum est, ut exigui panni auctoritas regiae potestatis uires transscenderet. Plectenti se signo perinde ac diuino gestamini honorem habebant, officiis damna, iniurias obsequiis rependentes.*

Meanwhile the citizens obstructed the city's port, to make it more difficult to attack it, with an enormous mound of earth piled in front of it and, closing off access with a compact structure of grass, they had so much confidence in this maneuver, that the tower that was located above the port was only protected by flags and standards. Among these was Stanica,[278] noteworthy for its size and color, and which the Rani people treated with such veneration that it achieved the glory of almost all of the gods together. For carrying it before them, they had the power to violate human and divine law, and they believed that nothing that they wished to do was unlawful: they could raze cities, demolish altars, put the divine and sin on the same level, throw all of the houses of Rügen into ruin or fire, and so much did they trust in superstition, that the authority of a small cloth was superior to the force of royal power. They honored he who fought

276 Saxo emphasizes here the difference between predictions based on superstitious omens, which are futile and false, and those obtained using rational, "scientific" deduction, with which he also emphasizes the wisdom of King Valdemar.

277 In the margin it reads: *stuatira*.

278 The name of this sacred standard seems to be related to the Polish word for "standard," *stanica*.

with the standard, as if it were almost a divine symbol, compensating damage with services, and insults with gifts.

2.28.6 Deeds of the Danes *14.39.25*

After a first attack, the garrison of Arkona is taken by surprise by the fire started at the unguarded gate, which spreads, threatening the city, and they ask Bishop Absalon for a ceasefire to reach an agreement for their surrender. Their request is accepted, and they are forced to hand over their idol and practice Christian rites.

Probato consilio, rex oppidanos in fidem hac lege recepit, ut, simulacro cum omni sacra pecunia tradito, captiuos Christianos ergastulo liberatos absque redemptione dimitterent omniaque uerae religionis momenta Danico ritu celebranda susciperent; quin etiam ut agros ac latifundia deorum in sacerdotiorum usus conuerterent seque, quoties res posceret, Danicae expeditionis comites exhiberent nec umquam accersiti regis militiam prosequi supersederent; praeterea annuatim ex singulis boum iugis quadragenos argenteos tributi nomine penderent totidemque obsides in earum condicionum firmamentum praestarent.

Having verified the situation, the king accepted the citizens under his protection with the condition that, having handed over the idol with all of its sacred treasures, they would release the captive Christians freed from prison without paying ransom[279] and that they would begin to celebrate all elements of the true religion in the Danish way;[280] and, moreover, that they would transfer the lands and estates of the gods[281] to the use of the priests,[282] and that they, as often as necessary, would present themselves as allies to the Danish expedition, and that they would never stop following the king's army when he called for their presence; and that they would also pay as a tribute each year forty silver coins per each ox day,[283] and that to confirm these conditions they would hand over that same number of hostages.

279 The freeing of Christian captives was a condition for peace imposed upon the Slavs after the crusade of 1147, but which was not strictly complied with, see Helmold 1.65.

280 That is, Christian.

281 There is no record in any other text that the Slavic gods had lands allocated to them. It may be an exceptional case for this Sventovit, necessary to sustain his troop of horses.

282 If these capitulations were accepted, this land would have constituted the glebe of Rügen, and could have perhaps been the origin of the territorial holdings of the bishops of Roskilde on the island, which are recorded in the bishopric's registry of 1318, see Christiansen (1981, 3, 841 n. 498).

283 This alludes to a measurement of land, the *arada*, i.e., the land that two yoked oxen could

2.28.7 Deeds of the Danes *14.39.31–34*

The day after the surrender agreement, the Danes proceed to tear down the statue of the idol and destroy it before the on looking citizens; they send priests who were with the army to convert the Rani and they begin to build a church.

Postero die Esbernus ac Suno, iubente rege simulacrum euersuri, quod sine ferri ministerio conuelli nequibat, aulaeis, quibus sacellum tegebatur, abstractis, famulos succidendi officium arripere iussos attentius monere coeperunt, ut aduersum tantae molis ruinam cautius se gererent, ne eius pondere oppressi infesto numini poenas luere putarentur. Interea fanum ingens oppidanorum frequentia circumstabat, Suantouitum talium iniuriarum auctores infestis numinis sui uiribus insecuturum sperantium.

Iamque statua, extrema tibiarum parte praecisa, propinquo parieti supina incidit. Cuius extrahendae gratia Suno ministros ad eiusdem parietis deiectionem hortatus, cauere iussit, ne succidendi auiditate pericula sua parum dispicerent neu se labenti statuae per incuriam proterendos obicerent. Ruinam simulacri non sine fragore humus excepit. Praeterea frequens aedem purpura circumpendebat, nitore quidem praedita, sed situ tam putris, ut tactum ferre non posset. Nec siluestrium bestiarum inusitata cornua defuere, non minus suapte natura quam cultu miranda. Daemon, in furui animalis figura penetralibus excedere uisus, subito se circumstantium luminibus abstulit.

Igitur oppidani simulacro urbe egerendo funes inicere iussi, cum id pristinae religionis metu per se ipsos exsequi non auderent, captiuis exterisque quaestum in urbe petentibus, ut illud egererent, imperabant, ignobilium hominum capita diuinae irae potissimum obiectanda ducentes. Quippe domestici numinis maiestatem, quam tanto cultu prosequi consueuerant, graues e uestigio poenas a suis uiolatoribus exacturam putabant. Tum uero uariae incolarum uoces exaudiebantur, aliis dei sui iniurias lamento, aliis risu prosequentibus. Nec dubium, quin ingens prudentiori oppidanorum parti rubor incesserit, simplicitatem suam tot annis tam stolido cultu delusam cernenti. Pertractum in castra simulacrum ad-

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plow in one day. The tax, then, is on the land. It is unusual that payment of the tax is requested only in money, as the Slavs subjected to German rule paid a small part in copper coins, and the majority in grain and other products, at least in the twelfth century. Moreover, Rani-minted coins have not been found, and Helmold I 38 states that the Slavs were not accustomed to using coins. It is thought (Christiansen 1981: 3, 841 n. 499) that the silver that Saxo mentions likely corresponds rather to a specific weight in silver, which varied greatly from one coin to another. Based on the weight of the Mark, Christiansen estimates that the 40 silver coins would have been the equivalent of 35.5 g of silver. Finally, gold and silver ingots were amassed in the treasure of the temple of Sventovit, and the same type of wealth must have been found in private hands.

mirantis exercitus concursus excepit, nec prius sibi principes spectandi licentiam indulserunt, quam plebem uisendi satietas amouisset.

Reliquum diei in obsidibus, qui pridie remanserant, accipiendis deductum est. Sed et scribae principum in urbem mittuntur, qui sacerdotali ministerio rudem religionis populum Christianis sacris assuefacerent eiusque sacrilegis sensibus sanctitatis disciplinam ingenerarent. Vespera appetente, omnes, qui culinis praeerant, simulacrum attentatum securibus in exigua frusta aptosque foculo stipites redegerunt. Crediderim tunc Rugianos pristinae piguisse culturae, cum patrium auitumque numen, quod maxima religione celebrare solebant, igni deformiter applicatum concoquendis hostium alimentis famulari conspicerent. Post haec nostri pariter et fanum cremandum et basilicam lignis machinamentorum exaedificandam curabant, belli instrumenta pacis domicilio permutantes. Itaque, quod obterendis hostium corporibus excogitauerant, saluandis eorum spiritibus impendebant. Dies quoque, quo thesaurus Suantouito uotorum nomine consecratus a Rugianis traderetur, praefigitur.

The next day, Esbern and Svein,[284] who received the order from the king to tear down the idol, as it was impossible to move it without the use of iron, having taken down the curtains that concealed the temple, began to tell the servants who had been given the task of dismantling it, to hurry up and to pay attention, and to take care while destroying a structure of that size, so as not to be crushed by its weight, making the people think that they were being punished for offending the deity. Meanwhile, the temple was surrounded by an enormous crowd, who were expecting Sventovit to come out to pursue those behind such insults with all of the force of an outraged deity.

And finally the statue, cut off at the bottom of the legs, fell face first against the wall. And to be able to take it out, Svein told the servants to tear down the wall, and he told them to take care, less in their eagerness to tear it down they neglected their own safety and out of carelessness exposed themselves to being crushed by the fall of the statue. The ground received the destruction of the statue not without a crash. Additionally, around the temple there hung many purple cloths, which were indeed beautifully arranged, but were so worn that they could not withstand being touched. And there were also very rare horns[285] of wild animals, no less remarkable because of their nature than

284 Two of the main noblemen in Valdemar's army. Esbern was the brother of bishop Absalon. The two were involved in different episodes in the king's campaigns. See the same anecdote in Helmold § 2.22.12. and *Knýtlingasaga* § 6.1.3.

285 Herbord 2.32 (§ 2.20.3.) also describes horns in the temple of Triglav in Szczecin, some used as vessels and others as musical instruments.

because of their decoration. A spirit in the form of a black animal[286] came out of the innermost part of the temple, and suddenly disappeared from the view of those gathered there.

Then, the citizens were ordered to tie ropes to the idol to take it out of the city, and since they, due to fear of their old religion, did not dare to do it themselves, they ordered prisoners and the foreigners that had come to the city to do business to do it, believing it to be much better for divine anger to be unleashed on the heads of the men from the lowest class. And this was because they thought that the majesty of their native god, whom they were accustomed to worship with such fervor, was going to immediately inflict grave punishments on its offenders. And then several cries were heard from the inhabitants, which accompanied the offenses to their god, some with laments and others with laughter. And, undoubtedly, the more intelligent part of the citizens were overwhelmed by a sense of great shame, seeing their naivety tricked for so many years by such a stupid religion. The idol was brought to the camp, and the entire army received it with admiration, and the nobles[287] did not give themselves leave to look at it until the common people had dispersed, satisfied with contemplating it.

The rest of the day was spent receiving the hostages that had been agreed to the day before. But the priests of the noblemen were sent to the city, so that with their priestly office they could explain the Christian rites to the people, who were ignorant of the religion, and introduce in their heathen minds the doctrine of virtue. By nightfall, all those who were in the kitchens, attacking the idol with axes, had reduced it to small pieces and splinters suitable for the fire.[288] I would think then that the Rani would renounce their prior beliefs, upon seeing the god of their parents and grandparents, which they used to celebrate in

286 Svein's precautions seem to be aimed at invoking the danger of a magical interpretation of an accident, but here Saxo echoes the idea that the pagan idols did indeed have powers, although they were derived from the fact that they were inhabited by demons and evil spirits, see Minucius Felix *Octavius* 27. When Otto of Bamberg destroyed the idols in Gützkow in 1127 (see Ebo 3.2, § 2.19.12.), the air was filled with a swarm of black flies that flew out of the temple towards Rügen.

287 *Principes* were noblemen, with their own lands, who contributed troops to the king's army that they themselves commanded.

288 The complete destruction of the idol is a necessary condition to guarantee the loss of its power. This is an ancient activity that is present in all of the myths surrounding the destruction of evil or demonic beings, cf. the ripping apart of Jezebel (Trebolle 1995), or the references in the Vedas to the dismemberment of the cosmic demon Vritra after being vanquished by the god Indra.

the most solemn ritual, ignominiously thrown into the fire so that the servants could cook the food of their enemies. After this, our people were employed in both burning the temple and building a church with the wood from the siege engines, transforming the instruments of war into a place of peace. And thus what had been designed to destroy the bodies of our enemies, was used to save their souls. The day that the Rani must hand over the treasure consecrated as offerings to Sventovit was also established.

2.28.8 Deeds of the Danes *14.39.38–45*

The conquest of Arkona, and the agreement reached by its inhabitants, encourages the citizens of the neighboring fort of Kerentia, today Garz, to ask for the same deal and to hand themselves over to king Valdemar I without even fighting. The text begins after the agreement enters into effect, with the army's entrance into the city.

Insignis hic uicus trium praepollentium fanorum aedificiis erat, ingenuae artis nitore uisendis; iis tantum paene uenerationis priuatorum deorum dignitas conciliauerat, quantum apud Arkonenses publici numinis auctoritas possidebat. Sed et hic locus, ut pacis tempore desertus, ita tunc frequentibus habitaculis consertus patebat. Quorum altitudinis tres ordines fuere, infimo medii supremique ponderibus sustentamentum praebente. Quin etiam tantae consertionis angustiae fuere, ut, si tormentis in urbem lapides iacerentur, nudam humum, in quam conciderent, non offenderent. Super haec natus immunditiis foetor cunctos urbis penates asperserat nec minus corpora quam metus animos cruciabat. Vnde nostris Karentinos obsidioni resistere nequiuisse conspicuum fuit; neque enim eorum tam promptam deditionem ulterius mirari uoluerunt, quorum tam artam necessitatem liquido peruiderunt.

Maius fanum uestibuli sui medio continebatur, sed ambo parietum loco purpura claudebantur, tecti fastigio solis dumtaxat columnis imposito. Itaque ministri, direpto uestibuli cultu, tandem manus ad interiora fani uelamina porrexerunt. Quibus amotis, factum quercu simulacrum, quod Rugiaeuitum uocabant, ab omni parte magno cum deformitatis ludibrio spectandum patebat. Nam hirundines, quae sub oris eius lineamentis nidos molitae fuerant, in eiusdem pectus crebras stercorum sordes congesserant. Dignum numen, cuius effigies tam deformiter a uolucribus foedaretur. Praeterea in eius capite septem humanae similitudinis facies consedere, quae omnes unius uerticis superficie claudebantur. Totidem quoque ueros gladios cum uaginis uni cingulo appensos eius lateri artifex conciliauerat, octauum in dextra destrictum tenebat. Hunc pugno insertum firmissimo nexu ferreus clauus astrinxerat nec manui nisi praecisae euelli poterat; quae res truncandae eius occasio exstitit. Spissitudo illi supra humani corporis habitum

erat, longitudo uero tanta, ut Absalon, supra primam pedum partem consistens, aegre mentum securicula, quam manu gestare consueuerat, aequaret.

Hoc numen, perinde ac Martis uiribus praeditum, bellis praeesse crediderant. Nihil in hoc simulacro iucundum uisentibus fuit, lineamentis impoliti caelaminis deformitate sordentibus. Iamque famuli maxima cum totius urbis exanimatione tibiis eius secures applicare coeperunt. Quibus abscissis, comitante sono, lapsus terrae truncus impingitur. Hoc uiso oppidani, dei sui uiribus insultantes, religionem mutauere contemptu.

Nec eius excidio contentae satellitum manus ad Poreuitum simulacrum, quod in proxima aede colebatur, auidius porriguntur. Id quinque capitibus consitum, sed armis uacuum fingebatur. Quo succiso, Porenutii[289] *templum appetitur. Haec statua, quattuor facies repraesentans, quintam pectori insertam habebat, cuius frontem laeua, mentum dextera tangebat. Haec famulorum ministerio securibus icta concidit.*

Has statuas oppidani Absalonis edicto intra moenia cremare iussi, preces imperio opponere coeperunt, orantes, misereatur confertae urbis nec incendio obiciat, quorum iugulo parcat. Nam si ignis ad uicina prolapsus unum e tabernaculis corripuisset, ob eximiam consertionem uniuersa indubitanter conuelleret. Quapropter eas urbe egerere rogati, diu repugnauerunt, quod se membrorum, quorum ministerium imperio exhibuissent, numine poenas exigente, usum amissuros metuerent, contemptumque religione excusare pergebant. Ad ultimum Absalonis monitu dei, qui sibimet opitulari non posset, potentiam floccipendere docti, spe impunitatis accepta, imperio ocius paruerunt.

Nec mirum, si illorum numinum potentiam formidabant, a quibus stupra sua saepenumero punita meminerant. Siquidem mares in ea urbe cum feminis in concubitum ascitis canum exemplo cohaerere solebant nec ab ipsis morando diuelli poterant, interdumque utrique, perticis e diuerso appensi, inusitato nexu ridiculum populo spectaculum praebuere. Ea miraculi foeditate sollemnis ignobilibus statuis cultus accessit, creditumque est earum uiribus effectum, quod daemonum erat praestigiis adumbratum.

Sueno uero, quo magis simulacra aspernanda doceret, super ea, cum a Karentinis egererentur, sublimis consistere uoluit. Quo facto pondus contumelia auxit nec minus trahentes rubore quam onere uexauit, domestica numina alienigenae pontificis pedibus subiecta cernentes.

Dum haec a Suenone geruntur, Absalon, tribus coemeteriis in agro Karentino dedicatis, uespere Karentiam rediit, deletisque simulacris, una cum Iarimaro profunda nocte ad naues peruenit eumque secum cenitare coegit.

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289 var. *poremicii.*

This city was famous for the buildings of three exceptional temples,[290] which were worth seeing because of the beauty of the local technique; in them the dignity of their private gods aroused almost as much veneration as the people of Arkona had for the authority of their public god. For this reason, this place, which was uninhabited in times of peace, was still full of a great number of houses.[291] These houses had three different heights, with the lowest one supporting the weight of the middle and upper heights.[292] And indeed the houses were so close to one another, that if stones were thrown into the city with catapults, they would not reach bare ground wherever they fell. Above them, the stench coming from the waste flooded all of the houses in the city and it did not torture the bodies less than it frightened the spirits. That is why it was obvious to our people that the people of Kerentia would have been incapable of resisting a siege; and they were no longer surprised by their quick surrender, when they saw such a lack of space.

The main temple was located in the middle of its vestibule,[293] but both were closed off by purple cloths instead of walls, the roof supported only on separate columns. So the servants, moving aside the vestibule's decoration, finally laid hands on the temple's interior curtains. Having drawn those aside, an idol made of oak wood could be seen from all sides; they called this idol Rugiaevit,[294] which provoked great ridicule due to its hideousness. For the swallows, which had built their nests under the contours of its mouth, had accumulated on its chest thick mounds of excrement.[295] Worthy god, whose likeness was so dirtily

290 Excavations of this enclave have, in effect, found the foundations of three temples, close to the wall along the southern part of the enclosure (Słupecki 1994: 44–50).

291 Saxo seems to believe that the fort was a place that was only used as a refuge in times of war by the area's inhabitants. If this were the case, such a number of houses, built for just a limited time, would not make sense.

292 The term *habitaculum* does not suggest such complicated structures. Christiansen (1981, 3, 845 n. 517) suggests that this was a poor interpretation of little houses and cabins that were superimposed on terraces on a steep slope.

293 Thus, here, *fanum* refers to the inner temple, which housed the statue, and the *uestibulum* was the enclosure that surrounded it, as in the Temple of Arkona. The construction model, then, seems to be the same, even the use of purple curtains instead of walls to watch over the image of god.

294 The name of this god appears in *Knýtlingasaga* § 6.1.3. as *Rinvit*, perhaps an erroneous copy of *Riuvit* or *Ruivit*. The form of the name in Saxo shows that at least he interpreted it as Lord (*-vit-*) of Rügen.

295 The motif of swallows that make their nests in pagan idols and dirty and profane them with their excrement comes from the Christian apologists of the second century, such as Arnobius *Adversus nationes* 6.16.7 and Minucius Felix *Octavius* 24.9.

stained by some birds! Moreover, on its head were seven human-like faces, all of which were covered on their tops by a single skull. And the maker had managed to put together on one of its sides the same number of authentic swords, with their scabbards, hanging from a single belt, and an eighth unsheathed sword which it held in its right hand. This sword, put in the fist, was very firmly held in place by an iron nail, and it could not be removed from the hand without cutting the hand off, which provided the pretext to dismember it. The statue was thicker than the usual human body, and the height as well, in truth, such that Absalon, on tiptoes, had trouble reaching the chin with the ax he usually carried.

They believed that this god, gifted with strength almost matching that of Mars,[296] was in charge of war. Nothing about this idol was pleasing to the eye, his features deformed by the ugliness of rough engravings. And then the servants began to use their axes on its legs, to the entire city's despondency. Having cut the legs, the trunk fell to the ground with a great noise. Before this sight, the citizens, mocking the strength of their god, changed religions with satisfaction.

And not satisfied with its destruction, a group of auxiliary troops[297] turned greedily to the statue of Porevit,[298] which was worshiped in the temple next door. This idol had five heads, but had been sculpted without decorations on its sides. Having torn down this idol, they went to the temple of Porenutius.[299] This statue, represented with four faces, had a fifth face embedded in the body, whose forehead it touched with its left hand, and the chin with its right.[300] This statue fell under the blows of the axes wielded by the servants.

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296 It was, then, a god of war, like Gerovit of Havelberg and Wolgast, described by Ebo 3.8 (§ 2.19.9.) as *deus militiae*.

297 *Satellites* is used for irregular soldiers, who were attached to a regular troop with secondary functions, as auxiliary forces or royal guards. In Saxo it frequently designates what the Danes called *hird* or *huskarle*. And it very often has a derogatory meaning, even "thief, bandit."

298 The name recalls Perun of the eastern and southern Slavs. This would be, then, the *Lord of Thunder*.

299 The name is also clearly related to that of Perun, and therefore both gods must be somehow related to thunder. If we understand that the *–ti-*, which in other manuscripts appears as *–ci-*, is used to transcribe a Slavic *–c-*, we could interpret it as **Porenits*, the diminutive of *Porun—Perun*. In the *Knýtlingasaga* (§ 6.1.3.), he is called *Turupid*, clearly confusing his name with another Estonian god *Tharapita*.

300 We do not know if this fifth face was embedded in the chest or held in its hands. It could be a sun symbol, a circle with a face printed on it, which would fit in with this god belonging to the celestial sphere of Perun.

An edict from Absalon ordered the citizens to burn these statues within the walls, but they began to oppose his order with pleas, begging him to take pity on the overpopulated city, and to not expose those whose lives he had pardoned to a fire. Because if the fire, spreading to nearby buildings, reached just one of their houses, it would, without a doubt, destroy all of them because of how close together they were to one another. For that reason they were asked to take the statues out of the city, but they refused for a long time, because they feared that they were going to lose mobility in the limbs that they used to comply with the order, as the god would demand punishment for it, and they tried to excuse their disobedience with religion. Finally, convinced by the warning of Absalon to spurn the power of a god who could not help itself,[301] having accepted the expectation of impunity, they quickly obeyed his order.

And it is not surprising that they were afraid of the power of those gods, remembering that they had punished their sexual transgressions many times. For, in effect, in this city the men would lay with the women joined in sexual congress in the manner of dogs and they could not separate themselves no matter how hard they tried, sometimes both, fastened to posts on opposite sides, would exhibit before the people the ridiculous spectacle of their strange union. With the shamefulness of this marvel, solemn worship of these ignoble statues increased, as it was thought that it was their powers that caused what was provoked by the magical tricks of demons.[302]

But Svend,[303] to teach them to spurn the idols even more, wanted to get on top of the statues, while the people of Kerentia took them outside. By doing this, the offense increased with his weight, and those who pulled the statue were no less tormented by shame than by the weight, seeing their native gods lying under the feet of a foreign bishop.

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301 The same reasoning is found in Ebo 3.10 (§ 2.19.11.), in the parallel scene of the destruction of the idols of Gützkow.

302 This anecdote seems to contradict the accusation that the Slavs accompanied their rituals with licentious acts. However, it supports the Christian idea that pagan idols could be inhabited by evil spirits that led their adorers to commit all types of excesses. There are other references that vaginismus, which causes the situations described here, was considered to be a punishment for sexual acts that were illicit either due to their nature or because of where they were performed. It seems that in this case it punishes the transgression of a sexual taboo that was common to Christians and pagans.

303 Svend, Bishop of Aarhus, was an active protector of the Cistercians and an ally of Bishop Absalon until the Scania revolt in 1180. In spite of his poor health and the draw of the cloisters, he appears actively participating in the conquest of Rügen.

While Svend did this, Absalon, having consecrated three cemeteries on Kerentia land, returned to Kerentia in the afternoon, and the idols having been destroyed, returned to the ships at nightfall with Iarimaro and took him to have dinner with him.

2.29 *Annals of Augsburg*

The *Annales Augustani* or Annals of Augsburg were written in 1135 by the canons of the cathedral of this city. They begin in 973 and reach up to 1104. They consist of very short notes up until 1041. Then they become longer, with references to meteorological data and the deeds of emperors in relation to the city. From 1065 on, their interest extends to events not directly connected to the city of Augsburg.

Edition used: Pertz (1839: 128).
Other editions: Meyer (1931: 56–57).
References: Kleinen (2004).

2.29.1 sub anno 1068

This is a brief note that is framed by the events occurring in the city of Augsburg in the year 1068, specifically, that it was a year of floods and King Henry IV stayed in the city on September 8.

Burchardus Halberstatensis episcopus, Liuticiorum prouintiam ingressus, incendit, uastauit, auectoque equo, quem pro deo in Rheda colebant, super eum sedens in Saxoniam rediit.

Burghard, Bishop of Halberstadt,[304] entering in the province of the Lutici, set fire, destroyed, and, bringing with him the horse that they worshiped as a god in the temple of Rethra,[305] he returned to Saxony riding it.

304 Burghard II of Halberstadt was the nephew of Archbishops Anno II of Cologne and Werner of Magdeburg. He succeeded Burghard I in the Halberstadt see in 1059. In the Diet of Augsburg (October 1062) he was commissioned to travel to Rome to investigate the election of Pope Alexander II (1061–1073) and to write a report to present it to a subsequent assembly of bishops of Germany and Italy. Burghard's report was entirely in favor of Alexander II. He died in 1088.

305 This seems to be the definitive destruction of this temple, see texts 2.8.5. and 2.11.1.

2.30 *Annals of Magdeburg*

The *Annals of Magdeburg* were composed through successive contributions of information, but there was a single document produced in the 12th century. It was the work of the monks of the monastery of Saint John the Baptist of Magdeburg, a very important institution founded by Otto I, which became a first-class cultural center.

The manuscript edited by Pertz provides annalist information up to the year 1460. Unlike other cathedral annals, this text had a much more universal intent, and, in fact, begins with the birth of Christ.

Its style is simple, except when it describes the blessings of Otto I on the city of Magdeburg.

Edition used: Pertz (1859: 105–196).
Other editions: Meyer (1931: 57–58).

2.30.1 sub anno 938

In the year 938, Otto I, at the request of his wife Edith, who had a particular fondness for the city of Magdeburg, founded an important abbey in said city. The annalist goes off on a digression on the legendary origins of the city by means of a *Roman Interpretatio*.

Non ociosum putamus, si de tam famose ciuitatis prima fundatione, et unde hoc nomen Parthenopolis siue Magadeburg suscepit, penes tradicionem ueterum paucis perstingamus. Cesar igitur ille quondam potentissimus, ab Yulo Aeneae filio stirpis diriuatione cognominatus Iulius, dictatoris ordine cum Crasso et Pompeio sublimatus Romae, cum totam Galliam trinae diuisionis Romano imperio armis subiugandam suscepisset, in has susceptae gentis partes ueniens, tum ut eo tucius cum exercitu pausaret, tum ut circumpositas nationes facilius coerceret, plures competentibus in locis ciuitates condidit, quarum nonnullas terrae lignique materia circumuallatas plerasque etiam murorum ambitu cinctas munire studuit, quantum opere festinato ualuit inhianter accedens multitudo. Inter quas et hanc non infimam ad honorem Dianae condidit, quae quia apud gentiles dea uirginitatis stulto errore credebatur, a parthenu, quod Grece uirgo dicitur, ipsa parthena quoque uocabatur, sicque a parthena, id est, Diana, Parthenopolim, id est parthenae urbem, appellauit. Quod etiam barbarum nomen testatur, quia Magadeburg quasi uirginis urbs dicitur. Fecit quoque idem Cesar intra urbem, ut fertur, iuxta ripam Albiae fluminis templum, immo ydolium eiusdem Dianae, ubi ad supplementum religionis pluribus uirginibus dicatis, sacra deae statuit quae posteritas celebrauit (…) *Karolus magnus* (…) *huius ydolii aras destruxit, et oratorium prothomartyris Stephani ibi dedicari fecit.*

We do not consider it idle to dedicate a few words to the tradition of the ancients regarding the first founding of such a famous city, and where it got its name of Parthenopolis or Magdeburg. For that extremely powerful Caesar, called Julius as he was of the line of Julus, son of Aeneas, once he had reached the category of dictator of Rome in the company of Crassus and Pompey, as he received all of Gaul as the third part of the Roman Empire, to subjugate through arms, when he arrived to the land of that people who had been entrusted to him, whether to rest more securely with his army, or whether to more easily dominate the tribes of the area, he founded several cities in suitable places for them, some of which he ordered be provided with wooden and earth walls, and most with a stone wall, so that, once the work was done, it would serve a multitude of people arriving en masse. Among these cities, and not the smallest, he founded this one in honor of Diana, as the pagans, in their absurd error, believed that she was the goddess of virginity; she was called *parthena*, from the word *parthenu*, which is how to say virgin in Greek; and thus, from *parthena*, that is, Diana, he called the city Parthenopolis, that is, city of the *parthena*. The Barbarian name is also recorded, because Magadeburg is how to say city of the virgin. Caesar himself also built within the city, according to the story, on the bank of the Elbe River, a temple, and inside an idol of Diana herself, where, having anointed many maidens to worship the religion, he arranged the sacred ceremonies for the goddess that posterity celebrated (…). Charlemagne (…) destroyed the altars of this idol and ordered that a chapel to protomartyr Saint Stephen be consecrated there.

2.30.2 sub anno *1147*

As part of the events of the year 1147, the annalist describes the Diet of Frankfurt, in which Saint Bernard of Clairvaux preached the Second Crusade, and the expedition of the German noblemen against the pagan Slavs took place. The army of Albert the Bear, accompanied by other noblemen and bishops of the Holy Roman Empire, including Polish and Ruthenian nobles, attacked Demmin and was able to burn the pagan temple of Malchow.

Contra quos etiam Rutheni, licet minus catholici tamen christiani nominis karacterem habentes, inestimabili Dei nutu cum maximis armatorum copiis exiuerunt. Hi equidem omnes cum maximo apparatu et commeatu et mirabili deuotione in diuersis partibus terram paganorum ingressi sunt, et tota terra a facie eorum contremuit, et fere per tres menses peragrando omnia uastauerunt, ciuitates et oppida igni succenderunt, fanun eciam cum idolis quod erat ante ciuitatem Malchon, cum ipsa ciuitate concremauerunt.

The Ruthenians, who, although they were not all Catholic, at least had the name of Christians, also joined the campaign against them[306] for the inestimable will of God with a large number of armed men. All of them with a large apparatus of war and convoy and admirable devotion entered different places of the pagans' land and the entire country trembled before them, and, traversing the country for almost three months, they destroyed everything, they set fire to the cities and towns, and they burned the temple along with the idols that were outside the city of Malchon[307] together with the city itself.

2.30.3 sub anno 1169

The information referring to the year 1169 is brief and only includes two other notes, the news of an earthquake in Antioch and the election of a canon from the Cathedral of Magdeburg, Daniel, as the new bishop of Prague.

Waldomarus rex Danorum, adiunctis sibi Liuticiorum principibus ad Rugianos profectus, deos eorum succidit, et multo auro et argento de precipuo fano ipsorum ablato, umbram eis christianitatis inpressit, que in breui tam ipsius auaricia quam doctorum penuria et desidia abolita est.

Valdemar,[308] king of the Danes, accompanied by the princes of the Lutici, went forth against the Rani, and burned their gods and, having taken much gold and silver from their famous temple,[309] he imposed upon the Rani a shadow of Christianity, which in a short time, both because of his own greed, as well as the shortage of missionaries and apathy, was abolished.

2.31 *Continuation* of the *Chronicle* of Richard of Poitiers

Richard of Poitiers was a monk in Cluny. His chronicle work was dedicated to Peter, the abbot of this monastery, and it offers a brief history of France and of European events of the 11th and 12th centuries. He uses visitors to the Abbey of Cluny as sources of information, as well as his journey to England, which the author describes to us in his poetic work. Richard of Poitiers' narration ends in

306 That is, the Pruscos, a Slavic tribe.
307 Malchow, in the state of Mecklenburg-Schwerin.
308 Valdemar I the Great (1157–1182).
309 The Temple of Arkona.

the year 1145, with the fall of Edessa, but several *Continuationes* are added to it, which are preserved in different manuscripts.

Edition used: Waitz (1882: 84).
Other editions: Meyer (1931: 58).

2.31.1 sub anno 1172

Within the annotations contained in the *Continuatio*, recensions D and E, there is brief information referring to 1172 on the wars of Frederick I Barbarossa in Italy against the Lombard League, the Latin kingdoms of the Holy Land, Byzantium, Morocco, Persia, Nubia, the Baltic Slavs, and Iceland.

Rex uero Danorum et christiani qui regiones illas incolunt, que sunt in Germania et in septemtrione, bellum habent cum paganis, qui adhuc[310] *adorant idola et sacrificant elementis et dicuntur Leutices siue Lutoici,*[311] *Christum quoque nostrum nouum deum appellant* (…). *Mercurium tamen et Venerem precipue colunt, non in templis, sed in nemoribus uel iuxta fontes.*

The king of the Danes[312] and the Christians that inhabit those regions which are in Germania and in the north are at war against the pagans, who still worship idols and make sacrifices to natural elements and are called Lutici, and who call Christ "our new god" (…), but who worship Mercury and, above all, Venus, not in temples, but in forests or besides fountains.

2.32 Innocent III, *Letter to the Archbishop of Gniezno*

The archdiocese of Gniezno was created in 999/1000 by Otto III when he made a pilgrimage to said place, where the relics of Saint Adalbert of Prague lay, brought there by Bolesław I the Brave after his martyrdom in 997. Said archdiocese had three suffragan sees: Kołobrzeg for Pomerania, Wrocław for Silesia, and Krakow for Lesser Poland.

Giovanni Lotario, count of Segni (1160–1216), studied in Paris and Bologna. He was named cardinal deacon by his uncle Pope Clement III (1190) and was

310 var. *adhuc deest*.
311 var. *leucones siue eutoici; leuiticos siue lucoya*.
312 Valdemar I the Great (1157–1182).

elected pope in 1198 with the name of Innocent III. His agenda was based on imposing pontifical authority over worldly sovereigns and on the clerics. In the purely pastoral aspect, he combated the abuses that occurred due to papal bulls, he had his legates monitor the regularity of the elections of bishops, he encouraged the renewal of the Church by promoting the mendicant orders (Dominicans and Franciscans), and he convened the Fourth Council of the Lateran.

Edition used: Kraszewski (1877: 58).
Other editions: Meyer (1931: 58).

2.32.1 Letter *from Pope Innocent III, no. 55*

On January 8, 1207, Pope Innocent III wrote a pastoral letter in Rome addressed to the Archbishop of Gniezno and his suffragan bishops, prohibiting married men from assuming ecclesiastical positions and ordering that entertainment spectacles be prohibited in churches. At the time, the Archbishop of Gniezno, Henryk I Ketlicz, was in Rome, and therefore presumably the papal letter was based on his own testimony and was meant to authorize him to undertake actions against different types of abuses, such as nepotism and indecent acts led by clerics at Christmas inside the churches.

Per insolentiam eorundem interdum ludi fiunt in eisdem ecclesiis theatrales, et non solum ad ludibriorum spectacula introducuntur in eas monstra laruarum, uerum etiam in tribus anni festiuitatibus que continue Natalem Christi sequuntur, diaconi, presbyteri ac subdiaconi uicissim insanie sue ludibria exercentes, per gesticuliationum suarum debacchationes obscenas in conspectu populi decus faciunt clericale uilescere, quam potius illo tempore uerbi Dei deberent predicatione mulcere (…). *Prelibatam uero ludibriorum consuetudinem uel potius corruptelam, curetis ab ecclesiis uestris taliter extirpare, quod uos diuini cultus et sacri comprobetis ordinis zelatores.*

By cause of their own insolence,[313] as long as theatrical representations which include masks of ghosts are done in the very churches themselves, and not only for the viewing of those who may enjoy them, but also in the three festivities of the liturgical year that follow the Nativity of Christ, the deacons, priests and subdeacons, exercising in turns the mockeries that their foolishness begets,

313 Of the clerics themselves.

debase clerical propriety before the entire town through the obscene representation of their gestures, and this at the same time that they should be building it up through preaching the word of God (…). Concern yourselves, then, with stamping out said custom, or, better said, corruption, from your churches, and demonstrate yourselves to be true guardians of the divine cult and of the sacred orders.

2.33 Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronicle of the Slavs*

Arnold of Lübeck was born around 1150 and arrived in Lübeck along with the monks of his monastery when Bishop Heinrich of Lübeck named him abbot of the Benedictine institution established there. Arnold was the abbot of said monastery for over 30 years, during which time he witnessed the siege of the population by Emperor Frederick in 1181 and Danish expansion into the city in 1201. He began to write the *Chronicle* around 1192, or after the Danish expansion. It is very unclear whether the text was an initiative of the Guelphs, of Otto IV, or his own. He died around 1211–1214.

Arnold's intention is to pick up events just where Helmold's *Chronicle* left off, and thus, he begins his narration in 1171. His *Chronicle*, in turn, covers until 1210. However, the *Chronicle* includes many more facets than that of his predecessor, and, in reality, the events related to the Slavs are a marginal aspect within the entire text. Arnold's attention is focused on the accomplishments of Henry the Lion, the history of the diocese of Bremen, international relations with Denmark, Italy, and the Orient during the years 1172–1209, and he even covers the Third Crusade (1189–1192) and Fourth Crusade (1202–1204). The first book recounts Henry the Lion's pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the election of Bishop Heinrich of Lübeck, and the martyrdom of Saint Thomas of Canterbury. The second book describes the rivalry between Duke Henry the Lion and Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (1152–1190) and the expulsion of the duke, which lasted from 1174 to 1181. The third book is dedicated to the reign of Henry the Lion in 1182–1188 and narrates the history of the northern region of Germany and relations with the Slavs and Danes. It includes a description of the Byzantine Empire. The fourth book tells of the crusade of Frederick I to the Holy Land and the fall of Jerusalem (1185–1186). The fifth describes the return of Henry the Lion from his second exile and the last years of his reign, the crusade to the Holy Land undertaken by Henry VI, the crusade against Livonia, and a description of Apulia. The sixth and seventh books are dedicated to the fight for power between the Guelph king Otto, son of Henry the Lion, and the son of Frederick I Barbarossa, Philip, which

ends with the death of the latter and the coronation of Otto IV. The seventh book includes a description of Egypt and Syria. The narration is not organized linearly, and oftentimes veers off from the course of the main events and takes up other matters of lesser importance that have occurred in the meantime.

We know little about the sources that Arnold of Lübeck used. In general, it is imagined that he used mainly oral sources and collective knowledge (Scior 2002:282). His reliability increases when he narrates events that were chronologically close to his lifetime and decreases with regard to geographically distant areas. The matters involving Lübeck and Nordalbingia are described in great detail.

The work is dedicated to the canons of Ratzeburg and to Bishop Philip. The first books revolve around the figure of Henry the Lion, a model defender of the Church, guarantor of peace and order, and vanquisher of the Slavs. In the second part of the work, the author's sympathies turn to the Guelph faction and Otto IV.

Edition used: Lappenberg-Weiland (1869).
Other editions: Meyer (1931: 59).
References: Grabowsky (1993), Scior (2002).

2.33.1 Chronicle of the Slavs *2.21*

The year 1181. In the course of the disputes between the emperor and Duke Henry the Lion, Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa arrives at Lübeck, where he is joined by Valdemar I of Denmark with a flotilla located in front of the port of Trave. The two monarchs form a blockade of Lübeck, a city allied to Henry the Lion, by land and sea.

In ipso autem tempore obsidionis domnus Heinricus episcopus in ciuitate constitutus erat, quem adierunt burguenses dicentes: "(…) *Ciuitatem istam hactenus ex munificentia domini nostri Heinrici ducis possidemus, quam etiam ad honorem Dei et robur christianitatis in loco hoc horroris et uaste solitudinis edificauimus, in qua ut speramus nunc habitatio Dei, sed prius per errorem gentilitatis sedes Sathane fuit. Hanc igitur in manus uestras non trademus".*

During the same time as the siege, Bishop Heinrich came to the city, and the citizens[314] presented themselves before him, saying: "(…) Until now, thanks to

314 Of Lübeck.

the generosity of our lord, Duke Henry,[315] we have held this city which we built in this horrifying place of terribly loneliness to honor God and fortify Christianity, which, we hope, is now the house of God, but before, due to the error of heathendom, was the place of Satan. For that reason we will not hand it over to you."

2.33.2 Chronicle of the Slavs *5.24*

In the prior chapter, Arnold tells of the visit *ad limina* of Thiderich, abbot of Saint Michael of Hildesheim, to Pope Celestine III, whom he convinces to canonize the founder of that monastery, Saint Bernward (993–1022). These events occurred in 1194. In the next chapter, he jumps around a bit chronologically and tells of the death of Berno, Bishop of Schwerin, which happened in 1191, and the death of Duke Henry the Lion, which occurred in 1195.

Hoc dierum curriculo mortuus est domnus Berno Zverinensis episcopus, primus eiusdem tituli antistes. Qui enim nunc est Zverinensis, olim tempore Ottonum dicebatur Magnopolitanus. Unde eadem sedes propter timorem Sclauorum translata est, a quibus idem antistes sepius contumeliatus. Qui a duce Heinrico episcopus eis prefectus, primus nostris in temporibus doctor illis exstitit catholicus, alapas, colaphos ab eis pertulit, artaretur. Ita ut frequenter ludibrio habitus ad sacrificia demonum. Ille tamen per Christum confortatus, culturas demonum eliminauit, lucos succidit et pro Gutdracco Godehardum episcopum uenerari constituit.

In the course of those days our lord Berno,[316] Bishop of Schwerin, died; he was the first to hold that title, as he who is now called the Bishop of Schwerin, before, in the time of the Ottonians, was called the Bishop of Megalopolis,[317] from whence this see was moved out of fear of the Slavs, who had affronted its first occupant many times. This bishop, sent before them by Duke Henry (the Lion), was the first Catholic missionary in our time who established himself among them and had to suffer their wallops and blows, because he frequently suppressed the mockery of the custom of making sacrifices to demons. However, the bishop, comforted by Christ, eliminated demon worship, burned

315 Henry the Lion (1129–1195), who had received the city's castle from count Adolf II of Holstein in 1158.

316 Berno, the first bishop of Schwerin, died in 1191. More references in text 2.23.

317 The Latin name for Mecklenburg.

the sacred forests, and ordered the people to venerate Bishop Gotthard[318] instead of the god Gutdraccus.[319]

2.34 Life of Saint Wenceslaus *Oriente iam sole*

The Life of Saint Wenceslaus, known by its incipit, *Oriente iam sole*, was written around 1250 by an anonymous cleric who belonged to the clergy of Saint Vitus Cathedral of Prague. See the introduction to text 2.4 for more on the life of Saint Wenceslaus.

Pekař (1906) considered this to be the prototype for all of the *Vitae* of Saint Wenceslaus that were written in the 13th and 14th centuries. The legend *Oriente iam sole* entailed a significant evolution in the development of the cycle of the bibliographies of Saint Wenceslaus. It draws from earlier sources, mainly the *Crescente fide*, the hagiography by Gumpold of Mantua, and especially the *Vita* by an Anonymous Christian Monk (text 2.4). However, compared to said sources, it adds certain imaginative touches and provides a new dimension to the portrait of Saint Wenceslaus, who appears for the first time not only as a Christian saint who must be celebrated due to his exemplary life and glorious miracles, but also as the protector and liberator of the Czech nation. Also novel in this hagiography is the role played by his mother Drahomíra or Dragomir, who is portrayed with the most odious traits possible.

The popularity achieved by this *Vita* means that it was preserved in several manuscripts from the 13th to the 15th centuries.

Edition used: Pekař (1906: 41).
Other editions: Kantor (1990), Nechutová (2000), Meyer (1931: 60–61).
References: Labuda (1961).

318 Saint Gotthard (Godehard) of Hildesheim (960–1038), abbot of Hersfeld, later bishop of Hildesheim (1022–1038), successor of Saint Bernward. Son of Archbishop Frederick of Salzburg, Gotthard was abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Niederaltaich in 996 and reformed other monasteries under the patronage of Henry II of the Holy Roman Empire. He traveled in Italy, Croatia, and Scandinavia. His hostel for travelers in San Moritz, close to Hildesheim, would become famous and is the reason why in 1236 the famous Saint Gotthard pass in the Alps was dedicated to him.

319 Hasselbach-Kosegarten (1862: 77) read: *uillam sancti Godehardi, que prius Goderac dicebatur* "the town of Saint Gotthard, which was before called Goderac."

2.34.1 Oriente iam sole *2*

The traits of Saint Wenceslaus's mother, Drahomíra, are described, who is characterized as a new Jezebel, full of evil and impiety.

Cum irent omnes ad immolandum ydolis, que colebat mater eius nequissima, hic solus fugiebat consorcia eorum et pergebat occulte ad ecclesias, quas pater eius construxerat (…)

Cum autem factus esset uir (…)*, exprobrauit incredulitatem illorum et duriciam cordis, dicens ad omnes, qui erant infideles: "*(…) *Seruus Christi sum, ydolis uestris non seruiam, non sub alicuius uestrum amplius redigar potestatem. Hactenus prohibuistis me Christo seruire fidelesque omnes de terra expulistis; non ita erit amplius, sed Domino Deo nostro libere seruiemus."*

Since they all went to make sacrifices to the idols his impious mother[320] venerated, he alone shunned her company and secretly went to the churches that his father had built.

When he became a man[321] (…) he condemned their lack of faith and the hardness of their heart, saying to all who were infidels: "(…) I am a servant of Christ, I will not serve your idols and I will no longer submit to the power of some of yours. Until today you have prohibited me from serving Christ, and you have expelled all the faithful from the country; this shall no longer be the case, but rather we shall freely serve Our Lord God."

2.34.2 Oriente iam sole *3*

Chapter 3 begins with Saint Wenceslaus's first decision when he comes of age and assumes power: to destroy the idols and to build churches.

Et extunc ceperunt eo iubente ydola minui, Christi ecclesie aperiri, et fideles, qui dispersi fuerant, affluere.

And then they obeyed him when he ordered them to spurn the idols and open churches of Christ, and the faithful, who had been scattered, returned.

320 Saint Wenceslaus's mother, Drahomíra.

321 Wenceslaus.

2.35 *Book of Statutes of the City of Ragusa*

The *Liber statutorum ciuitatis Ragussi* is the collection of laws of the city of Ragusa (today Dubrovnik), written between 1348 and 1358.

The passage edited by Jireček (1893) presents the first written testimony of a South Slavic custom known as *badńak*, which consisted of burning a tree trunk on Christmas Eve.

Edition used: Jireček (1893).
Other editions: Meyer (1931: 61).

2.35.1 sub annis 1272–1273

In 1270, the noble Venetian Marco Giustiniano was named count-governor of the city of Ragusa, today Dubrovnik (Croatia), which at that time was under the rule of the Republic of Venice. The passage describes the ceremony that was followed during Christmas and New Year of 1272–1273.

In uigilia Natalis Domini post uesperum nauclerii et marinarii de Ragusio ueniunt ad dominum comitem in castellum et secum deferunt çeponem unum de ligno et ponunt eum in igne gaudendo et dominus comes pro honore sui comitatus dat eis pro Kallendis yperpyros duo de suo proprio et eciam bibere.

On the eve of the Nativity of Our Lord, in the evening, the ship owners and sailors of the city of Ragusa come before the lord count at the castle and bring with them a wooden stump and they throw it on the fire with great joy, and on the calends,[322] the lord count gives them as a reward for their arrival two hyperpyrons[323] from his own money and also something to drink.

2.36 *Chronicle of Petersberg*

In 1124, Dedo IV, count of Wettin, founded the Augustine monastery of Saint Peter in Lauterberg, today Petersberg, which became an important cultural center in Upper Saxony in the 12th and 13th centuries

The Augustines were the authors of the work called *Cronicon Montis Sereni*, for the Latin name of Lauterberg, which narrates the events between the

322 That is, New Year's day. In the dialect of Dubrovnik, *kolende* still means "tip."
323 The *hyperpyron* was a Byzantine coin that was a bit smaller than the *solidus*.

date the monastery was founded and the year 1209. They are typical monastic annals, which focus on the events that have to do with the monastery and the family of the counts of Wettin, the monastery's founders and benefactors.

Edition used: Ehrenfeuchter (1874: 176).
Other editions: Kirsch (1996), Meyer (1931: 61).

2.36.1 sub anno 1209

In 1209, Conrad II of Landsberg (1159–1210), Margrave of Niederlausitz and count of Groitzsch, besieged the castle of Lebus.[324] Władysław III Spindleshanks, duke of Greater Poland (1202–1206, 1227–1228) crossed the Oder with a large army to lift the siege.

Habebant autem ducem belli phitonissam quandam que de flumine cribro haustam nec defluentem, ut ferebatur, ducens aquam exercitum precedebat, et hoc signo eis uictoriam promittebat. Nec latuit marchionem aduentus eorum, sed mature suis armatis et ordinatis, occurrens forti congressu omnes in fugam uertit, phitonissa primitus interfecta.

The duke[325] had a fortuneteller for the war who would take water from the river with a sieve and it would not run, according to her, and taking this water she would go before the army, and with this sign she promised them victory. He did not hide his arrival from the margrave,[326] but rather, the margrave, having armed his men and lined them up for battle early, went out to meet them, and after a difficult battle, sent them all running, and the fortuneteller was the first to be killed.

2.37 *Fragments of the Chronicle of the Episcopate of Brandenburg*

The Fragment of the Chronicle of the Episcopate of Brandenburg from which we have extracted this passage was taken from the version of a miscellaneous codex from the 14th century, preserved in the city of Goslar, which was likely written shortly after 1241. The passage cited deals with the issue of the suc-

324 Today in the Land of Brandenburg, on the German/Polish border. It owes its name to the Slavic tribe of the Lebeuzi (Fiedler 1998).
325 Of the Poles, Władysław III Spindleshanks (1202–1206, 1227–1228).
326 Conrad II of Landsberg (1159–1210).

cession of Prince Pribislav-Henry in the person of Albert the Bear and follows Henry of Antwerp almost literally.

This passage was included in the edition of the "Genealogy of the Dukes of Brünswick and Luneburg" that Leibniz included in his compilation of texts on Brünswick.

Edition used: Holder-Egger (1880c).
Other editions: Leibniz (1710:19s.), Meyer (1931: 61–62).
References: Eckert (1971), Słupecki (1994:203).

2.37.1 Fragments of the Chronicle of the Episcopate of Brandenburg

This is the beginning of the fragment of the Chronicle of the Episcopate of Brandenburg in the codex of Goslar version. It includes information on the episcopate of Wigger.

Huius temporibus fuit in Brandeburg rex Henricus, qui Slauice dicebatur Pribezlaus. Qui christianus factus ydolum quod in Brandeburg fuit cum tribus capitibus, quod Triglav Slauice dicebatur et pro deo colebatur, et alia ydola destruxit et ydolatriam et ritum gentis sue detestans, cum filium non haberet, Adelbertum marchionem, dictum Ursum heredem sui instituit principatus.

In his[327] times, King Henry, who in Slavic was called Pribislav, was in Brandenburg; he, having converted to Christianity, destroyed the three-headed idol that had been in Brandenburg, which in Slavic was called Triglav and was worshiped instead of God, as were other idols, and, detesting the rite of his people, since he did not have a son, he named the marquis Albert, called the Bear, as the heir to his principality.

2.38 *Epitome of the Chronicle of the Princes of Saxony*

These are annotations to the *Chronicle of the Princes of Saxony* with summaries and some historical information of interest. The copy is late, from the 16th or 17th centuries, and was found in a miscellaneous codex which may have been written around the 14th century.

Edition used: Holder-Egger (1880a).
References: Słupecki (1994: 203).

327 In times of Bishop Wigger of Brandenburg (1139–1161).

2.38.1 Epitome of the Chronicle of the Princes of Saxony

This is an annotation to the news of the founding of the bishopric of Brandenburg. If refers to two different historical moments in a disorganized fashion: the founding of the bishopric of Brandenburg by Otto I in 948 and the Germanization of Brandenburg by Albert the Bear, starting in 1150.

Tunc Otto primus cum archiepiscopo Magdeburgense nomine Adelberto et marchione Urso Beer cum episcopo Brandenburgensi Titemaro idolum ante veterem ciuitatem Brandenburgensem cum tribus capitibus, quod Tiglav Slavice dicebatur et pro Deo colebatur, et alia multa idola destruxerunt.

Otto I, along with Archbishop Adalbert of Magdeburg[328] and Marquis Albert the Bear,[329] together with Bishop Dietmar of Brandenburg[330] destroyed the three-headed idol that in Slavic was called Triglav that was outside of the old city of Brandenburg[331] and was worshiped instead of God[332] and they destroyed many other idols.

2.39 *Synodal Constitution of the Archdiocese of Gniezno*

This text comes from a synodal book of the Archdiocese of Gniezno dated 1326. The churches of Central Europe had a long provincial legal tradition, although based expressly on papal authority. Synodal books were unique to the dioceses of Prague and Gniezno, as they did not yet exist in other dioceses in the same era.

Edition used: Meyer (1931: 62).
Other editions: Hube (1856: 196s.).
References: Alonso—Cantelar—García (1992).

2.39.1 *Chapter 15*

This text is part of the pastoral rules for correct liturgical activity.

328 The first archbishop of Magdeburg, Saint Adalbert (968–981).
329 Who inherited the principality of Brandenburg in 1150.
330 He was the first bishop of Brandenburg, and occupied the see from 949 to 968.
331 Today Brandenburg an der Havel. In Slavic it was called Brenna.
332 This quote follows Henry of Antwerp literally.

De ludo laruatorum. Quoniam sicut ad deceptionem nonnunquam angelus sathanae in lucis Angelum transformatur, sic profecto ad defuscationem imaginis paternae, spiritus creaturae rationalis, in qua diuinae operationis effigies, per gratiam dignoscitur elucere, assumere censetur formas spirituum immundorum, statuimus ergo: ut nulli omnino clerici uel laici induti monstris laruarum, ecclesias uel coemeteria ipsarum ingredi praesumant, praesertim dum in illis diuina officia peragantur, quum per huiusmodi ludibriorum spectacula et feruor deuotionis tepescat, et honestas ecclesiae et decor clericalis ordinis inquinetur; decernentes, clericos quoslibet et laicos monstruosas et detestabiles imagines huiusmodi deferentes, ipso facto, excommunicationis sententiae subiacere, ab illa, donec poenituerint, nullatenus absoluendos. Adiicimus insuper: quod clerici uel laici ludos superstitiosos, iuxta quorundam locorum abusum, in processionibus ecclesiarum exercentes, eo ipso poena simili sint constricti.

On the representation of ghosts. Given that, just as to confuse the spirits, sometimes the angel of Satan transforms into an angel of light, in the same way, undoubtedly to besmirch the image of the Father, it is believed that the spirit of a rational creature adopts the form of foul spirits, in which it is evident that the representation of divine charity shines through grace. For that reason we order that absolutely no clergyman or layman dare to enter churches or their cemeteries dressed as a ghostly monster, above all when sacred functions are being carried out in those places, given that through mocking spectacles of this sort, not only does the fervor of the devout diminish, but the honor of the church is also stained, as is the propriety of the clerical order; and we order that any clergyman or layman who wears such monstrous and detestable images will be subjected at that same instant to excommunication, of which they may not be absolved under any circumstances until they have repented. We also add that both clergymen and laymen who perform superstitious representations in the processions of their churches, thereby mistreating such places, will be condemned then and there to a similar punishment.

2.40 Jan Neplach, Abbot of Opatovice, *Compendium of the Roman and Bohemian Chronicle*

Jan Neplach was born in Hořiněves in 1322 to a noble family of eastern Bohemia. At 10 years old, he became a novice in the Benedictine monastery of Opatovice, where he took vows two years later. Abbot Hroznata z Lipotic sent him to the Studium Generale of Bologna in 1339. We know that in 1347 he was at the papal court of Avignon. Clement VI named him as Hroznata's successor upon his

death in 1348. He became an advisor to Emperor Charles IV and worked actively as a diplomat, above all before the pontifical court of Avignon.

Between the years 1360 and 1365, more or less, he wrote his *Summula Chronicae tam Romanae quam Bohemicae*, which describes the history of Bohemia until 1346.

Edition used: Meyer (1931: 62–63).
Other editions: Emler (1882: 460s.; 480s.).
References: Svobodová (2003).

2.40.1 sub anno 894

The year 894. After a brief universal chronicle and a review of the list of popes, he begins the chronicle of Bohemia itself.

A. D. DCCCXCIV incipiunt acta ac gesta ducum et regum Boemie, quorum quidam pagani fuerunt et idcirco, quo tempore uel quibus annis domini regnauerint, non est curandum. Habebant enim quoddam ydolum, quod pro deo ipsorum colebant, nomen autem ydoli uocabatur Zelu. Sed obmissis materiis de illis uirginibus, de quibus fit mencio in principio cronice Boemice, de sola Lybossa pithonissa breuissime dicendum est.

In the year of our Lord 894, the deeds and feats of the leaders and kings of Bohemia begin, some of whom were pagan and therefore we need not worry ourselves with in what era or what years of the Lord they reigned. For they had a certain idol, who they worshiped as their god, and they called their idol Zelu. But, setting aside the topics of the maidens who are mentioned at the beginning of the chronicle of Bohemia, we will speak just a little bit of the fortune-teller Libuše.

2.40.2 sub anno 1336

A brief note for the year 1335 mentions the arrival of Charles, marquis of Moravia, to Bohemia and the confrontation of the clergy of Bohemia with the mendicant orders. In the year 1336, in addition to the vampirism described here, the text mentions the death of Pope John XXII (who really died in December 1334), and the election of Benedict XII.

A. D. MCCCXXXVI Philippus, filius regis Maiorikarum, cum XII nobilibus regni ordinem fratrum Minorum in uigilia Natiuitatis Christi ingreditur et in Boemia circa Cadanum ad milliare unum in uilla dicta Blow quidam pastor nomine Myslata moritur. Hic omni nocte surgens circuibat omnes uillas in circuitu homines

terrendo et iugulando et loquebatur. Et cum fuisset cum palo transfixus: dicebat, multum nocuerunt michi, nam dederunt michi baculum, ut me a canibus defendam; et cum cremandus effoderetur, tumebat sicut bos et terribiliter rugiebat. Et cum poneretur in ignem, quidam arripiens fustem fixit in eum et continuo erupit cruor sicut de uase. Insuper cum fuisset effossus et in currum positus, collegit pedes ad se sicut uiuus, et cum fuisset crematus totum malum conquieuit, et antequam cremaretur, quemcumque ex nomine in nocte uocabat, infra octo dies moriebatur.

In the year of our Lord 1336, Philip,[333] son of the king of Majorca, accompanied by 12 noblemen from the kingdom, entered the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin on the eve of the Nativity of Christ; and in Bohemia, close to Kadaň, along with a solider in the town of Blov, a pastor named Myslata died. And he, rising from his tomb each night, would wander all of the nearby towns, terrorizing and slitting the throats of the people, and he would speak. When pierced with a stick, he said: "Much damage you have done me, since you have given me a cane to defend myself from the dogs;" and when he was exhumed to burn him, he swelled like an ox and gave a hair-raising roar. When they put him in the fire, someone took a stick and drove it through him, and he bled without stopping, as if he were a tankard. In addition, when they disinterred him and put him in a cart, his legs shrunk as if he were alive, and when he was burned, all of his evil was dispelled, and before being burnt, all those whose names he spoke at night would die within eight days.

2.40.3 sub anno 1344

This anecdote is the only one given for the year 1344. It was borrowed and popularized by Lecouteaux (1999a).

A. D. MCCCXLIV Quedam mulier in Lewin mortua fuit et sepulta. Post sepulturam autem surgebat et multos iugulabat et post quemlibet saltabat. Et cum fuisset transfixa, fluebat sanguis sicud de animali uiuo et deuorauerat slogerium proprium plus quam medium, et cum extraheretur, totum fuit in sanguine. Et cum deberet cremari, non poterant ligna aliqualiter accendi nisi de tegulis ecclesie ad informacionem aliquarum uetularum. Postquam autem fuisset transfixa, adhuc semper surgebat; sed cum fuisset cremata, tunc totum malum conquieuit.

333 Neplach may have confused the infante Philip, regent during the minority of James III of Majorca, with his brother, the infante James, both sons of James II of Majorca.

Year of the Lord 1334. In Levín a woman died and she was buried. But then she would come out of her tomb and murder many, and then she would attack anyone. And when she was pierced, the blood flowed as if she were a live animal, and she had devoured more than half of her own shroud, which, when taken out of her, was covered in blood. When they went to burn her, they could not get any type of wood to light except for the wood from the roof of the church,[334] according to the testimony of some old women. Although they had pierced her, she continued to rise up; but, when they were able to burn her, all of the evil she had was dispelled.

2.41 *Visitation Protocols of the Archdeacon of Prague*

These are the records of the pastoral visits made by the Archdeacon of Prague, Paul of Janovice, during the years 1379 to 1382.

Edition used: Meyer (1931: 63).
Other editions: Hlaváček-Hladíková (1973).
References: Zibrt (1892: 186).

2.41.1 sub anno 1382

News included in the year 1382.

Plebanus dicit, quod quidam Holybrius sartor ibidem dicit, se habere penatem in domo sua, a quo dicit se audire furta et excessus alios releuari. Ibi quoque dominus Paulus archidiaconus mandauit, quod idem sartor cras mane coram eodem archidiacono personaliter compareat.—Vicarius ibidem dicit de Holibrio sartore ut supra.

A parishioner says that one Holibrio, a tailor, says that he also has a household deity in his house, which he says he has heard will protect him from theft and other crimes. Then the Archbishop Paul ordered that the tailor appear before him the next morning in person.—The curate also says the same of the tailor Holibrio.

334 Only through incineration using wood that came from a sacred place can the evil power of the living dead be canceled out. This seems to be proof that the origin of the phenomenon of the living dead came from the change in funeral rites, from the traditional cremation of the pre-Christian Slavs to Christian burial (Álvarez-Pedrosa 2011).

2.42 *Records from the Councils of Prague*

K. von Höfler's edition of the conclusions from the councils of Prague, collected in his work *Concilia Pragensia*, spans the years from 1366 to 1407. They are pastoral rules.

Edition used: Meyer (1931: 63–64).
Other editions: von Höfler (1862).

2.42.1 sub anno 1366

Announcement issued in the year 1366.

De mortis ymagine (*de his, qui in media quadragesimae portant mortem extra uillam*). *Item quia in nonnullis ciuitatibus oppidis et uillis praua clericorum et laicorum inoleuit abusio, qui in medio quadragesimae ymagines in figura mortis per ciuitatem cum rithmis et ludis superstitiosis ad flumen deferunt ibi quoque ipsas ymagines cum impetu submergunt, in eorum ignominiam asserentes quod mors eis ultra nocere non debeat tanquam ab ipsorum terminis sit consumata et totaliter exterminata. Quare omnibus et singulis ecclesiarum parochialium rectoribus precipitur quod cum tales in suis plebibus resciuerint, mox a diuinis officiis tam diu abstineant, donec dicti preuaricatores lusoresque superstitiosi a domino Archiepiscopo penitentiam recipiant pro excessibus condignam et salutarem quorum absolutionem sibi reuerendus pater specialiter reseruat.*

On the image of death (regarding those who bring death to the outskirts of town in the middle of Lent). It is known that in some cities, towns, and villages the pernicious habit has taken root, on the part of clergy and laymen, of bringing images in the form of death around the town to the river in the middle of Lent, accompanied by chants and superstitious representations, and that there they sink said images vehemently, arguing, to their own shame, that in this way death will not do them more harm, because it has been destroyed and wiped out from the town's boundaries. Therefore, it is ordered that each and every one of the heads of the diocesan churches, upon discovering that there are such people in their parishes, immediately remove them from divine functions, until said transgressors and superstitious fraudsters receive from the Archbishop a penitence that corresponds to their excesses and will free them from sin. Absolution for these excesses is especially reserved for the Reverend Father.

2.42.2 sub anno 1384
Announcement issued in the year 1384.

Item mandatur ne plebani seu eorum uices gerentes per diocesin Pragensem ludos superstitiosos in plebibus suis admittant specialiter ne in medio quadragesimae extra portas urbis uel uille ymaginem ad hoc factam in modum mortis cum rithmis sicut consuetudo praua in quibusdam locis inoleuit, offerri permittant.

It is also ordered that the parishioners or the leaders who represent them in the diocese of Prague should not allow superstitious representations in their parishes, and especially should not allow images representing death, which are made for this purpose, to be displayed on the outskirts of the city or town, accompanied by music, halfway through Lent, according to the bad custom that is established in some places.

2.42.3 sub anno 1384
Similar to the above, announcement included in the year 1384.

Item mandatur omnibus plebanis et eorum uices gerentibus ut in anniuersariis mortuorum in domibus plebizanorum ipsorum non permittant ut faciant fieri aliqua offertoria cum luminibus per se uel alios nec eciam cantent responsoria in talibus consueta fieri. Nam hec consuetudo uel potius abusio dicenda est.

It is also ordered that all parishioners and the leaders who represent them shall not allow, on the anniversaries of their dead, for the parishioners in their own houses to make sacrifices with torches, on their behalf or the behalf of others, nor for them to sing the responses that are often used on such occasions. For this custom should be considered a bad habit.

2.42.4 sub anno 1407
Announcement for the year 1407.

Contra usurarios (et) sortilegos. Item heu ad nostri domini audienciam est deductum quod multi usurarii sortileges incantatores et incantatrices in diuersis parochiis commorantur et publice tolerantur per plebanos absque omni correccione libere diuersa sortilegia exercentes in sancte et ⟨et⟩ unite christiane contemptum fidei et scissuram. Igitur mandatur plebanis uniuersis et singulis quatenus tales sortilegos et sortilegas non tolerent ulterius in parochiis eorum, sed corrigant et expellant tales pro poenitencia peragenda ad superiorum audienciam remit-

tant eis salubriter imponendo alias quicunque plebanus circa hoc negligens fuerit debet per loci decanum denunciari prelatis superioribus per eos districtissime puniendus uelud particeps in dampnato crimine et dampnando.

Against money-lenders and fortune-tellers. In addition, oh! It has been reported before the tribunal of our lord that many money-lenders, fortune-tellers, sorcerers and sorceresses are appearing in different parishes, and this is publicly tolerated by the parishioners, who, free from all censure, openly practice different spells, disregarding and setting aside the one holy Christian faith. Thus, it is ordered that each and every parishioner should no longer tolerate such sorcerers and sorceresses any longer in their parishes, but rather they should condemn them and expel them, and send them before the tribunal of the authority so that they may complete the punishment imposed upon them for their salvation. Moreover, any parishioner who does not heed this must be reported by the prior of that place to the higher prelates, and must be punished by them with all severity as a participant in a crime that has been condemned and is condemned.

2.43 *Passion of the Martyrs of Ebstorf*

Ebstorf, in its ancient form Ebbekestorp, in the duchy of Luneburg, was conquered in 880 by the Norse. In this battle, the Germans, led by Bruno, duke of Saxony, were defeated and massacred. Many of the fallen in that battle were honored as martyrs, especially Bishop Theodoric (Thierry) of Minden, Bishop Marquard of Hildesheim, Bishop Erlulf of Werden, and Bishop Gosbert of Osnabrück. The Bollandists add 25 more names to that list. The devotion that was created at the tombs of the martyrs led to the establishment of a Benedictine abbey. In 1243, on the anniversary of their martyrdom (February 2), the relics exuded oil, which contributed to increasing veneration for these relics. An anonymous Flemish author, from the 14th or even 13th century, wrote the Records of the martyrdom, which are preserved in the Codex Antverpensis, from which this fragment is taken.

Edition used: Meyer (1931: 65).
Other editions: Leibniz (1707: 191), Socii Bollandiani (1898–1901: 8056ss.).

2.43.1 Passion of the Martyrs of Ebstorf

This fragment is at the beginning of the *Passion of the Martyrs of Ebstorf*.

Post mortem (...) *praenominati Karoli Magni Serenissimi Imperatoris quidam non ueri Christiani sed falsi praecipue trans Albam, quia potenti manu ad fidei Christianae susceptionem quodammodo compulsi sunt, suadente generis humani totiusque nostrae salutis hoste crudelissimo susceptam fidem Christi relinquentes idola sua proiecta Hammon scilicet Suentebueck, Vitelubbe, Radegast cum ceteris erexerunt & in loca sua pristina statuerunt & ut ante susceptam fidem relicto Deo uero coluerunt. Haec facta sunt post mortem Karoli.*

After the death of His Serene Highness Emperor Charlemagne, certain persons, who were not true Christians, but rather false Christians, because they had been compelled to accept the Christian faith by force, seduced by the cruelest enemy of the human race and of all our salvation, abandoned the faith in Christ that they had accepted, and erected on the other side of the Elbe their vile idols, Hammon, that is, Sventovit, Vitelubbe,[335] Radegast, and the others; they established their devotions in their original places, and, abandoning the true God, worshiped them as they had before they accepted the Christian faith. This occurred after the death of Charlemagne.

2.44 *Exhortation of the Synodal Visit of the Diocese of Włocławek*

This text collects pastoral rules from the Diocese of Włocławek written during the 14th century.

Edition used: Meyer (1931: 65).
Other editions: Abraham (1889: 227s.).

2.44.1 Exhortation of the Synodal Visit of the Diocese of Włocławek

After the rules about the sacrament of marriage and a brief note about confirmation, there are rules about magic and Crypto-paganism.

(*Ad inquisicionem procedatur:*) *si qui inuocant demones uel credunt uel colunt plures quam unum Deum quia omnia creauit aut si qui adorent seu pro Deo colent aues uel arbores uel alias creaturas*.

335 This is a Germanic name, Vitold, that, according to popular etymology, was inspired by the Slavic theonym Sventovit (interpreted as "Saint Vitus"), and which could be translated as "he who loves Vit."

Item si que sunt incantatrices ut puta herbas fodientes, appendicula ad colla facientes uidelicet in wlgari nawanszij *uel manus inspicientes, ceram plumbum lique facta fundentes, ignem aquam aues inspicientes et ex eis futura predicentes, et si aliqui pro talibus habeant recursum ad eas et qui sunt qui currunt ad easdem.*

Item si qui occulta et suspecta conuenticula inter se habuerunt ex quibus oriatur suspicio contra fidem. Item si qui Iudei aut pagani baptizati ritum infidelium reassumpserunt.

The following must appear before the tribunal: those who invoke demons, or who believe or worship gods other than the one God who created all; or those who pray to or worship birds, trees, or other creatures, instead of God.

Also those who are sorceresses, for example, women who pick herbs and make pendants to wear around the neck, which in the common language are called *nawanszij*;[336] or women who read palms, melt wax and lead to make them liquid again, and observe fire, water, and birds and tell the future from them; and also those who, seeking such things, use their services, and those who go to such women.

Also those who gather in clandestine and suspicious meetings, from which suspicions against the Faith may arise. And also the Jews or pagans who, having been baptized, have once again embraced the rites of the infidels.

2.45 *Synodal Statutes of Krakow*

This text collects the synodal provisions of the archdiocese of Krakow from the 14th and 15th centuries.

Edition used: Meyer (1931: 65–66).
Other editions: Ulanowski (1889: 27).

2.45.1 Synodal Statutes of Krakow

Conclusions issued in 1408.

De ritu paganico hucusque seruato per christianos: Item non sine magno contemptu nominis diuini aliqui specie christiani cultum ydolatrie presumunt exer-

336 "Amulet," see Urbańczyk (1953–2002: 5, 124a: 3–29) s.v. *nawąz* and 31–39 s.v. *nawężnik*.

cere, presertim tempore, quo Spiritus Sanctus cum suis donis est querendus. Ideo prohibemus, ne tempore Pentecosthen fiant cantus paganici, in quibus ydola inuocantur et uenerantur, sed totis uiribus populus Christi fidelis inducatur et arceatur ad dimittenda ydolatica et ad amplectanda fidei katholice congrua et saluti eorum proficua facienda.

De columbacione per laycos exercenda etc.: Item ex instinctu dyaboli et hominum peruersorum abusu uenit in consuetudinem aput laycos ante, citra et post festum Natiuitatis Domini et quocunque alio tempore ambulare per columbacionem, ubi contigunt multa homicidia, furta et alia plura crimina. Nos igitur prohibemus, ne de cetero talia fiant; et uos rectores animarum uestros subditos a predictis curetis cohibere.

On pagan rites maintained to our days by Christians. Moreover, not without great disdain for the name of God, some, appearing to be Christians, boast of practicing cults of idolatry, above all in the period in which we must seek the grace given by the Holy Spirit. Therefore, during the time of Pentecost, we prohibit pagan chants from taking place, in which idols are invoked and worshiped; rather, the people of Christ must show themselves to be loyal and distance themselves from them with all their strength, to expel the cult of idols, to embrace what is suitable to the Catholic faith, and to do what is beneficial to their own salvation.

On the veneration of the dead practiced by laymen, and other topics: furthermore, inspired by the devil and because of the vice of evil people, it has become common among the laymen, before, during, and after the day of the Nativity of the Lord, and at any other time, to walk through the cemeteries, where many murders and robberies, and many other crimes take place. Therefore we prohibit such things from occurring from now on; and ask that you, those who guide souls, to remove such people from among your subjects.

2.46 Jan Długosz, *Annals or Chronicles of the Illustrious Kingdom of Poland*

Jan Długosz (1415–1480), also known by his Latinized name Ioannes Longinus, was a canon at the cathedral of Krakow and secretary to Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki (1389–1455). He studied at the University of Krakow, where he acquired an exceptional education in the humanities. King Casimir IV sent him on several diplomatic missions to the papal and imperial courts, and he also participated in diplomatic negotiations with the Teutonic Knights. Shortly before his death he was elected archbishop of Lwów.

His work as a chronicler is extensive. He wrote the *Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae*, 12 books on the history of Poland and Eastern Europe; the *Liber beneficiorum ecclesiae Cracoviensis*, on the history of his diocese; and a curious heraldic manual, the *Banderia Prutenorum*, which is a manuscript illuminated by Stanisław Durink that consists of a catalog of 58 coats of arms of the Teutonic Knights, whose descriptions in Latin were written by the Krakovian canon.

As a historian, Długosz places more importance of the beauty of the style than on the veracity of the facts. His history has a philosophical objective: to show that all historical events were shaped by Divine Providence.

In particular, the texts referring to Slavic paganism that can be dated to the mythical origins of Poland are, in large part, fabricated, and simply aim to reproduce the structure of the Roman pantheon in a Slavic pantheon of imaginary names. Other information is more in accordance with the popular religiousness of his era, such as the fragment that we have included in this chapter, or the fragment referring to the paganism of the principality of Kiev, which very faithfully translates an Eastern Slavic chronicle.

Edition used: Mansikka (1922: 133–135), Meyer (1931: 66).
Other editions: Przezdziecki (1873: 47, 116).
References: Michael (1997).

2.46.1 Annals or Chronicles of the Illustrious Kingdom of Poland *1*

The author narrates the beginnings of the Christianization of Poland.

Ex eo deinde tempore uniuersa Polonorum regio fidei sanctae catholicae iugum suscepit (…). *Strictissimo posthaec Myeczslai Polonorum Principis edicto, et omnium baronum et nobilium Poloniae consensu conformi confringuntur idola, et falsorum deorum simulacra atque aedes flammis traduntur; cultores uero illorum et singulorum bonorum priuatione et capitis praecisione mulctantur. Non modo singulos ritus, celebritates atque festa, quibus honos et supplicatio idolis impendebatur, sed et omnes ariolos, incantatores, augures et pythones, Myeczslaus Dux Polonorum abrogauit et erasit de terra, ludos omnes publice et priuatim in honorem deorum gestos prohibuit: non enim est Deus noster ut dii gentium, quos saepe populus Polonicus ludis, plausibus et gestis inhonestis, atque sexcentis aliis generibus impietatis placatos credidi efficere. Felicissimus profecto et Deo amabilis Princeps, qui primus Polonorum regiones fidei orthodoxae et corpori sanctae Ecclesiae per ueritatis cognitionem et idolorum desertionem inuiscerauit. Et quoniam fere in omnibus ciuitatibus, oppidis et uicis insignioribus Poloniae, simulacra deorum et dearum idola atque luci habebantur, quae lentius tardi-*

usque, quam iussio habebat Myeczslai Principis, succidebantur, confringebanturque: septima dies Martii ad confringendum, abolendumque ea in uniuersis Polonorum regionibus a Myeczslao indicta est. Qua adueniente, quaelibet ciuitas et quaeque uilla suorum deorum simulacra confringere, et confracta in paludes, lacus et stagna, prosequente populi utriusque sexus multitudine, demergere, saxisque obruere, cultoribus deorum, dearumque et his praesertim, quibus sacra eorum erant quaestui, profusius ingemiscentibus, illacrimantibusque, non tamen quicquam metu praefectorum ducalium mutare audentibus, coacta est. Quae quidem falsorum deorum, dearumque confractio, demersioque tunc facta, apud nonnullas Polonorum uillas, simulacrum Dzyewanae et Marzyanae in longo ligno extollentibus, et in paludes in Dominica Quadragesimae Laetare proiicientibus et demergentibus, repraesentatur, renouaturque in hunc diem, nec huius consuetudinis uetustissimae effectus usque modo apud Polonos defluxit.

After that era, the entire region of the Poles submitted to the yoke of the holy Catholic faith (…). Later, by order of a very severe edict from Mieszko, prince of the Poles, and with the unanimous approval of all the barons and nobles of Poland, the idols are destroyed, and the images and temples of the false gods are delivered to the flames; and those who worshiped them are punished by having all their belongings taken from them and by decapitation. And Mieszko, king of the Poles, not only eliminated and erased from the face of the earth all the rituals, celebrations, and festivals that were used to honor and thank the idols, but also all of the fortune-tellers, sorcerers, clairvoyants, and seers, and prohibited all of the ceremonies that were held publicly and privately in honor of the gods: as our God is not like the gods of the gentiles, the gods the Polish people thought they could placate with festivals, praise, and indecent gestures, and another six hundred impieties of that sort. Without a doubt, very blessed and loved by God was the Prince, who was the first to see that the orthodox faith and the body of the holy Church take root in the Polish regions, so that they would know the truth and abandon the idols. And because in almost all the most notable cities, towns, and villages of Poland there were images, idols, and forests consecrated to gods and goddesses, which were being dismantled and destroyed slowly and lazily after the order from Prince Mieszko, Mieszko ordered that they should all be destroyed and finished in all of the Polish regions by the seventh of March. When the day arrived, each and every one of the cities and towns was forced to destroy the images of their gods, and to sink the pieces in swamps, lakes, and ponds, and to cover them with rocks, with a multitude of people of both sexes in a procession, while the adorers of gods and goddesses lamented and cried copiously, especially those who obtained benefits from their rituals, without daring to change anything out of fear of the

Duke's governors. And although this destruction and sinking of the false gods and goddesses took place, in some towns a farce is still represented in which they worship Dzyewana and Marzyana in the form of a long stick, which is thrown and sunk in swamps on *Laetare*[337] Sunday. This has been continued until our times, such that the practice of this very old custom has still not disappeared among the Poles.

2.46.2 Annals or Chronicles of the Illustrious Kingdom of Poland *1*

Długosz narrates the origins of the principality of Kiev. Comparing Długosz's Latin text and the same text from the *PVL* (see texts 4.1.8. and 4.1.10.), it is clear that the Krakovian canon worked with an Eastern Slavic chronicle.

Firmato principatus sui solio, Wlodimirus Dux Russiae ad religiones versus, in montibus Kyoviensi castro proximis fana, simulacra et idola locat, templaque et delubra aedificat. Inter omnes tamen suae profanae superstitionis deos, Fulminis numen in praecipua apud illum et cultura et ueneratione habebatur, cui et plura templa instituit, et excellentiori illud simulacro ornauit. Nec ipse Dux tantum, sed et uniuersus Ruthenorum populus detestabiles ritus huiusmodi secutus, Fulminis numen praestantioribus immolationibus et holocaustis uenerabatur. Fabricauit autem Wlodimirus deo suo principali Fulmini corpus et simulacrum ex ligno, caput ex argento, et aures[338] *ex auro, caeteris quoque diis lucos et simulacra constituit, et adducens filios suos et filias, sacrificat diis, et coiniquat se et terram Russiae idolis.* (…)

Sacrilegos ritus, quibus priscis temporibus Ruthenorum gens dedita erat, Wlodimirus Russiae Dux eliminaturus, tertio ex quo Christi fide illuminatus erat anno, idola, lucos, arasque et templa eorum confringit, incendit et comminuit. Simulacrum uero Fulminis, quod praecipua ueneratione a Ruthenis colebatur, ad caudam equi alligatum, spectante multitudine Ruthenorum, per terram trahi et in flumen Dnyepr mergi, gentilibus Ruthenis ex utroque sexu deorum et simulacrorum suorum fletu et eiulatu ingenti confractionem prosequentibus, mandauit.

Once he reasserted himself on the throne of the principality, Volodimer,[339] prince of Rus', dedicated himself to religion and he established in the moun-

337 Fourth Sunday of Lent, so called because of the first word of the Introit. The liturgical color, unlike the other Sundays of Lent, is pink.

338 *uar. lectio*: *nares*.

339 We use the same transcription that we followed in the translation of the *PVL*. Długosz uses the Latinized form *Wlodimirus*.

tains around the city of Kiev places of worship, statues and idols, temples and shrines. However, among all of the gods from his profane superstition, he was most devoted to and most venerated the god of Thunder,[340] and he established more temples to him and adorned his statue excellently. And not just the prince himself, but the entire Ruthenian[341] people followed in this way the detestable rites and worshiped the god of Thunder with great sacrifices and holocausts. For his main god, the god of Thunder, Volodimer built a body of wood, a head of silver, and ears[342] of gold, and for the other gods he also established sacred forests and idols and, bringing his sons and daughters, he sacrificed them to the gods, and he contaminated himself and the land of Rus' because of the idols. (…)

To eliminate the sacrilegious rites to which, in prior eras, the Ruthenian people had given themselves, Volodimer, prince of Rus', three years after having been illuminated by the faith of Christ,[343] destroyed, set fire to, and smashed their idols, sacred forests, altars, and temples. And he ordered that the idol of Thunder, which the Ruthenians worshiped with special devotion, be dragged along the ground and thrown into the Dnieper River, and the pagan Ruthenians of both sexes followed the destruction of their gods and idols with immense cries and wails.

2.47 *Polish Sermons*

These are pastoral instructions that are of great philological interest in that they include a good deal of medieval Polish lexicon. The can be found in the manuscript Leningradensis Lat. I, Quarto, no. 244.

Edition used: Meyer (1931: 69–76).
Other editions: Brückner (1895: 38–97, 317–390 and 1897: 115–205).

2.47.1 Polish Sermons

Criticism of rural Polish customs of the 15th century.

340 It is interesting that Długosz does not mention the name of the god Perun, or any other theonym which is included in the *PVL*.

341 This is the medieval Latin chroniclers' usual designation for the Eastern Slavs.

342 The manuscripts also include the variant "nose."

343 The *PVL* places this action in the year 988, text 4.1.10. However, Długosz places it in 992.

Quantum malum est incredulitas quod oculos apertos cecat. Quid itaque faciet incantatricibus et sortilegis et commercia cum demonibus habentibus, que et si nomine sunt fideles, re tamen infideles censentur quoniam honori Dei detrahunt et creaturam eis pro Deo constituunt. Qualiter Deus iniuriam suam ulciscetur in talibus actus paganicos facientes ex quo apud dilectos discipulos incredulitas resurreccionis tantum demerebatur, quod Christum non cognoscerent quamquam presentem. Sed nimirum, cum rex omnipotenter resurrexit, cur Christiani non credunt in Deum resurgentem sed credunt et parant sibi falsos deos, qui nec eum a periculo liberare nec de fortunio nec a morte possunt. Numquid enim falsum Deum sibi constituit, qui dimisso uero Deo salutem aut prosperitatem aliunde querit, sicut sunt nonnulli, qui per ignem consecratum infirmitates animalium uidentur (¡) *uel aqua recepta in uigilia pasche multas supersticiones faciunt. Alii sunt sicut coloni, preter fimacionem et agri debiti* (!) *preparacionem, ut fruges seu annone fertiliter prouenient et ne rubigine destruantur, ne zizania crescat, certo modo in die pasce cultello, quo prius quasdam carnes incidunt, aliquas frugum precidunt. Quidam cum cruce circuunt campos post matutinum in die pasce non ex deuocione sed ex fidei errore. Etiam qui in diebus pentecostes ludos faciunt paganorum cum denominacionibus* (*b*) *demonum siue qui sub tecto dormire nolunt uel cum hominibus non loquntur aut nudis pedibus quasi aliter saluari non poterint ambulant. Alii in die natiuitatis Domini uel nocte ignem adinuicem non communicant, certas personas primarie domos ipsorum, quos fortunatos estimant, ut fortunati reddantur, ingredi petunt. Quidam lupos quasi ad prandium, ut oues sic a lupinis morsibus saluentur. Quidam derelicta siue micas in uigilia Natiuitatis Domini superseminant, ut inde petrosilinum habeant et quam plura fidei contraria facere non uerentur … Aliqui sunt, qui ponunt faustum uel infaustum in ingressu uel egressu hominum a spectu auium uel garritum uel qui per caracteres aut incantaciones, quid uenturum sit hominibus quasi dii annunciant uel qui phitonissas ad domos proprias inducunt uel eorum figmentis intendunt. Siue qui attendunt somnia scripta, falso nomine sancti Danielis intitulata, uel qui portant euangelium In principio erat uerbum uel passionem s. Georgii in iopulis uel tunicis contra infaustum. Siue qui languentibus hominibus uel animalibus caracteres ignotos alligant uel uanis uetularum benediccionibus subiciunt aut quibusdam formis suspectis diuersas infirmitates hominum, ut ipsi asserunt, medentur. Siue qui per sacramentales res formam uerborum querunt aut qui obseruatis horis et temporibus et cetera diuersa et excogitata faciunt, ut amentur uel honorentur aut contra dolorem dencium quosdam tractus linearum depingunt uel contra dolorem capitis lingua, adiunctis quibusdam uerbis, frontes lingunt*: leczyą oth vrzeku. *Siue ceram fundendo ex figura ipsius mortem uel uitam predicant aut plumbum contra timorem puerorum fundunt et fusum puero circumligant. Siue secundum ritum paganorum* (89) *quandam ymaginem*

quam uocant mortem de finibus uillarum cum cantu educunt. Siue qui ad uiam euntes si in pede uel in alio membro leduntur, uel qui iucti (1) *ambulant et lapis uel obstaculum eos diuidat, malum nunciare credunt. Aut demonibus sacrificia offerunt que dicuntur* vboschye, *remanentes seu derelinquentes eis residuitates ciborum quinta feria post cenam et cetera. Aut qui in arboribus uel plantis aliquid nutriminis ponunt aut sanari uel prosperari ab alio quam a Deo petunt. Interrogo uos ubi talia didicistis, ubi scriptum reperistis, a quo catholico audiuistis, quis professorum orthodoxe fidei uos docuit nisi pater mendacii et magister erroris sc. Dyabolus ... Vnde tales si accedunt ad corpus Christi et perdurant in malicia, malediccionem eternam incurrunt et debent excommunicari nec in eius cimiterio sepeliri cum illis qui isto festo sunt dissoluti in ludis exquisitis more paganorum*: dingusszy.

What evil there is in the lack of faith, how blind with open eyes! What will be done, then, with the witches and sorcerers and those who do deals with the devil, who, while believers in name, however must be considered infidels in deed, as they degrade the honor of God and invent their own Creation instead of God! How will God punish among such people those who perform pagan acts that offend Him, He, who among his beloved disciples only earned a lack of faith with his resurrection, because they did not recognize Christ even though they had Him before them! But, indeed, although the King resurrected with all his power, why do the Christians not believe in the resurrection of God, but rather believe in and invent false gods, who cannot save them from danger, nor misfortune, nor even from death? For, why has a false god been created by he who, rejecting the true God, seeks salvation and prosperity in other places, as some do, who see the diseases of animals in the consecrated fire, or who make many superstitions in the water that is collected on the eve of Easter? There are others, like the farmers who, with the excuse of disinfecting and duly preparing the earth so that the crops or the harvest will be fertile and will not shrivel up or so weeds will not grow, cut some plants in a special way on Easter day with a knife that was used before to cut some pieces of meat. Some, on Easter day after matins, walk around the fields carrying a cross, but not out of devotion, but rather out of a misplaced faith. There are also those who during Pentecost celebrate festivals with names (b) of pagan demons, or those who do not want to sleep under a roof, or who do not speak to anyone, or walk barefoot as if they could not be saved any other way. Others, on Christmas day, or at night, do not share the fire with one another, and ask certain important people who they believe are lucky to enter their houses so that they will become lucky, too. Others almost invite the wolves to eat, so that this way their sheep will be spared attacks from the wolves. Others, on Christmas Eve, spread the remains

of food or crumbs so as to obtain parsley from them, and to not be afraid to do the greatest number of things possible against the faith (…). There are some who believe people's arrival or departure is a good or bad omen depending on the appearance or the chirping of the birds, or who, through signs or spells, foretell what will happen to people, as if they were gods, or those who bring fortune-tellers into their own houses or who listen to their trickery. Or those who believe the stories of some dreams, called by the false name "of Saint Daniel," or who carry the Gospel "In the beginning was the Word," or the Passion of Saint George in their iópulas, or tunics, to keep away bad luck. Or those who tie unknown signs to sick people or animals, or who give themselves to the futile blessings of old women, or, as they themselves say, who heal different illnesses in people with certain suspicious means. Or those who search for the form of words through sacramental means, or who make different inventions respecting the time or seasons, so that they will be loved or respected; or who paint certain outlines and lines against tooth pain, or lick foreheads with their tongue against headaches, adding some words: *leczyą oth vrzeku*.[344] Or foretell their death or their life using a figure of themselves made with molten wax, or melt lead against children's fears and circle the child with a spindle. Or, following the rite of the pagans, (89) take an image, which they call death, on procession, to the outskirts of the towns. Or those who believe that it is a bad omen if, when they go out on the street, they hurt their foot or any other limb, or if they are walking together and a stone or an obstacle forces them to separate. Or they offer sacrifices to demons, which they call *vboschye*,[345] with what they save or what is left over from dinner on Thursday and other things. Or those who place some food on trees or plants and ask to be cured or to prosper from any who is not God. I ask you where you have learned such things, where you have found them written, from which Catholic you have heard them, which of the teachers of the Orthodox faith taught them to you, other than the father of lies and the master of error, that is, the Devil (…). Therefore, if such people have access to the body of Christ and they reaffirm evil, they fall into eternal damnation and they must be excommunicated, and they must not be buried in the Lord's cemetery, but rather with those who have separated from that celebration by performing rites gleaned from the pagan custom: *dingusszy*.[346]

344 The first word corresponds to the verb *leczyć* "to heal" in the third person plural (the subject of the action could be "hands," Pol. *rece*), *oth* is the preposition *od* and *wrzeku* is a singular genitive of a word that seems to be related to the adverb *wrz(e)komo*, cf. modern Polish *na pozor, jakoby, niby, w rzeczy* "with care, with attention."

345 Domestic demons.

346 Loanword from the German *dingen* "rent, link."

2.47.2 Polish Sermons *Folio 142b*

As with the above sermon, this text offers criticisms of the not-fully-Christianized customs of the Polish countryside from the 15th century.

Quam ob rem Christianus si contendit profiteri re te unum deum, non declinet ad phitones; ad ariolos doszenykow, *qui somnia predicunt; ad aruspices* czyassoguszlnyczy, *qui dies et horas obseruant; ad incantatores* lekownyczy albo zaclinayączy; *ad diuinatores* badaczye, *qui futura ac euentus fortuitos et preterita occulta et presencia suis supersticionibus prenosticant; ad sortilegos* wroschnyczi; *ad augures* ptakoprawnyczi, *qui dicunt futura ex garritu auium; a caragos* nawązinyczi, *qui alligant caracteres. Omnes enim hi et ipsorum sequaces uelut infideles et apostate condemnantur ...* (*143*) *Quidam lupos quasi ad prandium, ut oues eorum a lupis saluentur, inuitant: ista sunt ridiculo plena ... Audiant thabernatores, qui multa supersticiosa faciunt, ut potus ab eius cicius ebibatur aut quod plures ad eos quam ad alios ad bibendum conuenirent, et ab erroribus suis resipiscant. Audiant coloni, qui preter fimacionem et agri debitam preparacionem, ut fruges fertiliter prouenient et ne rubigine destruantur, ne zizania crescat, certo modo in die pasche cultello, quo prius quasdam carnes incidunt, aliquas frugum precidunt. Quidam cum cruce circuunt campos post matutinum in die pasce non ex deuocione sed ex fidei errore. Audiant ortulani qui supersticiones faciunt recipiendo cineres sacratos in capite ieiunii, aspergendo uel miscendo quibusdam, ne uermes caules comederent quod errant. Audiant omnes communiter qui seruant ticiones de igne consecrato in uigilia pasce pro equis uel aliis animalibus certo modo curandis. Audiant agricole qui tempore uernali uolentes incipere arare multas faciunt supersticiones: quidam enim ipsorum cornibus boum quedam appendunt, humulo circumsipant; alii fundunt se inuicem, quando lac uacce comedunt que nouiter fetum produxit*: szyara. *Aliqui etiam agricole immiscent quedem ex proposito seminibus eum seminant pro remedio locustarum aut rubiginis aut alio defectu. Audiant senes et iuuenes, qui sal minutum per noctem ad diem cinerum ponunt ad experiendum illo anno de familia morituros, quod deo detrahunt, ad quem solum spectat de noticia futurorum. Audiant uirgines, adolescentes et uiri, qui contra dolorem oculorum per noctem totam ad diem natiuitatis s. Johannis Baptiste uigilant et capita cum artomasia circumdant contra dolorem capitis illo anno. Et quidam i uigilia quedam alia, pro uariis supersticionibus faciunt quod errant ...* (*b*). *Audiant uirgines et mulieres que in uigiliis et diebus sabbatis tota nocte uigilant, plaudunt et ludunt, cantant, saltant, quem modum exercent pagani Proserpinam colentes uel Venerem. Audiant patres et matres, que de sua familia, maxime de sexu femineo, ad talia dirigunt uel transire scienter permittunt, quod deo racionem districtam de familie malo regimine reddent; multa enim ibi flagicia, multa nefandissima comit-*

tunter. Audiant qui in die Purificacionis s. Marie domos aut uaccas cum candelis benedictis circuunt, crines ad modum crucis uacce adurunt, adimunt et exurunt. Ceram stillare in manum uel ad manicam faciunt et si stillauerit uel non, aut si multum uel modicum, seu si extinguntur, priusquam domum apportantur, bonum uel malum annunciant quod errant. Audiant illi, qui herbis consecratis in die Assumpcionis ad usum animalium et repulsam demoniorum querunt faustum, quod eis abutuntur et peccant. Similiter errant qui germen frondium supersticione degluciunt et qui contra dolorem oculorum scribunt in Quadragesima: Lutum fecit Dominus ex sputo infra lectionem euangelicam. Similiter illi qui portant scriptum euangelium In principio erat uerbum in tunicis iopulis contra infaustum uel eciam passionem s. Georgii scriptam, similiter tales errant. Audiant uiri et femine, qui ponunt cineres cum quodam instrumento (naczinym) *sub limine quando debent intrare domum a sepultura alicuius uenientes, quod non habent plenam fidem … Audiant simplices qui ad nouilunium genua flectunt et orant, quod in errorem aut incidunt aut de facili incidere possunt, illum qui suasit adorare miliciam celi, non enim dorari debet luna, sol aut celum, cum sint creature sed Deus et creator solus adorandus est. Audiant et illi qui nolunt bibere tenendo* (*144*) *lumen in manu ne in infirmitatem incurabilem ob hoc incurrerent, quod sunt uani et uentose fidei. Audiant agricole et ceteri qui in diebus Natiuitatis Domini prohibent lupos, non tamen Diabolum nominare, ut supra fuit. Alii fortunium ludendo querunt, quo cicius infernum lucrabuntur. Audiant uenatores et piscatores, qui uenatum euntes pro feris capiendis uel piscibus prandendis recia fumigant cum quibusdam rebus et interdum sacratis, quod sunt male fidei ac sacrilegi, si rebus sacratis sic utuntur. Similiter sacrilegi sunt qui cereum pascale dentibus mordent et cera rasa perfide utuntur: tanto ergo grauius peccant, quanto magis rebus sacratis abutuntur. Aliqui colligunt aquam stillantem de cerco quando consecratur fons in uigilia pasce non ad expellendum ad quod ordinatur consecracio eadem, sed ad introducendum. Aliqui propter leuitatem animi et in fide non fixi, si uiderint in uia ex aduerso aut a dextris seu a sinistris lupum uel leporem, successum prosperum uel contrarium annunciant, modice aut nullius fidei … Audiant uiri et femine nupcias celebrantes, quod preter turpiloquia circa sponsum et sponsam supersticiosa multa inibi fiunt, de quibus si facta sunt, peniteant, si fienda, non committant. Nonnulli sunt qui locum mutare uolentes aut edificare incipientes multa cum peccato grandi faciunt, quibus experiri nituntur, qualiter succedere ipsis debeat in futuro nouo edificio uel post loci mutacionem si prospere uel non … Et hinc est quod illi qui die lune iter nolunt* (*b*) *arripere propter infaustum non sunt solide fidei, nam isto die iter nolunt arripere, diem autem festum non curant, sed quadrigant, emunt, uendunt, fora faciunt in eodem. Insipientes quod ad quietem prouisum, istud ad laborem, quod ad laborem institutum esse dinoscitur, istud retorquent*

ad quietem. Nonnulli sunt qui non lauant scultellas post cenam feria quinta magna et feriali ad pascendum animas uel alias que dicuntur vbosshe, *stulti credentes, spiritus corporalibus indigere cum scriptum est Spiritus carnem et ossa non habet. Aliqui remittunt remanencias ex industria in scutellis post cenam quasi ad nutriendum animas uel quoddam demonium quod uocatur* vbosche, *sed hoc ridiculo plenum est, quia putant sepe stulti et uani, hoc ipsum quod remanserunt a dicto* vbesche *comedi quod fouent propter fortunium, sed tum frequenter ueniens catulus ipsis nescientibus illas reliquias deuorat. Et aliqui credentes esse peccatum lauare caput feria quinta, post cenam non lauant, trepidant timore ubi non est timor, ubi uero merito esset formidandum, non formidant. Quidam sunt qui more Judeorum magis celebrant sabbatum quam diem dominicam, cum iuxta decretum magis tunc laboribus insistendum sit, ne iudaisare uideantur. Alii non comedunt de capite animalis, credentes per hoc s. Johanni irreuerenciam irrogare, cum tamen scriptum sit Omnia munda mundis actis. Quidam non balneantur quintis feriis ob reuerenciam captiuitatis Christi, sed fornicantur, adulterantur, fatui offerunt holocausta que non placent Deo. Quidam fundunt plumbum ad aquam et ex illo prenosticatur et ad collum pueri* (*et*) *infirmi contra terrores ligant. Insensati credunt sathanam posse plumbo expelli, non gracia aut inuocacione Dei. Alii sunt qui ceram super aquam fundunt et ex figuracione de uiuis aut morituris mira annunciant uane fidei, non attento quod ex diuersitate materie et forme qualitatibus et accidentibus surgit figura diuersa, quam aut ars aut natura format aut naturalia aparantur. Nonnulli sunt qui curant dolorem dencium quedam uerba et* (*145*) *caracteres inscribendo cum crida uel alio modo aut clauum ligno infigendo credunt sanare ubi infirmant, se credunt medelam posse conferre, ubi animas mortificant. Nonnulli sunt qui contra dolorem quedam* (*!*) *capitis qui dicitur* vrzeczyene *adiunctis quibusdam uerbis lingua frontem pacientis infirmitatem lingunt. Diuersi sunt qui uarie febres curare uidentur, alii* inub'o, *alii quibusdam uerbis uel factis, cum primo audiunt eas pati. Alii scribunt quedam in pomo uel in oblatis et dant pacienti, alii in papiro, alii non sinunt coram se nominare febres, sed alia multa mala et sordida permittunt; horum omnium fides est uana, querunt enim medicinam ab apostata, non a sapiencia Dei. Nonnulli sunt, qui non dant loturas digitorum animalibus bibere, propter passionem, que dicitur uulgariter* nogecz; *sed et istud facere procedit a demone. Alii ponunt et adurunt palos ad ignem, qui consecratur in uigilia pasche, et cum eis quasdam fossuras faciunt contra uermes. Alii cum sambuco quedam faciunt, credendo ipsis obesse incantaciones, sed hi sciant, quod nulla incantacio potest nocere habentibus fidem rectam. Quidam ritus eciam uiget reprehensibilis, quod die circumcisionis, qui nouus annus appellatur, ambulat pastor per domos distribuendo ramos, qui non recipiuntur manu nuda, et illis ramis expelluntur pecudes et pecora ad gregem: quis hoc docuit homines*

nisi pater mendacii et erroris. Quidam sunt, qui quandam infirmitatem uocant myara *quam curare cum filo mensurando hominem aut caput eius, quam infirmitatem aut aliam sibi similem dicunt euenire, quando per quedam calcant, que ipsi norunt: ridiculo plenus error hic, non enim infirmitas corporalis filo, sed rebus certis et remediis propellitur. Alii equos ementes non recipiunt frena manu nuda, quod ex imperfeccione fidei procedit. Similiter alii facientes aliquos contractus in stipulacione manum non faciunt nudis manibus sed fimbriis uestimentorum. Quidam non dant ignem de domo feriis sextis; alii prohibent sedere in limline hostii; alii, si duo uadunt et diuiduntur, malum euenire credunt. Alii lacticinia post occasum solis timent uendere propter infaustum etcetera. Alii infirmitates*

(*b*) *dictas* nogecz *aut* vrasz *uerbis uanis et ludibrio plenis curare uolunt asserentes quod dedisset deus uirtutem uerbis, sed miseri nesciunt quibus, quis enim sanctorum docuit istud nisi mille artifex et magister doli? Fateor, quod potest oracio dominica aut salutacio uirginis et simbolum legi, dum medicina alicui imponitur et porrigitur; id tamen caute agendum est, in supersticione detur occasio aliqualis. Alii tempore processionum in rogacionibus, ubi in campo fit stacio, herbas tollunt ad supersticiones faciendas. Alii in grandinariis impressionibus quedam dicunt, alii cruces altas contra easdem impressiones erigunt, quod non est faciendum; pulsare tamen campanas non est supersticiosum et ignem facere in domibus, nam racio naturalis reddi potest, quod aer spissus per hoc rarefit et non est fortis ad ledendum …*

For this reason, if a Christian makes an effort to properly profess his faith in one sole God, he should not pay attention to fortune tellers, to the *doszenykow*[347] seers, who interpret dreams; to the *czyassoguszlnyczy* haruspices, who observe the days and hours; to the *lekownyczy*[348] *albo zaclinayączy* sorcerers; to the *badaczye*[349] clairvoyants, who foretell the future, events of chance and hidden things of the past and present with their superstitions; to the *wroschnyczi*[350] wizards; to the *ptakoprawnyczi* augurs, who explain the future through bird-

347 This is the Genitive plural of **doszenyk* "seer" (Bąk 1967–2004–: 5, 401 § 5), which must be a verbal noun derived from the archaic verb *dosiąć*, cf. modern Polish *dostać* "achieve, obtain," which also meant "understand, reason."

348 "Witch doctor," still preserved with this meaning in rural areas of Poland. Related to the Polish *leczyć* "cure, heal."

349 Cf. modern Polish *badacz* "investigator," from *badać* "to investigate, track, follow, deduce, consider."

350 Related with the Polish *wróżba* "riddle," *wróżyć* "foresee," cfr. dialectal Polish *wróżnik* "fortune teller."

song; to the *nawązinyczi* warlocks, who tie symbols. All of these, then, and their followers, are condemned as infidels and apostates (…). (143) Some make the people invite the wolves to eat, so that their sheep will be spared from the wolves: these things are completely ridiculous (…). Take heed, innkeepers who do many superstitious things so that their drinks are drunk faster, or so that more people go to their establishments to drink than to others; take heed and repent for your sins. Take heed farmers who, with the excuse of disinfecting and duly preparing the earth so that the crops will be fertile and will not shrivel up or so weeds will not grow, cut some plants in a special way on Easter day with a knife that was used before to cut some pieces of meat. Some, on Easter day after matins, walk around the fields carrying a cross, but not out of devotion, but rather out of a misplaced faith. Take heed gardeners who perform superstitions by receiving consecrated ash on their head while fasting, scattering them or mixing them with certain things so that worms will not eat the cabbage; take heed because you err. Take heed all those who keep embers from the consecrated fire on the eve of Easter to cure in some way horses or other animals. Take heed farmers who perform many superstitions in the spring, when they want to begin to plow: for some of them hang certain things on the oxen's horns and they spread them around on the ground; others splash one another when they drink milk from a cow that has given birth recently: *szyara*.[351] Some farmers also purposefully mix certain things with the seeds when they plant, as a remedy against locusts, withering, or other problems. Take heed young and old who put fine salt at night until the day of ashes to know who in the family is going to die that year, which they rob from God, the only one who should have news of future things. Take heed young people, adolescents, and men who, to prevent eye pain, spend the night before the birthday of Saint John the Baptist awake, and who surround their heads with bread dough to free themselves all year of headaches. And some during the night do other things that are varied superstitions, and they err (…). (b) Take heed virgins and women who, on the eves of Saturdays, and also during the day, spend the entire night awake, who applaud and play, sing and dance, and who behave in the manner of the pagans who worship Proserpina or Venus. Take heed fathers and mothers who induce the people in their family to do such things, especially those of the female sex, or who knowingly allow them to do it, because you will earn severe judgment from

351 This is a very vulgar form (but that can still be heard) of *szary* "gray" (Brückner 1989^2: 487). The variation in form is perhaps the result of some taboo, while the semantic relationship between "colostrum, first milk from a cow" and the meaning "gray" is clear.

God for having poorly governed your family: for there many scandals and many crimes are committed. Take heed those who on the day of the Purification of Saint Mary go in circles around their houses or their cows with blessed candles, and scorch, pull out, and burn the cows' hairs in the shape of a cross. They make the wax fall in their hand or on their sleeve, and they predict good or bad omens if the wax spills or not, or if it spills a lot or a little, or if the candle goes out before they bring it home; and for that, they err. Take heed those who seek a good omen in the herbs consecrated on the day of the Assumption, which are used for animals or to reject demons, because they act wrongly with them, and they sin. Just as those who eat the wheat germ as a superstition err, and those who write on Lent against eye pain: "When he had thus spoken, he spat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle." And just as those who carry the Gospel "In the beginning was the Word" written in their tunic against bad luck, or who also carry written the passion of Saint George, such people also err. Take heed men and women who place ashes with a certain instrument (*naczinym*) in the threshold when they want to enter their houses if they come from someone's burial, because they do not have a complete faith (…). Take heed the naive who on the night of the full moon kneel down and pray, because they fall or could easily fall into the error that advised people to worship the hosts of heaven, for the moon, sun, or sky must not be worshiped, because they are creatures, and only their God and creator should be worshiped. Take heed also those who do not want to drink if they have (144) a lamp in their hand, so as to not suffer from an incurable disease because of it, because that is typical of a hollow, unreal faith. Take heed farmers and others who on the days of Christmas prohibit wolves from being named, and not, on the contrary, the Devil, as it was in another time. Others attempt to outwit fate, with which they will earn hell more quickly. Take heed hunters and fishermen who, when they go to hunt, to capture beasts and fish, smoke their lines with certain things, sometimes consecrated, which is typical of a wicked faith, and is a sacrilege that they use sacred things in this way. Just as those who chew the Paschal candle and use the wax they pull off in a perverse way are sacrilegious: for the more they abuse sacred things, the more gravely they sin. Some collect the water that splashes from the candle when a fountain is consecrated on the eve of Easter, not to expel that for which the consecration itself is ordered, but rather to attract it. Some, because of their inconsistency of spirit and because they are not secure in their faith, if they cross paths with a wolf or with a hare that cuts them off from the right or from the left, they predict that a favorable or unfavorable event is coming, which indicates little or no faith (…). Take heed men and women who celebrate their weddings, because as the result of obscene conversations about husband and wife, many superstitions take place at them, for which they

should repent if they have already done them, and which should not be committed if they have the intention to do them. There are some who, when they want to change place or begin to build a building, they do many things, sinning gravely, with which they attempt to confirm what is going to happen to them in the future in the new building or after changing place, if it will be prosperous or not (…). And there are those who do not want (b) to begin a journey on Monday to avoid misfortune, and they do not have solid faith, as that day they do not want to begin their journey, but they are not concerned with holy days, but rather they get on their cart, buy, sell, and do business on those days. Those who do not know what is set aside for rest, and they dedicate that time to work, and what is known to be established for work, they turn into rest. There are those who do not wash the dishes after dinner on Great Thursday and holy day,[352] so as to feed the souls that they call *vbosshe*[353] and others, believing stupidly that spirits need corporal things, when it is written that the Spirit does not have flesh or bones. Some purposefully leave the remains of dinner on their plates, to thus feed the souls or a certain demon that they call *vbosshe*,[354] but this is completely ridiculous, because they often think, foolish and naive, that what they have left is food for the aforementioned *vbesshe*, since they care for it to attract good luck, but very often it is a dog that comes without them realizing and devours the remains. And some, believing that it is a sin to wash their head on Thursday, do not wash after dinner, they tremble, terrified, where there is no motive for fear, and where they should rightfully be scared, they are not afraid. There are some who, according to the custom of the Jews, celebrate Saturday more than Sunday, when, by decree, they should insist more that day on showing that they are working so as not to seem that they are Jews. Others do not eat any part of the head of animals, thinking that if they do it they show a lack of respect for Saint John, when, nevertheless, it is written that "To the pure, all things are pure."[355] Some do not bathe on Thursdays out of reverence for the arrest of Christ, but they fornicate, are adulterous, and in their vanity, they offer holocausts that do not please God. Some melt lead and they mix it with water, to tell the future with it, and they tie it to the neck of children and sick people to chase away terrors. Foolish, they believe that Satan can be rejected with lead, not with the grace of or invocation to God. Others melt

352 Maundy Thursday.

353 Domestic demons. Christianization caused them to be reinterpreted as the souls of the dead.

354 Inconsistent with the above explanation, the word is correctly interpreted.

355 Titus 1:15.

wax with water, and by the resulting shape, with hollow belief, they foretell astonishing things of the living or of those who must die, without realizing that because of the difference in the qualities and unevenness in the material and the form, different figures arise, which are given shape by art or nature, and these are natural things. Some heal tooth pain by writing certain words and (145) symbols with clay or in other ways, or some who by nailing a nail into a stick they believe they heal, when they are making people sick, and believe that they can offer a medicine while they are plaguing souls. Some, to heal certain headaches that are called *vrzeczyene*,[356] lick with their tongue the forehead of he who suffers from the illness, adding some words. There are many who seem to heal different fevers, some *inub'o*,[357] and others with different words and acts, whenever they hear someone is suffering from them. Some write certain things on a piece of fruit or on wafers and give it to the sick person, others on a piece of papyrus, others do not allow fevers to be named in their presence, but allow many other evil and sordid things; the faith of all of these individuals is hollow, for they seek medicine that comes from an apostate, not from the wisdom of God. There are some who do not let animals drink finger baths, because of the suffering that is commonly called *nogecz*;[358] but doing this also comes from the devil. Others throw and burn sticks into the fire that consecrates the eve of Easter, and others make holes in the ground against worms. Others do certain things with a harp, believing that with those things, spells will do harm, but they should know that no spell can harm those who have true faith. A certain reprehensible rite is also still practiced, whereby on the day of circumcision, which is called the new year, a shepherd goes around the houses giving out branches, which cannot be received by bare hands, so that with those branches they make the sheep and livestock go towards the herd: who could have taught men this, if not the father of trickery and error? There are some who say that they cure a disease that they call *myara*[359] by measuring a man or his head with a thread, and they say that it happens with this disease and others that resemble it, when however they disregard other things that they do not know: this error is completely ridiculous, as the body's illness is not expelled with a thread, but rather with true things and remedies. Others, when buying a horse, do not take the bit with their bare hands, which comes

356 This word means "fever," not "headache" (Urbańczyk 1953–2002: 10, 332a:41–52 s.v. *wrzeć*).
357 The term *inub'o* does not seem to be Slavic, cfr. perhaps the Latin *inūber* "skinny."
358 "Foot pain," cfr. Polish *noga* "leg, foot."
359 Cf. Polish *miara* "measurement."

from the imperfect nature of their faith. Likewise, others, when they agree to a contract, when they shake hands they do not do so with bare hands, but rather with the trim of their garments. Some do not share their house's fire on Fridays; others prohibit anyone from sitting in the threshold of their door; others, if two are walking together and something separates them, believe that something bad is going to happen. Others are afraid of selling things made with milk after sunset, to avoid bad luck and all the rest. Others attempt to cure the diseases called *nogecz*[360] or *vrasz*[361] with hollow words that are full of trickery, saying that God had given them this virtue of words, but these wretched individuals do not know to whom, as, what saint has taught them this, if not the maker and master of the thousand tricks? I recognize that the Sunday prayer or the Annunciation to the Virgin can be said as a symbol, whenever providing and giving to someone a medicine; however, this should be done with care, so that there is no occasion for superstition. Others, in the era of processions for making rogations, when it is the season of the fields, they cut grass to make superstitions. Some say certain things during hailstorms, others erect tall crosses during the same storms, things which should not be done; however, it is not superstitious to ring bells and light fires in homes, so as to reestablish the natural order, since the dense air becomes light with these things, and it is not so strong so as to cause damage.

2.47.3 Polish Sermons *146*

As with the above, this homily is against the rural Polish superstitions of the 15th century.

Quatuor genera hominum baptisatorum qui menciuntur se credere in deum … primum genus est decipiencium sicut heretici … similiter sortilegi: wroschniczi *et diuinatores* badaczye *que futura ac euentus fortuitos et preterita prenosticant; item precantatores* zaklinayączi *uel* lekownycze *de quibus dicit apostolus Roman. ult. per dulces sermones etc. item augures*: ptakoprawniczi *qui … et uolatu auium, item arioli* swyathoguszlnyczy, *item caragi* nawąsznyczy, *qui alligant caracteres uel euangelia uel passiones sanctorum, ne offendantur; item aruspices* czyasszoguschlnyczy, *qui dies et horas obseruant exeundi et reuertendi etc.; pacta* vklad … (*b*) *Et ad hoc genus infidelitatis reducitur obseruacio diei egip-*

360 "Foot pain."

361 Possibly a type of fever.

tiace et certarum horarum pro mercationibus faciendis et coniugiis sociandis et herbis colligendis et huiusmodi, ut patet in sermone prescripto de sortilegiis, quia talia facientes mortaliter peccant.

There are four types of people with the ability to baptize who pretend to believe in God … the first type is that of the lost, such as the heretics (…) as are the sorcerers: *wroschniczi*[362] and the *badaczye*[363] clairvoyants, who foretell the future and fortuitous and past events; also the *zaklinayączi* or *lekownycze* predictors, of whom the Apostle says in the *Epistle to the Romans*, "by smooth talk and flattery, etc."[364] Also the augurs: *ptakoprawnyczi*, who (…) and by the flight of birds, and the *swyathoguszlnyczy* wizards, and also the *nawąsznyczi* warlocks, who tie symbols or phrases from the Gospel or passions of the saints, so as not to offend; also the *czyasszoguschlnyczy* haruspices, who observe the comings and goings of the days and hours, etc.; the *vklad* writings (…) (b) And that type of unbelief leads people to respect the Egyptian day or specific times for doing business, agreeing to marriages, picking herbs, and things of that sort, as is clear in the discourse written earlier on spells, because those who do such things mortally sin.

2.48 *Statutes of the Polish Provinces*

These statutes are preserved in the Manuscriptum Ossolinense, which dates to 1627 but refers to the 15th century.

Edition used: Meyer (1931: 76).
Other editions: Brückner (1895: 326).

2.48.1 Statutes of the Polish Provinces *262b*

Within the context of prohibitions, we find this one referencing this springtime rite.

Item prohibeatis plausus et cantalenas (*!*) *in quibus inuocantur nomina ydolorum lado* yleli yassa tya *que consueuerunt fieri tempore festi penthecosten, cum reuera*

362 Related with the Polish *wróżba* "riddle," *wróżyć* "foresee," cfr. dialectal Polish *wróżnik* "fortune teller."

363 Cf. modern Polish *badacz* "investigator," from *badać* "to investigate, track, follow, deduce, consider."

364 Rom. 16:18.

Christi fidelis tunc debent (263) *deum inuocare denocte* (*!*) *ut ad instar apostolorum ualeant accipere spiritum sanctum, quem non ex actibus demoniorum merebuntur accipere sed ex fideli* (*!*) *catholice fructuose* (*!*).

Furthermore, prohibit the applause and songs in which the names of the idols *lado yleli yassa* and *tya* are invoked, which were usually done in the era of Pentecost, for, truly, believers in Christ must at this time invoke God at night, so that, like the apostles, they will be able to receive the Holy Spirit, which they will not be worthy of receiving except through the beneficial Catholic faith.

2.49 *Commentary of the Polish Hussite*

The text edited by Brückner is attributed to an anonymous Hussite of Polish origin. The Church reform movement created by Jan Hus (1370–1415) was not only accepted in Bohemia and Moravia, but also in Poland, at least until the defeat of the Hussites by Władysław III in the battle of Grotniki (1439).

Edition used: Meyer (1931: 76).
Other editions: Brückner (1895: 326s.).

2.49.1 Commentary of the Polish Hussite

The Anonymous Hussite, in his search for the ritual purity of primitive Christianity that the Hussite movement longed for, condemns the pagan superstitions that were maintained in rural Poland in the 15th century.

Et sic Poloni adhuc circa Penthecostes Alado gardzyna yesse *colentes ydola in eorum kalenda et proch dolor istis ydolis exhibetur maior honor tunc temporis a malis christianis quam deo quia puelle que per totum annum non ueniunt ad ecclesiam adorare deum, illo tempore solent uenire ad colenda ydola.*

And thus the Poles, who during Pentecost still worship the idols *lado gardzyna yesse* on the day of their calends; and, with great pain, in this era, the bad Christians more greatly honor those idols than God, as the young girls who do not go to church during the entire year to worship God, usually go at this time to worship the idols.

2.50 *Sermons for the Entire Year*, Attributed to Conrad Waldhauser

The first predecessor of Jan Hus in the kingdom of Bohemia was Conrad Waldhauser. A native of Lower Austria, he entered the Augustinian order and studied at Italian universities. In the mid-14th century he began to preach publicly. In Austria, he met the Czech king and Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV and accepted his invitation to visit the kingdom of Bohemia. Over time, Waldhauser became the king's confessor and court chaplain. In his sermons, given in Latin and German, he mainly railed against simony and the dissolute life of the clergy.

Edition used: Meyer (1931: 76–77).
Other editions: Brückner (1895: 327).

2.50.1 Sermons for the Entire Year

The selected text can be found in a manuscript preserved in Częstochowa, dated 1423, attributed to Johannis de Michoczyn.

Sed proh dolor, nostri senes, uetule et puelle non disponunt se ad oracionem, ut sint digne accipere spiritum sanctum, sed proh dolor hys tribus diebus qui seruandi sunt in contemplacione, conueniunt uetule et mulieres et puelle non ad templum, non orare, sed ad coreas, non nominare deum, sed dyabolum scilicet ysaya lado ylely ya ya. *Quibus dicit Christus: solempnitates uestras odiuit anima mea. Tales cum dyabolo uenerunt, cum eodem reddeant et nisi peniteant, transient cum* yassa lado *ad eternam dampnacionem*.

However, unfortunately, our old men, old women, and young girls do not dedicate themselves to prayer to make themselves worthy of receiving the Holy Spirit, but rather, unfortunately, during these three days[365] that should be reserved for contemplation, old women, women, and young girls meet, not at the temple, nor to pray, but rather in dances, and not to name God, but rather the devil, that is, *ysaya lado ylely ya ya*. And to these women Christ says: "your solemnities forsake my soul." Such people have come with the devil, may they return to him, and, unless they repent, may they pass into the next world along with *yassa lado* for their eternal damnation.

365 The Paschal Triduum: Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday.

2.51 *Synodal Statutes* by Andreas Bninski, Bishop of Poznań

Andreas Bninski, Bishop of Poznań, distinguished himself for his repression of the Hussites, against whom he organized a test of faith in which he ordered five Hussite ministers to be burned. However, in parallel to the Hussite reformers, the conclusions from the synodal statutes of his diocese also aim to condemn the superstitious practices associated with paganism.

Edition used: Meyer (1931: 77–78).
Other editions: Heyzmann (1877: 16–32).

2.51.1 Synodal Statutes

These are the condemnations of the superstitious practices associated with rural life in Poland during the 15th century which, in some way, were inherited from their prior paganism.

VII. De fonte baptismali. Item statuimus et sub poena trium marcarum mandamus, ut quilibet curatus fontem baptismalem, crisma et oleum sacrum, ac sacratissimum corpus domini nostri Jesu Christi sub seris et clausuris semper habeant, ut nulli alteri quam ipsis pateat accessus propter sortilegia et maleficas mulieres, et conseruent in mundis et decentibus locis; caldareque aereum uel plumbeum in fonte baptismali infra hinc et festum Paschae proximum habeant comparatum propter stillicidium, quod fit de fontibus ligneis.

XXIX. De columbationibus. Item prohibeatis columbationes nocturnas in festo sancti Stephani, cum illa nocte furta, homicidia et plura mala committantur.

XXX. De ludis festorum. Item in uigilia Natiuitatis Christi prohibeantur ludi et superstitiosae opiniones, quae—proh dolor!—in hac uigent patria.

XXXI. De incantationibus mendosis et benedictionibus. Item superstitiosae benedictiones et mendosae, quae non habent in sacris scripturis fundamentum, prohibeatis. Item omnes incantationes, quae consueuerunt fieri de nocte sanctorum Philippi et Jacobi Apostolorum prohibeantur.

XXXIII. De incantationibus et abusionibus carnispriuii. Item, quia multe incantationes et superstitiones consueuerunt fieri in carnis priuio, arceatis populum, uerum ut a talibus desisteret, et a dissolutionibus effrenatae consuetudinis, ut uiri mulierum uestibus, et mulieres uirorum uestibus utantur.

XXXIV. De pactatione ouorum. Item prohibeatis, ne feria secunda et tertia post festum Paschae masculi foeminas, et foeminae masculos praesumant pro ouis et aliis muneribus depactare, uulgariter dyngowacz, *nec ad aquam trahere, cum tales insolentiae et strangulationes non sunt sine graui peccato et sine diuini nominis offensa, cum in die Pasche uel circa hoc tempus sunt eucharistiae sac-*

ramento procurati; igitur sint solliciti qualiter in omni deuotione et disciplina morum se custodiant et obseruent.

XXXV. De imagine straminis in jejunio. Item prohibeatis, ne in dominica "Laetare", alias "Biala niedziela", *superstitiosam consuetudinem obseruent, efferentes quamdam imaginem, quam mortem uocant, et in lutum postea projiciunt, quia non carent hujusmodi facta scrupulo superstitionis.*

XL. De abusionibus circa funera. Item superstitiosas consuetudines, quae consueuerunt fieri circa funera, prohibeatis.

LVIII. De choreis nocturnis festorum. Item inhibeatis nocturnas choreas in diebus sabbatiuis et in uigiliis sanctorum Joannis Baptistae; Petri et Pauli, cum plures fornicationes, adulteria et incestus illis temporibus committuntur.

7. On the baptismal font. We establish and order, under a fine of three Marks, that all those who are in charge of a baptismal font, of the chrism and consecrated oil, and of the most holy body of Our Lord Jesus Christ, always keep it under lock and key, so that no other than him may be allowed to access it with the spells and tricks of evil women; additionally, to keep it all in clean, decent places; and to be in charge of purchasing a bronze or lead vessel between today and the next Easter festivities, to prevent the leaks that occur in wooden fonts.

29. On burials. You must prohibit nighttime burials during the feast of Saint Stephen, as on that night robberies, murders, and many crimes are committed.

30. On holy day representations. During Christmas Eve, the superstitious representations and beliefs which—unfortunately!—are still common in our homeland are forbidden.

31. On deceitful spells and blessings. You must prohibit superstitious and deceitful blessings, which are not based on the Holy Scriptures. And all of the spells that are commonly performed on the night of the Holy Apostles Philip and James must be prohibited.

33. On the spells and abuses of carnival. As there are many spells and superstitions during carnival, you must separate the town, so that it stops them, from the deprivation and wild custom by which men dress as women and women as men.

34. On engagement with eggs. You must prohibit that on the Monday and Tuesday after Easter, men become engaged with women and the women with men through eggs and other presents, commonly called *dyngowacz*,[366] and that they throw water on them, as such shamelessness and immersions are not free from grave sin and offense to the divine name, because Easter day and the time

366 Loanword from the German *dingen* "rent, link."

that surrounds it are consecrated to the sacrament of the Eucharist; therefore, they should have the same dedication during that time as in any devotion and moral discipline that they defend and practice.

35. On the image of straw during fasting. On the Fourth Sunday of Easter, also called *Biala niedziela,*[367] you must prohibit anyone from practicing the superstitious custom of carrying in procession an image that they call "death" and then throwing it in the mud, because acts of this nature are not free from the suspicion of superstition.

40. On abuses surrounding funerals. You must prohibit superstitious customs that are usually done surrounding funerals.

58. On nighttime dances during holidays. You must prevent nighttime dances on Saturdays and the eve of Saint John the Baptist, Saint Peter, and Saint Paul, because at these times, many fornications, adultery, and incest are committed.

2.52 Brother Michael de Janoviec, *Polish Sermons*

The only thing we know about this Polish preacher is that he died in the 15th century. In his sermons, some words are in medieval Polish, which is why it was edited by Brückner.

Edition used: Meyer (1931: 78–79)
Other editions: Brückner (1887: 385)

2.52.1 Polish Sermons

This text deals with the usual punishment for rural superstitious practices associated with paganism.

Item monemus uos firmissime ut non ambuletis per equam po kobylicy, Sz kobyliczą *et si de alijs parochijs ad uos ueniunt, nolite eis quartenses dare et hoc sub anathemate iubemus. Item depectationem* po dyngvszom *prohibemus firmissime ut nullus audeat ambulare quia ita multi submerguntur. Item feria quarta magna admoneantur, ne crement focos* grumathky *ardentes secundum ritum paganorum in commemorationem animarum suarum cariorum. Item qui mentiuntur, qui dicunt quod anime ad illum ignem ueniant et se illic calefaciant. Nullus namque egreditur, qui semel ibi intrauerunt.*

367 "White Sunday."

Thus, we recommend very strongly that you do not travel on a mare *po kobylicy, sz kobyliczą*, and if they come to you from other parishes, do not give them quarter, and this we order under punishment of excommunication. We also strongly prohibit looting *po dyngvszom*, so that no one dares to travel, because thus many are destroyed. Additionally, all are warned that on Holy Wednesday they may not light the *grumathky* bonfires, which are lit following the pagan ritual to commemorate the souls of their most beloved ancestors. And the same for those who lie and say that the souls go to that fire and are warmed by it. As no one may go out, once they have entered there.

CHAPTER 3

Texts in South Old Church Slavonic

Enrique Santos Marinas

3.1 *Life of the Blessed Teacher Constantine the Philosopher, First Instructor of the Slavic People*

The work that concerns us here constitutes the first original hagiography written in Old Church Slavonic. Slavic scholars tend to refer to it by its Latin name of *Vita Constantini* (*VC*). Its Slavonic title is *Žitie i žizn' blaženaago učitelja našego Konstantina filosofa, pr'vago nastavnika slovensku ezyku*. It narrates the life of Constantine the Philosopher (ca. 827–869), better known by his monastic name of Cyril, a Byzantine cleric who with his brother Methodius carried out an evangelising mission among the Slavs in Great Moravia between 863–868. Their most famous achievement was the creation of a Slavonic alphabet with which they translated the holy scriptures and the other liturgical books they needed for their mission. For all these reasons, the two missionary brothers received the name of "Apostles to the Slavs". The text survives in late copies from the 15th and 16th centuries, most of which are Russian in origin. Only two are originally South Slavonic, namely the ones inserted in the *Sborniks*[1] of Vladislav Grammaticus, dated 1469 and 1479 respectively (Birnbaum 1993–1994:8). Although almost all scholars coincide in dating their composition to the late ninth century, some authors indicate that only the age of the written material on the mission in Great Moravia (chapters 14–18) can be confirmed, whereas the rest of the work may derive from the activity of compilation that took place in Russia in the 15th century (Picchio 1985: 135, 142; Goldblatt 1986: 319–320). The fragment we present here is from chapter 15, and is an account of Constantine's mission among the Slavs in Great Moravia (863–868). In the chapter on *Doubtful texts* 8.4. we have included two fragments from chapters 6 and 12 describing Constantine's missions in the Arab caliphate of Samarra (851) and in the Khazar khaganate (860–861) respectively. For the present edition we have followed the Angelov-Kodov's reproduction of the *VC* (1973: 60–88), as confirmed by the *Sbornik* of Vladislav Grammaticus in 1469, known as the "Zagreb Panegyric",[2] and its corresponding edition (Angelov-Kodov 1973: 89–119).

1 This work takes the form of a compilation.

2 Manuscript No. III a. 47 in the Zagreb National Library. The *VC* is on folios 722v.–736v.

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Edition used: Angelov-Kodov (1973: 60–88, 89–119).
Other editions: Angelov-Kodov (1973: 120–141), Grivec-Tomšić (1960: 95–167), Kantor (1983: 25–81), Lavrov (1930: 1–78), Pastrnek (1902: 154–238), Peri (1981).
References: Angelov-Kodov (1973: 30–59, 141–159), Birnbaum (1993–1994), Dittrich (1962), Dujčev (1951), (1954), (1963a), (1963b), Dvornik (1933), Goldblatt (1986), (1995), Hamm (1962), Isačenko (1963), Izmirlieva (2003), Kantor (1983:81–96), Lavrov (1928), Mareš (1966), Minns (1925), Picchio (1985), Repp (1957), Voronov (1877), Zuckerman (2006).

3.1.1 Vita Constantini *15.10–11*

This fragment is from chapter 15 of the *VC* (Angelov-Kodov 1973: 82, 105), which is one of the chapters that narrates the mission in Great Moravia (863–868). According to the *Vita*, the Latin clerics who were already in the area when the Byzantine missionaries arrived were envious of their success and began to criticise the liturgy in Old Church Slavonic. Constantine-Cyril calls them "trilinguals" and "Pilatines", alluding to the fact these latter only recognised the three languages of the inscription Pilate ordered to be placed on Christ's cross as languages of worship: Hebrew, Latin and Greek.[3] The *Vita* tells us that these clerics did not merely criticise the Byzantine missionaries, but were also the source of heretical teachings.

Не тъ́кмо же сѣ̀ ѣ̀ди́но гл҃а́ахѫ, нъ̀ ѝ ѝномѫ̀ бесꙋ́бстїю ѯꙋа́ахѫ гл҃ющε. ꙗ̀ко по҃ зем-лѥ́ю жи́воу̯ꙋ̀ ꙋ҃вци вел҃ глаа́въı. ѝ въсака́ь га́дь, дїа́волıа тва́рь ѥ̂. ѝ а̀ще кто̀ оу̯бїе́ть сѫмїю. ѳ҃, гре́хь ѝзоу́деть тёѥ̀ радѝ. а̀ще лѝ ꙋ҃ка оу̯бїе́ть кто̀. трїѝ м̂ци да пїе́ть въ дре́вѣнѣ ꙋа́ши, а̀ стькле́не да не прика́сает се. ѝ не бра́нıахѫ жре́тьвь тво́рити по пре́вомѫ̀ о҆бъ́ıаю, ни жени́тьвь бесꙋ́бстнъıихь·

This was not all they said; they also spread other impieties, including that there were macrocephalic men living underground; that all animals that crawl on the ground are creatures of the devil, so anyone who kills a serpent is redeemed of nine sins; if anyone kills a person[4] they must drink for three months out of a

3 John 19:19–20.
4 Several scholars have sought the explanation for this illogical punishment in some error by the copyist when transcribing the word *člka* (the abbreviation for *člověka* "human being"). According to Hamm (1962: 194–195), this could be a mistransliteration from the Glagolitic, and he re-establishes the hypothetical correct form as *štrka* "stork", whereas Mareš (1966) considers this actually to be the word **člьkъ* "reptile" with no abbreviation, which although it is not supported by evidence in Old Church Slavonic, has appeared in Polish manuscripts since the 15th century.

wooden vessel and not touch a glass one; and they did not prohibit sacrifices according to the primitive custom, nor impious marriages.

3.2 *Liturgical Service of Saint Naum of Ohrid*

Saint Naum of Ohrid (c. 840–910) was a disciple of Cyril and Methodius who collaborated with them on their evangelising mission in Great Moravia. Like the other disciples, he was expelled from Great Moravia by the German cleric after the death of Methodius in 885, after which, together with Clement of Ohrid and others, he went into exile in Bulgaria. There he became one of the driving forces behind the flourishing of Slavonic literature that took place in the country in the 10th century, and is associated with the expansion of the Preslav School (Schenker 1995: 188, 196). He is also considered the founder of the monastery of Saint Michael[5] on the banks of Lake Ohrid,[6] where he died and was buried in 910 (Schenker 1995: 42). After his death, the cult of his relics became very popular, as they were believed to have healing powers (Lavrov 1907: 40), and popular tradition has transformed him into a healer and miracle worker, which is the reason he was known as Saint Naum *čudotvorec* "the thaumaturge".

The liturgical service (gr. ἀκολουθία, Old Church Slavonic *služьba*) is the liturgical activity established for a certain day, from the eve of the previous day until the holy mass. By extension, it also designates the hymnographic compositions that are sung during this daily liturgical cycle, and which serve to commemorate a certain feast day or saint. These compositions tend to be written in the same sequence as the liturgical cycle and include the liturgical indications necessary to allow them to be adapted to the cycle (Naumow 2004: 48, 184–185).

The *Liturgical service of Saint Naum* survives in several versions in Greek and Old Church Slavonic which have come down to us in late copies from the 17th and 18th centuries. The authorship of the original liturgical service (in Greek) is attributed to the Archbishop of Ohrid, Constantine Cavassila (1254–1258), whose name appears in both acrostics[7] in the two canons it contains that are dedicated to Saint Naum. However, the possibility has been raised that all the confirmed versions of this liturgical service come from a text in Old Church Slavonic written in the 10th century shortly before the death of Saint Naum,

5 It is now known as Saint Naum.

6 To the west of Macedonia, which at that time was part of the Bulgarian state.

7 A phrase embedded and hidden within a text which often revealed the name of its author. It was commonly found in hymnographic compositions such as canons, but also in other types of text.

which have not survived (Nikolova 1995: 271). The oldest version in Old Church Slavonic was verified in a manuscript from the second half of the 18th century found in the Belgrade National Library, which was destroyed in the World War II. Fortunately, before its destruction it had already been published by Lavrov (1907: 7–37). This manuscript contained the liturgical service for 23 December to commemorate the anniversary of the death of Saint Naum. This is the same date that appears in most of the Greek versions. However, other versions mention the date as being 20 June, to which the saint's festivity was subsequently moved due to the closeness to Christmas.

Edition used: Lavrov (1907: 7–37).
Other editions: Georgievski (1995: 182–202), Lavrov (1930: 187–192), Melovski (1996: 69–95).
References: Dujčev (1950: 9, 11), Georgievski (1995: 175–181), Gergova (1991), Glumac (1968), Hauptová (1986), Ivanov (1931: 305–313), Ivanova (1985), Jovčeva (2003), Kazhdan (1998: 71–72), Kiselkov (1956), Kožucharov (1984), (1988), Krăstev (2001), Kusseff (1950–1951), Lavrov (1907: 37–51), Melovski (1995), Naumow (2004: 48, 184–185), Nikolova (1993), (1995), (2001), Schenker (1995: 42, 188, 196), Snegarov (1924: 270, 279–283), Zlatarski (1925).

3.2.1 Liturgical Service of Saint Naum, *3rd Verse in the 4th Tone*[8]

The selected fragment highlights the saint's role as an eradicator of idol worship among the Slavic peoples, and specifically among the Slavs occupying the territory of the old Roman provinces of Moesia[9] and Pannonia.[10]

мисїискъıи ѣꙁъıкъ, роди первѣе лестїю, wт҃е, подълежима и паче панонъ нераꙁꙋмѣвшаа, каменїамъ и древїамъ вѣрꙋющие, наꙋме всечестне, вами и вашъıми словомъ и проповѣданїемъ wсвободисте лютагw беꙁъвѣрїа

O venerable Naum, with your words and preaching you delivered the people of Moesia, a race that originally lived in deceit, father, and the most ignorant Pannonians, who believed in the rocks and trees, from their cruel impiety.

8 Lavrov (1907: 11); cf. Georgievski (1995: 200–201).
9 Roman province whose limits comprised northern Bulgaria and modern Serbia, although after the administrative reform of Diocletian (284–305), the dioceses of Moesia also included the territory of Macedonia (Melovski 1995: 247–249).
10 Roman province whose territory approximately corresponds to modern Hungary, which was occupied by the Magyars in the early 10th century.

3.3 Presbyter Cosmas, *Sermon against the Newly-Appeared Bogomil Heresy*

As its own name indicates (in Slavonic: *Besěda na novojavivъšǫjǫ sę eresь bogumilu*), this work is a tirade against the practitioners of Bogomilism, a dualist heresy that emerged in the Balkans between the 10th and 13th centuries, and which takes its name from the legendary Bulgarian priest Bogomil. According to Vaillant (Puech-Vaillant 1945: 23–25), it was composed around the year 972, shortly after the invasion of Bulgaria by the Rusian prince Svjatoslav (969–971 or 972), and the resulting military response by the Byzantine Emperor John I Tzimiskes. He liberated Bulgaria from the Rus' and transformed it into a province of the empire, suppressing the independent patriarchy. This period of widespread chaos and disorder all around the country fuelled the expansion of Bogomilism, which was the object of Cosmas' complaint. However, Schenker (1995:196) places the composition of the treatise in the years that preceded the military campaign of Svjatoslav.

Nothing is known of the identity of Presbyter Cosmas, aside from his name and position in the church. Conjectures can only be made from the internal evidence of the *Sermon*, his only known work. The author was of Bulgarian origin and associated to the Preslav School; he was one of the promoters of the literary flourishing begun in Bulgaria by the disciples of Cyril and Methodius,[11] and which achieved its apotheosis in the 10th century.

In his *Sermon*, Cosmas lists the whole repertoire of impieties attributed to the Bogomils, such as their refusal to recognise any authority, their condemnation of marriage and reproduction, and their rejection of wealth, among others. He also urges the bishops and local clerics to fight to combat this heresy, and reproaches them for abandoning their functions. This treatise constitutes an invaluable source on the beliefs and practices of the Bogomils, who are accused, using clichés and stereotypes, of having mixed their beliefs with pagan customs.

The *Sermon against the Bogomils* is verified in a little over 28 copies, all with an East Slavonic origin. The oldest is the "Volokolamsk Miscellany", dating from 1494 and conserved in the Moscow State Library (Schenker 1995: 228). This version was published by Popruženko (1936), whose edition is the one we have mainly used as a reference.

11 Mainly Clement and Naum of Ohrid, and Constantine of Preslav.

Edition used: Popruženko (1936).
Other editions: Begunov (1976), Kiselkov (1921, reprint 1982), Puech-Vaillant (1945), Sampimon-Hanselma (2005).
References: Davidov (1999), Kiselkov (1921, reprint 1982), Puech-Vaillant (1945), Schenker (1995: 196, 227–228).

3.3.1 Sermon against the Newly-Appeared Bogomil Heresy, *f. 488v*

In the passage in which this fragment occurs, the author continues his harangue against the Bogomils, declaring their evil to be without parallel, as according to him they are worse than pagan idols and demons themselves.

Да къ чесомъ оу҃бѡ приложимь а, комъ ли оу҃подобимь таковъіа. горше бо сѫть кѫмиръ глѫхъіих и҆ слѣпъіи҆хъ. кѫмири бо камени и҆ древани сѫште. вештню не видат ни слъішать. е҆ретици҃ мъісли чл҃ъскъі. и҆мѣюште самовольствомь ѡ҆каменѣша. не позна҃ша и҆стиннаго оу҃ченїа.

So what can we relate them to? Who can we compare them with?[12] Because they are worse than deaf and blind idols. Idols are made of stone and wood and see and hear nothing.[13] But heretical thoughts are human, who through their own will have become petrified so as not to learn the true teachings.

3.3.2 Sermon against the Newly-Appeared Bogomil Heresy, *f. 491v*

In the passage where this fragment occurs, the author makes an exaltation of the Holy Cross, which was apparently rejected by the Bogomils.

Къіи бо христьанинъ не просвѣщает са крест҃ѡ гн҃имь. кто ли не веселит са ви́да кр҃тъі на въісокъі҆ мѣстѣ҆ стоаща. на ни҆ же прежѐ жьрѣахѫ бѣсо҃ѡ чл҃ци. заколающе сн҃ъі своа и҆ дщери.

What Christian is not illuminated with the Cross of the Lord? Who does not rejoice to see the Cross in the high places?[14] This is where in antiquity human beings offered sacrifices to demons by executing their own sons and daughters.

12 The Bogomil heretics.
13 cf. Ps. 115:4–6: "Their idols, however, are silver and gold, made by human hands: they have a mouth yet do not speak; they have eyes, yet do not see; they have ears yet do not hear; they have a nose yet do not smell"; Ps. 135:15–17: "The idols of the gentiles are gold and silver, made by human hands: they have a mouth and do not speak, they have eyes and do not see, they have ears and do not hear and there is no breath in their mouths".
14 Cf. 1 Kings 13:2; 2 Kings 23:5, 8, 9, 13, 15, 19; Isa. 57;7; Jer. 2:20; 3:6; Ezek. 6:13; 20:28.

3.3.3 Sermon against the Newly-Appeared Bogomil Heresy, *f. 557r*

The following fragment describes a series of customs and beliefs with a clearly pagan origin. The equation of the Bogomils with pagans appears to be a rhetorical strategy by the author, since as we have seen, it is a constant in the three fragments we have selected.

Ѥ҃аа полза нарицати са хр҃тїанъı. не творѧще дѣлъ ѩже повелѣ хс҃ мнозı вш ѡ҃ ѵл҃къ паче на ѝгръı текѹт, неже въ цр҃кви. (…) не та (fol. 557v.) ко бо сѹть хр҃тїане. ѧще со гѹсльми ѝ плесканїемь. ѝ пѣсньми бѣсовскъıми вино пїют ѝ срацамъ ѝ сномь. ѝ всакомѹ оу҃ченїю сотонинѹ вѣрѹют.

What is the use of calling yourself a Christian? Many people go more often to the games than to church, thus disobeying the actions prescribed by Christ. (…) They are therefore not (f. 557v.) Christians: if they drink wine while playing the *gusli*[15] and perform demonic chants and dances, or if they believe in the fates, in dreams and in any of the teachings of Satan.

3.4 Patriarch Callistus of Constantinople, *Life of Our Venerable Father Theodosius*

Both Patriarch Callistus (patriarch during the periods 1350–1354 and 1355–1363) and Theodosius of Tărnovo (died in 1363) were disciples of Gregory Palamas (1296–1359), and shared with him the practice of hesychasm. This Byzantine contemplative movement (whose name derives from the Greek word ἡσυχία meaning "quietude") consisted of a method of prayer that supposedly led the practitioner to a state of inner peace and the contemplation of "God's light". Theodosius of Tărnovo was mainly responsible for extending this movement throughout the Balkans. He founded the monastery of Kilifarevo (ca. 1350), and was a teacher to Euthymius of Tărnovo, the last medieval Bulgarian Patriarch (1375–1393). In addition to the life of Theodosius of Tărnovo (*Žitie i žizn' prepodobnago otca našego Ꙗeodosia*), Patriarch Callistus also wrote the life of his teacher Saint Gregory Palamas; these works were intended to spread the hesychastic doctrine. However, according to Kiselkov (1926b) Callistus did not write the whole of the life of Theodosius of Tărnovo, but a second author whom Kiselkov calls Pseudo-Callistus also took part. He is ascribed the creation, among others, of chapters 18 and 19 dedicated to the ecclesiastic coun-

15 Old musical string instrument also used in medieval Rus'.

cil held in Tărnovo in 1360, whose aim was to adopt measures against Jews, Bogomils and anti-Hesychasts.

Edition used: Zlatarski (1904: 19,3–17).
Other editions: Bodjanski (1860).
References: Angelov-Kuev-Kodov (1973: 153, n. 3), Kazhdan (1991,1: 45–46, 257), Kiselkov (1926a), (1926b), (1956), Radčenko (1898), Syrku (1898, reprint 1972), Zlatarski (1904: 3–8).

3.4.1 Life of Our Venerable Father Theodosius *13*

This fragment describes how a mysterious monk from Constantinople induced the inhabitants of Tărnovo to worship a tree, equating this pagan practice to the theses of two anti-hesychastic theologians. The reference to the anti-hesychastic "heretics" in this chapter 13 could also be related with the council of 1360, and with the pen of Pseudo-Callistus.

Мни́хъ нѣ́кыи и҃менемь ѳеодо́ри҃ ѿ кѡ҃нъ̀ста́нтїнова гра́да къ тръ́новь прїи́де, вра-чєвскыѥ и҃звѣ́тъ҃ хы́трости. и҆ ꙗ҆ко поѥ́тсе дѣ́ла, нача́ѣ пла́вєлъı сѣ́ати неꙋ́стїа, пла́вєле же въ и҆стиноу҆ ѡ҆нѝ, а҆кїндї́на неꙋ́стиваго и҆ варла́ама бѣ́хѫ хоулі́енїа. не тꙑ́їю же, нь҃ и҆ ꙗродѣ́ами и҆ вльховова́ими мнѡ҃гъı прѣдѣ́ꙗаше. и҆ не тꙑ́кмо сѐ въ про́стъıхъ дѣ́аше лю́дехъ, нь҃ множа́е въ нарꙋ́читъı и҆ сла́внъı, и҆ то́лико въ прѣ́дняа прозы́де зло́е ꙗ҆ко нема́лѫ ꙋ́есть гра́да ѿтрꙑ́гноу҆ти къ та́ковомѫ ро́воу҆. покла́няти бо се нака́зоваше доу҆бѫ́, и҆ ѿ него҆ и҆сцѣлє́нїа прїе́мати. тѣ́мже и҆ мнѡ҃зи ѡ҆вце и҆ а҆гньце та́мо жрѣ́хѫ вѣ́роующе та́ковѣи прѣлъ́сти. распрї же вели́цъ и҆ малы́ѣ въ наро́дѣ бы́вши не оу҆таи́се бж҃твномоу҆ ѳеѡ҃сї́ѫ. тѣ́мже и҆ съ тьща́нїемь шь́дь, зло́е оу҆́бо ѿ сръ́дъı съствори́. цр҃ковное же оу҆тврь́ди прѣда́нїе, и҆ ѣ҆ди́номѫ бо҃у҆ въ трїѣ́хъ съста́вѣхъ покла́няѭтисе наоу҆́чи. попль́зшее же се въ та́ковꙋ҆ю прѣлъ́сть и҆спра́ви. ѡ҆ка́аннаго же лъ́стьца и҆ бла́знителꙗ до конца҆ прогна́ть, и҆ въ стоу҆́дь ѡ҆дѣ́а вѣ́чьнь. и҆ възвра́ще҆се въ свою҆ кѣ́лїю ѡбъ́ꙋ҆наго дрь́жаашесе безмль́вїа.

A certain monk called Theodoretus of Constantinople came to Tărnovo, on the pretext of some medical knowledge. And according to the accounts, he began to cause impure trouble, as the blasphemies of Acyndinus[16] the impure

16 Gregory Acyndinus (ca. 1300–1348) was an Orthodox monk and theologian of probable Bulgarian origin. His Christian name and surname are unknown, as Gregory was his monastic name and Acyndinus was a sobriquet ("the infallible" in Greek). From 1337, he took part in the theological polemics on hesychasm. Although he began by defending the theses of Gregory Palamas, maintaining a dialectic disagreement with his opponent Barlaam of Calabria, in 1341 he took the latter's side. In spite of being sentenced at the Council

and Barlaam[17] were indeed trouble. But this was not all, as many also took a stand against sorcerers and enchanters. And this occurred not only among simple people, but also among many important and famous people. And to a point that evil began to spread among the former, and quite a few honourable people in the city threw themselves into this pit. Because he taught them to worship an oak tree,[18] from which they could obtain healing. For this reason, they sacrificed many sheep and lambs at this tree, believing in this deceit. A great clamour spread throughout the people, and came to the attention of the divine Theodosius. Acting very swiftly, he eliminated the evil from among them. He strengthened the ecclesiastical tradition and taught how to worship the one God in three natures. He rectified those who had fallen for some kind of deception. He banished the unfortunate trickster and blasphemer for ever, cloaked in eternal shame. And he returned to his cell in his customary silence.

3.5 *Life of Saint Wenceslas* (Second Version in Old Church Slavonic)

Saint Wenceslas is the Czech national saint, and the second Christian martyr of Bohemia after his paternal grandmother Ludmila (cf. the introductions to texts 2.4., 2.10. and 2.34.). After the death of King Bratislav in 920, his widow Dragomira assumed the regency for her elder son Wenceslas, while Ludmila took charge of his education. This appears to have been the cause of the confrontation between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, which some sources also attribute to the paganism of Dragomira as opposed to the Christianity pro-

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of Constantinople held that same year, he was not excommunicated thanks to the protection of the Patriarch John XIV. However he was later excommunicated at the council of 1347, and died in exile (Kazhdan 1991,1: 45–46).

17 Barlaam of Calabria (ca. 1290–1348): an Orthodox monk and theologian from southern Italy who led the detractors of hesychasm. In around 1332 a series of violent theological polemics began against the hesychastic practices defended by Gregory Palamas, which ended with his victory when he obtained the approval of the Greek Orthodox Church in the Council of Constantinople in 1341. Barlaam was excommunicated in this council, and all his works were ordered to be burnt, and he went into exile in Italy after converting to Catholicism (Kazhdan 1991,1: 257). Barlaam's thought was characterised by a type of theological agnosticism, and he is one of the forerunners of humanistic rationalism. Both he and Acyndinus are mentioned again in chapter 19 of the *Vita*, dedicated to the Council of Tărnovo in 1360 (Zlatarski 1904: 26,12).

18 The word *dǫbъ* in Old Church Slavonic and in most modern Slavic languages designates both the holm oak and the oak.

fessed by Ludmila (Kantor 1990: 8). Ludmila was assassinated during a palace revolt in 921, supposedly at the instigation of her daughter-in-law. The rights of the young heir ultimately prevailed, and he ascended to the throne in 925. The family conflict was again reproduced, this time between Wenceslas and his brother Boleslaus. Although the causes of the rivalry between the two brothers is unclear, different motivations of a political nature have been put forward, namely the pro-Saxon policy of Wenceslas in opposition to his brother's preference for Bavaria (Kantor 1990: 9). According to tradition, Wenceslas was assassinated on 28 September 929 in a trap set by his brother Boleslaus. However, some scholars consider his death to have occurred in 935. Wenceslas thus became the paradigm of the pious prince and good Christian who dies an innocent victim of a fratricidal crime. This same pattern was later repeated in the Russian Orthodox tradition with saints Boris and Gleb.

Several versions of the *Life of Saint Wenceslas* are conserved in Latin and two versions in Old Church Slavonic. The first is a Slavonic original that may date from the 10th century, and the second is the translation of the Latin *Life* written by Bishop Gumpold of Mantua in around 980. This translation dates from the late 10th or 11th century. Although both works were composed in Czech territory, neither of the two has come down to us in its original version, but through very late copies belonging to the textual traditions of other Slavic countries. Specifically, the second version in Old Church Slavonic (to which the fragment we present below belongs) has only been preserved in two 16th-century Russian copies: the so-called Kazan manuscript, abbreviated with the letter K, and the Saint Petersburg manuscript, designated with the letter P (Kantor 1990: 19–20). This is due to the persecution of the Slavonic liturgy and literature that took place in Bohemia, with the subsequent imposition of Latin as the ecclesiastical and cultural language, and the destruction of all documents written in Old Church Slavonic in the 10th and 11th centuries. As we said, the second version of the *Life of Saint Wenceslas* in Old Church Slavonic is based on the Latin *Life* of Gumpold of Mantua, whose main source was another Latin *Life* known as *Crescente fide* in its Bavarian revision (Kantor 1990: 17–18). Indeed, some fragments of the second version of this latter *Life* in Old Church Slavonic were translated directly from this last work. It also contained some of its own innovations. In the passage we reproduce below, we have included in square brackets the parts that do not correspond to Gumpold's Latin version. This second version of the *Life of Saint Wenceslas* in Old Church Slavonic was discovered in 1904 by N.K. Nikol'skij, who edited the two manuscripts in which it is conserved (1909). For our study we have followed the edition of Vašica (1929: 69–135), who presents a reconstructed text with a critical apparatus. He also published the text of the Latin *Life* of Gumpold, and a translation in modern Czech. For the

parts of the Slavonic texts that have no equivalent in Gumpold's version, the Czech Slavist scholar contributes his own Latin translation in italic text and between square brackets.

Edition used: Vašica (1929).
Other editions: Kantor (1990: 67–91), Nikol'skij (1909), Rogov (1970), (1976).
References: Kantor (1990: 270–277), Mareš (1979: 123–124), Rogov (1970: 86–102), (1976: 154–222), Vašica (1929).

3.5.1 *Second Version of the Life of Saint Wenceslas in Old Church Slavonic, chap. 7*

Chapter 7, to which the fragment reproduced belongs, continues to extol the virtues and pious actions of the young prince. These include particularly his compassion and clemency in releasing prisoners and annulling death penalties, his study of the holy scriptures in Latin and Greek, his help to the sick and needy, and his teachings of the Christian faith to those who maintained pagan customs, in addition to his refusal to take part in such rites.

[но и народом и ѣще погань҃комоу[19] ⁘бъıйаıю ветъхому живѫщим, новъıа вѣръı оу҃ченїа благаго подаваше, неведѫщим҃же[20] и в҃ капища идольс҃каа ходѧщим] и к҃ богомъ инѣм [нез҃наѣмомъ] частѣѣ лѣт мимоходѧщаа[21] приращѫщїмъ и жертвъı жрѫщим блажен҃нъıй оу҃ноша оу҃видѣвъ,[22] ѿ сих нечистъıх ѣдїй и жертвъ, ѧще и часто молим, въс҃корѣ ѿбѣгаше сих приращенїа и ѡб҃щенїа, жадаа бъıти на небесн҃ѣй трапезѣ паче всѣх причаст҃нїкъ, неже дѣмоньс҃кими с҃квер҃нами жертвъ ⁘ск҃вер҃нитиса.

[He also imparted the good teachings of the new faith to the people who still lived according to the old pagan customs.] And seeing [how the ignorant went to the shrines of the idols, and how often in the course of the year they hastened to make sacrifices to foreign [unknown] gods, the blessed youth immediately refused to attend and take part in these impure feasts and sacrifices, although he was frequently called on to do so, desiring to be at the heavenly table more than any other guest, rather than besmirch himself with the demonic filth of the sacrifices.

19 In both manuscripts: по погань҃комоу.
20 P нев҃вдѫщим҃же.
21 P лѣ҃ми ходѧщаа.
22 P оу҃в҃дѣвъ.

CHAPTER 4

Texts in East Old Church Slavonic

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4.1 *Tale of Bygone Years* (*PVL*)*

The *Tale of Bygone Years* is an annalistic chronicle compiled in Kiev at the beginning of the 12th century. It has not survived independently, yet it has been transmitted within the text of other subsequent chronicles. The *Tale of Bygone Years*, with varying degrees of exactness, appears copied at the beginning of the great majority of Russian chronicles up until the 17th century (Šakhmatov 1916: I; Likhačëv 1950, II: 137). The *Tale of Bygone Years* is also known as the *Chronicle of Nestor* or the *Primary Chronicle*. In specialised literature it is often cited as *PVL*, corresponding to the initials of the first words of the reconstructed text in Old East Slavonic (*Pověstь vremenьnykhъ lětъ*). This is how we will refer to it henceforth.

The *PVL* provides valuable information for the study of the early medieval history of modern Russia, Belarus, Ukraine and eastern Poland. The events it narrates cover the prehistoric era through to the second decade of the 12th century. Historians today still refer to the *PVL* as a basic source for their studies on the earliest part of the Kievan period.[1] Although the objectivity and veracity of the information it provides is often doubtful, the *PVL* continues to be the best resource we have to reconstruct the history of Kievan Rus'.

While the first pages of the text do not have any type of external structuring, from the introduction of the first date in the year 6360 or 852 AD,[2] all the events narrated follow an annual chronological order. There is an entry for each year

* Section 4.1 was written in 2007. I am aware that significant bibliography on the nature, transmission and authorship of the Primary Chronicle has appeared since that year. It is, regretfully, not possible to rewrite my text at this stage of the publication in English in 2020. My hope is that the readers will be able to complement the information I provide with more up-to-date studies. I.G.P.

1 For example, in his book on the rise of Rus', Franklin-Shepard (1996) often refer to information provided by the *PVL*.

2 In the Laurentian copy the entry for 6360 corresponds to column 17, line 28. It is usual to take as canonical the numbering of the edition of the Laurentian copy made by Karskij

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until the end of the *PVL*, although entries are sometimes left empty. The calendar used to date the *PVL* is the Constantinople calendar, which counts the Creation to 5508 years before the birth of Christ.[3]

As indicated by the fact that one of the names by which the *PVL* is known is the *Chronicle of Nestor*, the monk Nestor has traditionally been considered its author. The reasons are twofold: first, the *Paterik of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves* mentions the fact that Nestor wrote chronicles; second, the heading to the text of one of the chronicles in whose corpus the *PVL* has come down to us, specifically the most recent (16th century), that of *Khlebnikov*, contains an inscription which reads "from Nestor, monk in the Monastery of the Caves of Feodosiy".[4]

However, the name of Nestor is with all certainty an interpolation inserted in the *Khlebnikov Copy*[5], given that when it was compiled in the 16th century, the general belief was that the hagiographer Nestor, who had penned the hagiographies of the first Russian saints (the princes Boris and Gleb, and the founder of the monastery, Feodosiy) in the Monastery of the Caves in the 11th century, was also the author of the *PVL*. This continues to be the majority opinion in Russia today (Müller 2001: viii).

We know very little of Nestor's role, if indeed he had one, in the composition of the *PVL*. The *PVL* had several authors, or maybe it is more exact to call them chroniclers or compilers, individuals (in their majority members of the clergy) who continued adding yearly entries after the last extant entry. These chroniclers sometimes copied the whole inherited text, and when doing so they may have edited—that is—revised the prior text and even interpolated new passages in it.[6] It is possible that in this sense Nestor is one of the authors of the *PVL*.

(1926 [1962]) for the first volume of the *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisej*. The Ostrowski-Birnbaum-Lunt edition (2003) and the translation by Müller (2001) continue this same numbering system, as do the English translation of Cross-Sherbowitz (1953) and the Spanish translation of García de la Puente (2006, 2019).

3 Henceforth when a year is introduced in the text it will be accompanied by two numbers: the first corresponding to the year according to the dating in the *PVL* and the second with the date according to the Gregorian calendar. For the dating of the events narrated in the *PVL* and the use of other calendars, see Danilevskij (1983).

4 All the citations translated into Spanish are from García de la Puente (2006). The transliteration of the Latin alphabet has been modified according to the convention of the present publication.

5 In the context of the chronicles in which the *PVL* has been transmitted, we use the term copy and chronicle interchangeably.

6 On the nature of the work of the chroniclers, see Timberlake (2001: 196–197).

Šakhmatov (1916: xviii–xix) strongly defended the authorship of Nestor,[7] as did Likhačëv (1950, II: 102 and ss.) and Aleškovskij (1971: 20, 104–105) after him. A series of experts such as Tvorogov (1987: 277), Istrin (1921–1922), Cross-Sherbowitz (1953), Müller (2001: viii) and Ostrowski (2003: xvi–xvii) have expressed scepticism or opposition to the hypothesis of the authorship of Nestor.

Another name mentioned as one of the compilers of the *PVL* is that of Sil'vestr. Sil'vestr was the abbot of the Monastery of Vydubiči in Kiev in the early 12th century, and author of the *PVL* in 1116, as he himself declares in the colophon dated that year which has been conserved in the copies of the Laurentian branch. We do not know Sil'vestr's exact contribution in preparing the *PVL*—some authors maintain that his role consisted in little more than copying out a previous version[8]—but his name offers a more solid basis than others, including Nestor.[9] Although it is true that the chronicle on which Sil'vestr's signature appears at the end is a second version of the *PVL*, this version—or more exactly, a copy of it made shortly after 1116 (see *infra*)—is the oldest version of the *PVL* that we can try to reconstruct.[10]

The compilers of the *PVL* used a long list of sources to draft their work. Below we mention only the most significant.

The chroniclers used Greek sources, although they probably did not read them in the original Greek[11] but in early translations to medieval Slavonic languages, either Old Bulgarian or Old East Slavonic. The most important Byzantine chronicles were the *Chronicle of Hamartolos* and its *Continuation* by Symeon the Logothete. They also used the *Chronicle of Malalas* (through the so-called *Chronographer according to the long text*). The Rus'-Greek treaties came from the archival records conserved in Constantinople through transla-

7 Šakhmatov (1916: xviii) considers Nestor to be the author of the first draft of the *PVL*, which he believes was composed around 1111 in the Kiev Monastery of the Caves.

8 Among them see Timberlake (2001: 212), Müller (2001: viii) and Aleškovskij (1971: 52).

9 Other names in addition to that of Nestor have been suggested as possible compilers of the *PVL* in its different versions: Perevoščikov (1836: 28) asserts that Nestor wrote the chronicle throug 1074, but the monk Vasilii wrote it from 1075 to 1117; Rusinov (2003) concludes that the monk Vasilii wrote the *PVL* from 1051 throug 1117. Given that the aim of this introduction is not to give an in-depth presentation of the different hypotheses on the authorship of the *PVL*, but an overview, we will not go into detail and will limit our presentation to the two most important authors: Nestor and Sil'vestr.

10 On the value of Sil'vestr's version, see Ostrowski (2003: xvii) and Müller (2001: viii, xi–xii).

11 For a rather bleak standpoint on the reception of Greek sources in Rus', see Thomson (1999).

tion to some Slavonic language.[12] The passage in the *PVL* known as the "Creed of Vladimir" is fully based on the *Creed* of Michael Synkellos. The *Revelations* of Methodius of Patara served as the source for the passage of 6604/1096 on the Ishmaelites and the impure peoples of the north.

Let us now look at the written Slavic sources. The chroniclers used several books from the *Old* and *New Testaments*. However, there was no complete translation of the Bible into Old Church Slavonic until the 15th century (Meščerskij 1973), so instead of entering the *PVL* directly from the corresponding book of the Bible, many of the biblical citations did so via the *Paleja*[13] or the *Parimejnik*[14] (Šakhmatov 1940: 38).

The text of the *PVL* also includes oral sources. The legends of the *družina* or armed retinues, that is, the warriors close to the princes occupy an important place.[15] Another source worth noting are the accounts that the chroniclers heard from the mouths of their own acquaintances and introduced as such in the *PVL*.[16]

Several attempts have been made to reconstruct the *PVL* before it became the *PVL*, that is, its original form and the intermediate stages of the text that ultimately gave rise to the *PVL* over time. Below we offer a very brief description of the reconstructed main compositional periods in the genesis of the *PVL* and the most important theories in this regard.

Šakhmatov (1908a: 398–420) maintains that the first account of a chronistic type made in Rus' was the *Archaic Compilation of Kiev* or the *First Corpus*, written between 1037 and 1039. Likhačëv (1996: 304 and ss.) develops Šakhmatov's thesis and distinguishes two different types of accounts within this hypothetical *Archaic Compilation of Kiev*: on the one hand, the series formed by six accounts of a hagiographic nature of the lives of the first Rus' saints, and on the other the feats of the first princes of Rus'. He calls this set of hagiographies the *Tale of the primitive diffusion of Christianity in Rus'* and dates

12 For the process of preparing and copying the treaties in Byzantium, see Malingoudi (1994).

13 A *Paleja* in old Russian literature is a synopsis of the Old Testament, supplemented with apocryphal material (Cross-Sherbowitz 1953: 25).

14 The Slavonic term *Parimejnik* is a copy of the Greek προφητολόγιον, a compilation of readings from Old Testament books for special days in the liturgical calendar (Šakhmatov 1940: 38).

15 Stender-Petersen (1934) made a very interesting study on the origin and distribution of this type of legends, which he considers in most cases to be Byzantine in origin and conveyed by the Varangians first to Rus' and then to Scandinavian countries.

16 For example, in 6604/1096 the chronicler tells us: "And behold I would here like to recount what I heard four years ago from Gjuriata Rogovič …"

it to the 1040s (Likhačëv 1996: 315). He considers this work to be the initial core of the *PVL*, although it was not chronologically structured and did not represent the beginning of a systematic chronicling activity; this would not occur until the 1070s.

To the theories of Šakhmatov and Likhačëv must be added the one recently proposed by Gippius (2006: 143–293). In the light of the discovery in 2001 of the Novgorod Codex and its surprising antiquity—it has been dated to the early 11th century[17]—he revived some old hypotheses that located the start of the chronicling activity in Rus' as far back as the late 10th century. The Russian scholar concludes that the initial nucleus of the *PVL* was the *Tale of the Russian princes*, which was based on a series of legends about the armed retinues in the "epic style" on the history of Rus'. The *Tale of the Russian princes* contained legends that covered everything from the founding of Kiev by Kij, Šček and Khoriv to the baptism of Vladimir, and was produced in Kiev probably in the late 10th century. This *Tale* serves as the basis for the first compendium in the form of a chronicle in around 1072 (Gippius 2006: 275, 292–293).

The compendium of chronicles that Gippius dates in 1072 (Gippius 2006: 231 and ff.) coincides with what Šakhmatov (1908a: 420–460) calls the *First Compilation of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves* or the *Second Corpus*, which includes the *First Corpus* plus a series of news accounts starting in 1043 and produced in Kiev in 1073. Likhačëv (1950, II: 90 and ff.) coincides in his conclusions with the hypothesis of Šakhmatov.

Towards 1091 according to Gippius (2006: 202, 292), or a little later, in 1093–1095 according to Šakhmatov (1916: xxi–xxiii), the *Primary Compilation*, which he also calls the *Third Corpus*, is assembled in the Kiev Monastery of the Caves. The *Primary Compilation* is the mother chronicle of the *PVL* and of the only East Slavic chronicle that does not descend from the *PVL*, the *First Chronicle of Novgorod*.

Finally, the *PVL* was composed in the Kiev Monastery of the Caves in the first decade of the 12th century.

In regard to the process of composition, or of redactions, of the *PVL*, in general terms, Russian experts defend the theory of three redactions, while Western experts opt for two. These theories are so nuanced that it is impossible to explain them in just a few lines in such a way as to make them appear solidly founded and for the controversy to make sense to the reader. We therefore hope the reader will understand that the summary we offer below is only intended as a very superficial outline.

17 Janin-Zaliznjak (2001: 5).

The controversy arises from the fact that the manuscripts in which the *PVL* has been transmitted are divided into two groups: the north-eastern and the southern, also known as the Laurentian and Hypatian groups respectively. The north-eastern group is formed by the Laurentian copy, and the copies associated to it, which are the Academy, Radzivil and Trinity copies. The southern copy, which immediately after the *PVL* was compiled continued to be prepared in Kiev before moving to Galicia-Volynia, comprises the Hypatian Copy and another copy associated to it, the Khlebnikov Copy. These two groups contain different readings of the *PVL* in certain passages. Attempts have been made to explain these different readings by the fact that the groups derive from different versions.

Šakhmatov was the first expert to postulate the existence of three different redactions of the *PVL*. He dates the first to around 1111 (Šakhmatov 1916: xviii) and 1113 (Šakhmatov 1908a: 2); this redaction he identifies with the chronicle written by Nestor in the Kiev Monastery of the Caves. The second version corresponds to the redaction by Sil'vestr in 1116 (Šakhmatov 1916: x), made in the Vydubichi Monastery in Kiev. Finally, the third redaction was compiled in the Kiev Monastery of the Caves in 1118 (Šakhmatov 1916: iii–xi). Likhačëv (1950, 1996) supports Šakhmatov's theory of the three versions, and Gippius (2006: 152, 174) also follows approximately the same outline, although Likhačëv dates it to 1113–1116 and Gippius to 1117. According to these authors, the Laurentian group descends from the second version and the Hypatian group from the third.

In contrast, Müller and Ostrowski take a more pragmatic view. In common with the Russian experts, Müller (2001: viii) considers Sil'vestr's copy to be a second redaction. However, beyond the second redaction, Müller (1967, 2001: ix, xi) does not consider any more redactions. He believes Sil'vestr's redaction was the base of the archetype from which the surviving copies of the *PVL* were produced,[18] and he refutes the existence of a third redaction in several publications (1967; 2001: ix, xvii, xix). Timberlake (2001: 200) is also of the opinion that there is no reason to assume the existence of a third redaction. Ostrowski (2001: xvii–xviii), like Müller and Gippius, considers Sil'vestr's 1116 copy to be the oldest version of the *PVL* to which we can go back to, and makes no conjectures about any prior or subsequent versions. In other words, Sil'vestr's version was the one that gave rise to text α (equivalent to the *arche-*

18 On this point the conclusions of Müller (2001: ix) and Gippius (2006: 174) coincide, as the Russian author underlines the fact that all the surviving copies refer in the last instance to the redaction of Sil'vestr.

type in Müller's terminology);[19] that is, for practical purposes, this is the *PVL* we can reconstruct today.

The theories on the genesis and redactions of the *PVL* and the *stemmata* associated to it appeared until very recently to be grouped into two fronts: the Western front, with Müller, Timberlake and Ostrowski defending some similar *stemmata*[20] based on two versions, and the Russian front, with Šakhmatov, Likhačëv and Gippius aligned in favour of a schema also with variations but essentially based on three redactions. In response to the observations of Gippius (2002), Müller (2006), by accepting the contamination of part of the manuscripts in the Laurentian branch by those of the Hypatian branch, implicitly accepts the existence of the third redaction. Therefore, at the time of writing these lines in 2007, D. Ostrowski and A. Timberlake are the only defenders of the two-version theory, and their response is still pending. It appears that the field of *PVL* studies is about to experience a renaissance.

As we stated at the start of this introduction, the *PVL* was not transmitted independently, but as part of other subsequent chronicles.

Six chronicles are considered to be direct witnesses[21] of the *PVL* and are divided into two branches, as already mentioned above: the north-eastern branch, formed by the Laurentian chronicle, the Radzivil, the Trinity and the Moscow Academy chronicles; the southern branch, formed by the Hypatian and the Khlebnikov chronicles. Below follows a brief presentation of each one.

The Laurentian chronicle was copied by the monk Laurentius in 1377. This is the oldest surviving copy of the *PVL*, although this does not necessarily imply it is the one with the best readings. This manuscript has the added importance of being the only one to transmit the "complete work" of Vladimir II Monomakh (the *Teaching*, the *Autobiography*, and the *Letter to Oleg Sviatoslávich*).

The Radzivil chronicle takes the name of its owner, Prince Janusz Radziwiłł, a member of the well-known family of Polish-Lithuanian magnates, who in 1668 donated this manuscript to the library of Königsberg Castle, which is why it is also known as the *Königsberg Copy* (Sturm-Freydank-Grasshoff 1986: 11). After the capture of Königsberg by Russian troops in the Seven Years' War, the

19 We cannot refer to the version of Sil'vestr in the strictest sense, but to a copy made a few years after 1116 which Müller (2001: x) calls the archetype or text α, and Ostrowski (2003: xxxviii) calls text α.

20 Although Timberlake has not published any *stemma*, his theory on the composition of the *PVL* is in line with the *stemmata* of Müller and Ostrowski.

21 For the chronicles that give direct testimony of the *PVL*, see Ostrowski (2003: xix–xx).

chronicle was taken in 1761 to Saint Petersburg as war booty, and has remained since then in Russian territory. From the filigree and the type of writing, it has been dated to the last decade of the 15th century. It was first edited in 1767.

The Academy chronicle is so called because it formerly belonged to the Moscow Ecclesiastical Academy. Until 1206 it is practically identical to the Radzivil Chronicle, but it often has better readings and supplements the gaps in R. It has been dated to the late 15th century.

The Trinity Chronicle is closely related to L. Its name derives from the fact that it was found in the library of the Monastery of the Trinity, after which it was taken to Moscow at the end of the 18th century, where it was destroyed in a fire in 1812. Fortunately copied fragments survive from the early 19th century.

The Hypatian Chronicle is so called because Karamzin discovered it in the Hypatian Monastery in Kostroma. It was copied in the first quarter of the 15th century, but was only published in 1908.

The Khlebnikov Chronicle was made in the first quarter of the 16th century. Its name comes from its owner, a merchant from Kolomna called Khlebnikov. In spite of being 100 years later than the Hypatian copy, in many places it has better readings.

The *PVL* itself declares in its heading that it will narrate: "Where the Rus' land originally came from and who first began to govern it".[22]

The *PVL* speaks in its first pages—often called "prehistoric pages"—, about the people who inhabited the lands of the future Rus', their heterogeneity and their ancestral customs. The chronicler goes back in time to the great flood and connects the Slavs with the line of Japhet, and then goes on to say that the Slavs first settled on the banks of the Danube and spread from there to other lands.

The introduction of annual dating marks the start of the tales of the vicissitudes of the creation of Rus', the relations of this emerging politity with its neighbors, the feats of its leaders, its fratricidal fights and its bloody battles against its enemies. Key events for the history of Europe like the conversion of the Rus' to Christianity through the agency of Byzantium are extensively narrated in the *PVL*.

The nature of the *PVL* and its compilation process means that legend is often merged with historical fact until it becomes impossible to distinguish between the two. This remoteness from the objective fact, which is frequent in medieval historiography, does not detract from the value of the *PVL*. On the contrary, the

22 The quote is from the heading of the *PVL*, verses 0.2–0.3 (Karskij 1926).

legends it includes, either as a digression or interwoven with historical events, provide us with very important information as they may connect with the oral literature, often non-Christian or pre-Christian, which probably existed in Rus' on the arrival of Christianity, and whose origin and nature has yet to be determined.[23]

Finally, it cannot be forgotten that the *PVL* was composed in a monastery—the Kiev Monastery of the Caves—and that either all or practically all its compilers were members of the Church. The *PVL* was written some 120 years after the official conversion of the Rus' to Christianity in 988/6946. In the early 12th century the Kievan state was still forging and defining the nature of its political and religious relations with its neighbours, and particularly with the most powerful of them all: Byzantium. In the *PVL* there is evidence of the ideology Kiev wished to instil throughout all Rus', and which reinforced Kiev's independence and equality, both political and spiritual, from Constantinople. Christianity was a weapon in the service of this ideology, and religious literature flourished in Kiev. The legends of the lives of numerous Russian saints can be found in the pages of the *PVL*, often prior to writing their independent hagiography.[24] There are also numerous accounts of events and personages in the Monastery of the Caves, the birthplace of the *PVL*: its abbots, monks and holy men occupy many pages of the chronicle.

The *PVL* is an important witness to the pre-Christian beliefs of East Slavs and of all the ethnic groups that came together under the political entity known as Kievan Rus'. The *PVL* contains different kinds of testimonies of pre-Christian beliefs: from the names of the official divinities that are mentioned in Rus'-Greek treaties or in the pantheon established by Vladimir in Kiev, to more extensive narrations which in a tangential way provide information on non-Christian beliefs, as is the case of the accounts of the popular rebellions headed by sorcerers or shamans.

As is habitual in medieval works, the *PVL* was written by members of the clergy who were strongly opposed to any non-Christian belief. Any references by religious writers to rites or events relating to paganism are therefore always expressed in a tone of criticism, scorn or even mockery. However, with or

23 Soviet-era studies frequently emphasise the role of popular Slavic oral folklore and literature as the chroniclers' source. Even Likhačëv (1950, II: 9–10) applauds the role of folklore as a literary source and cites Gorky to reinforce his claim. Other authors like Stender-Petersen (1934) insist on the importance of the Scandinavian-Byzantine element and the role of oral literature transmitted by the armed retinues.

24 For more information on the correlation between the hagiographies and the accounts in the *PVL*, see Müller (1954 and 1995) on Boris and Gleb, and Müller (1988) on Olga.

without the moral approval of the cleric who composed it, the *PVL* conveys information on the non-Christian beliefs in Rus' that today, a millennium later, still offers us valuable material for study.

Edition used: In the passages dated until 1110 (column 286: 7, end of the *PVL* in the Laurentian group) we have used the reconstruction or text α of the Ostrowski-Birnbaum-Lunt edition (2003). In the passages dated after 1110 (column 286: 7) we have used the Hypatian Copy in the Šakhmatov edition (1908c) and we have completed the abbreviated words with Šakhmatov (1916).

Other editions and translations: Cross-Sherbowitz (1953), García de la Puente (2006), Karskij (1926 [1962]), Likahačëv (1950) (1996), Müller (2001).

References: Aleškovskij (1971), Danilevskij (1983), Franklin-Shepard (1996), Gippius (2006), Istrin (1921–1922), Janin-Zaliznjak (2001), Malingoudi (1994), Müller (1954), (1967), (1988), (1995), (2006), Šakhmatov (1940), Stender-Petersen (1934), Sturm-Freydank-Grasshoff (1986), Thomson (1999), Timberlake (2001), Tvorogov (1987).

4.1.1 PVL, *col. 13–14*

In the first pages of the *PVL*, after referring to the biblical legend of the flood and the sons of Noah to explain the origins of the people who inhabit the earth, the chronicler devotes several pages to a description of the peoples who inhabited or had previously inhabited what was known in the 12th century as Rus'. He speaks of the Slavs' neighbours and of the Slavs themselves, and the different tribes into which they were divided, and of their relations with other tribes and with each other. Columns 13 and 14 contained the fragment we insert below. It is particularly interesting because of the information it provides on the pre-Christian folklore customs of certain Slavic tribes around two such key events for the individual and their social group as the choice of partner and death. It is curious that the Poljane, the native inhabitants of the area that ultimately became Kiev, are shown as the most pious even in their paganism.

Поляне бо своихъ отьць обычаи имяхуть тихъ и кротъкъ и стыдѣние къ снъхамъ своимъ и къ сестрамъ, къ матерьмъ и снъхы къ свекръвамъ и къ дѣверьмъ велико стыдѣние имуще; и брачьныи обычаи имѣяхуть: не хожаше женихъ по невѣсту, нъ привожаху вечеръ, а заутра приношаху чьто на неи въдадуче. А Деревляне живяхуть звѣриньскъмь образъмь, живуще скотьскы: и убиваху другъ друга, ядуще вьсе нечисто, и браченья въ нихъ не быша, нъ умыкываху уводы дѣвиця. А Радимичи, и Вятичи и Сѣверо одинъ обычаи имяхуть: живяхуть въ лѣсѣ, яко же всякыи звѣрь, ядуще вьсе нечисто, и срамословие въ нихъ предъ отьци и

предъ снъхами и браци не бываху въ нихъ, нъ игрища межю селы. Съхожахуся на игрища, на плясания и на вься бѣсовьскыя пѣсни, и ту умыкаху жены собѣ, съ нею же къто съвѣщеваше ся; имяхуть же по дъвѣ и по три жены. И аще къто умьряше, твориху трызну надъ нимь, и по семь твориху кладу велику, и възложать на кладу мьртвьца и съжигаху, и посемь събьравъше кости въложаху въ съсудъ малъ, и поставляху на стълпѣ на путьхъ, иже творять Вятичи и нынѣ. Си же обычаи твориху и Кривичи и прочии погании, не вѣдуще закона Божия, нъ твориху сами собѣ законъ.

The Poljane had the custom of their parents; they were affable and calm, and modestly respectful before their daughters-in-law and sisters and before their mothers,[25] and the daughters-in-law had great respect for their mothers-in-law and fathers-in-law. And they had as a marriage custom that the bridegroom did not go to fetch his bride, but she was brought to him by night, and the following morning they took to her what they gave her. And the Derevljane lived savagely, lived like cattle, killed each other, ate all kinds of filth, and there was no marriage between them but they abducted virgins in the water.[26] The Radimiči, Vjatiči and Severjane had a shared custom: they lived in the forest, like wild animals, eating all kinds of filth, and they spoke obscenities to each other in front of their parents and daughters-in-law and there was no marriage between them, but games between the villages, and they came together for the games, for the dances and for all types of diabolical songs, and there [the men] abducted the women; he who had arranged with one of them, as each man had two or three women. And if a person died they arranged a funeral rite for him[27] and after this they made a great pyre[28] and placed the body on this pyre and set fire to it, and after collecting the bones, they placed them in a small receptacle and set it on a post[29] on the roads, as the Vjatiči do today. These were the customs

25 L adds "before their progenitors" but subsequently eliminates "and the daughters-in-law".

26 Except for A, which reads *vvody*, all other manuscripts read *uvody*, which can be interpreted as a word meaning "by abduction", or as two words: *u vody*, meaning "in the water". I follow the reading of Ostrowski-Birnbaum-Lunt (2003: 70) and Müller (2001: 12).

27 Old East Slavonic *tryzna* are rituals and banqueting in memory of the dead. Although little can be said categorically about what exactly were the *tryzna* at the time of the *PVL*, text 4.1.5. offers more information. For more information in Spanish on the Russian funeral rite, cf. Sánchez-Puig (2003 *s.u.*).

28 R and A read Old East Slavonic *krada* "pyre, bonfire"; L, T and H read Old East Slavonic *klada* "beam, log (cut)". Ostrowski-Birnbaum-Lunt (2003: 72), opts for *klada*. Müller (2001: 13) is of the opinion that the word that originally appeared may possibly have been *klada*, meaning the structure of beams on which the deceased was placed.

29 "Column" is one of the possible translations for the Old East Slavonic *stъlpъ*, which is

of the Kriviči and the other pagans, who did not know the law of God but made a law unto themselves.

4.1.2 PVL, *col. 32*

The *PVL* transmits the first treaty between the Rus' and Byzantium inserted in 907 (6415 according to the dating of the *PVL*)[30, 31]. The Byzantines swear by the cross, the Rus' by their religion or their law, by their weapons, and by two gods: Perun, who also appears later in the pantheon of Vladimir, and Volos, who in the *PVL* appears only in the treaties.[32] The act of hanging the shield on the doors has had various interpretations.

Цьсарь же Леонъ съ Александрѣмь миръ сътвориста съ Ольгъмь, имъше ся по дань и ротѣ заходивъше межю собою, цѣловавъше крьстъ, а Ольга водивъше и мужа его на роту по Русьскому закону, кляша ся оружиемь своимь, и Перунъмь, богъмь своимь, и Волосъмь, скотиемь богъмь, и утвьрдиша миръ. И рече Ольгъ: "Ищиите пъръ павольчиты Руси, а Словѣномъ кропиньныя". И бысть тако. И повѣсиша щиты своя въ вратѣхъ показающе побѣду, и поиде отъ Цьсаряграда.

The emperors Leon and Alexander signed the peace with Oleg. They undertook to pay tribute and swore an oath to each other: they [the emperors] kissed the cross, and Oleg and his men swore an oath by the Rus' religion and swore by their weapons, and by Perun, their god, and by Volos,[33] the god of cattle, and ratified the peace. And Oleg said: "Sew sails of precious cloth[34] for the Rus', and

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the reading presented by L and H. It may also refer to a kind of miniature peasant cabin built on a tree trunk structure in which the receptacle with the cremated remains of the deceased was placed. According to Rybakov (1987: 87–92), it closely resembled the house of Baba Yaga in popular tales. R and A read Old East Slavonic *stolъ*, which means "table", but this reading is certainly erroneous.

30 Šakhmatov (1912: 69) noted that the 907 treaty did not exist, but was an insertion by the chronicler based on the information from the 912 treaty, which did take place.

31 Among the recent publications on the treaties between Rus' and Byzantium and their transmission, we recommend Malingoudi (1994).

32 There has been much speculation on the nature of the gods mentioned in the treaties and whether they really corresponded to the divinities of the Slavs and the Scandinavians who signed the treaties. See García de la Puente (2006: 193–207) for an in-depth study and bibliographic references.

33 On the etymological and possibly functional link between the gods Volos and Veles, see text 4.3.1.

34 Old Church Slavonic *pavoločity*, adjective derived from the Old Church Slavonic *pavloka*, a type of very costly cloth (Sreznevskij 1955) of silk or cotton (Günther-Hielscher 1985) that was introduced in Rus' from Byzantium and the Islamic countries. According to Günther-

sails of[35] muslin[36] for the Slavs". And this was done. And he hung his shield on the doors to show his victory and he went to Constantinople.

4.1.3 PVL, *col. 33*

The second treaty between the Rus' and Byzantium was signed in 912 (6420). Mention is made of the Rus' swearing on their weapons, evidence of an old ritual present in other Indo-European traditions.

межю хрьстияны и Русию, мъногашьды право судихомъ, но тъчию просто словесы, и писаниемь и клятвою твьрдою, кльнъше ся оружиемь своимь, такую любъвь извѣстити и утвьрдити по вѣрѣ и по закону нашему.

(…) Between the Christians and the Rus', swearing by their weapons with an inviolable oath, not only spoken but also[37] written, to profess and ratify this friendship by the faith and by our religion.[38]

4.1.4 PVL, *col. 38–39*

Below we introduce the famous fragment describing the death of Oleg, which in the *PVL* is inserted in the year 912 (year 6420 according to the dating in the *PVL*). The legend has no connection with what is narrated in the previous lines (one of the Rus'-Greek treaties), but immediately after this, the author inserts a long digression on phenomena and witchcraft taken from Hamartolos, which

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Hielscher (1985), since the 10th century it was considered to be one of the most important trading products. Müller (2001: 32), translates it as "of precious cloth".

35 We believe that the Old East Slavonic term *slověne* here covers the Slavs, as opposed to the Rus', from Scandinavia.

36 Old East Slavonic *kropiньnyja*, adjective derived from *koprina*. Sreznevskij (1955) gives only one acceptation in his dictionary: silk. Günther-Hielscher (1985) considers it to be a fine silk cloth, woven with a mixture of nettle thread. Müller (2001: 32) translates it as *Nesseltuch*, and Vasmer (1976–1980) also gives the same translation with the literal meaning "nettle cloth". Fasmer (1986–1987), in addition to those mentioned, also gives the acceptation of "veil". It therefore appears that the Old East Slavonic *koprina* did not refer to silk—which is a very resistant cloth—but to some type of very fine cloth—perhaps derived from silk, perhaps from cotton—that tore easily.

37 This place is particularly complicated; like Müller, we follow Šakhmatov's (1916) interpretation of the word.

38 We opt to translate this syntagm as "by our religion" instead of by the other possibility—also correct—"by our law", as we are of the opinion that the phrase expresses the counterposition of *by the faith* (the Christian faith of the Byzantines) to *by our religion* (the pagan religion of the Rus').

proves that he perceived legend as being opposed to the orthodox teachings of the Church, and, as such, requiring orthodox clarification. The account of the death of Oleg has almost identical parallels in Scandinavian sagas, which probably demonstrates that it was an imported legend whose origin is difficult to determine.[39] The legend of the death of the hero by his horse reveals that the prince's advisers included enchanters and seers, and that their premonitions carried great weight. In this landscape, as in many others in the *PVL*, mention is made of the construction of a burial mound, which is a pre-Christian funerary custom.

И живяше Ольгъ миръ имѣя къ вьсѣмъ странамъ, кънѧжа въ Кыевѣ. И приспѣ осень, и помяну Ольгъ конь свои, иже бѣ поставилъ кърмити и не възѣдати на нь. Бѣ бо преже възпрашалъ вълхвъ и кудесьникъ: "Отъ чего ми есть умрети?" И рече ему единъ кудесьникъ: "Кънѧже! Конь, егоже любиши и ѣздиши на немь, отъ того ти умрети". Ольгъ же, приимъ въ умъ си, рече: "Николиже възсяду на нь, ни вижю его боле того". И повелѣ кърмити и не водити его къ нему; и пребы нѣколико лѣтъ, не дѣя его, доньдеже на Грькы иде. И пришьдъшю ему къ Кыеву, и пребывъшю 4 лѣта, на пятое лѣто помяну конь, отъ негоже бяху рекли вълсви умрети, и призъва старѣишину конюхомъ, река: "Къде есть конь мои, егоже бѣхъ поставилъ кърмити и блюсти его?" Онъ же рече: "Умьрлъ есть". Ольгъ же посмѣя ся, и укори кудесьника, река: "Тоть неправо молвять вълсви, нъ вьсе лъжа есть: конь умьрлъ, а я живъ". И повелѣ осѣдьлати конь: "Атъ вижю кости его". И приѣха на мѣсто, идѣже бѣша лежаще кости его голы и лъбъ голъ, и сълѣзъ съ коня, посмѣя ся река: "Отъ сего ли лъба съмьрть мънѣ възяти?" И въступи ногою на лъбъ; и вынискнувъ змия, и уклюну въ ногу. И съ того разболѣ ся умьрѣ. И плакаша ся вьси людие плачьмь великъмь, и несоша и, и погребоша и на горѣ, иже глаголеть ся Шековица; есть же могыла его и до сего дьни, словеть могыла Ольгова. И бысть вьсѣхъ лѣтъ кънѧжения его 33.

And Oleg lived and reigned in Kiev and was at peace with all countries. And autumn came and Oleg remembered his horse, which he had ordered to be fed without riding it. Once he had asked the enchanters and seers: "What will I die of?" And a seer answered him: "Prince! Your horse, whom you love and whom you ride, your death will come from him". Oleg was troubled by these words and said: "I will ride him no more, nor will I see him again". And he ordered that he should be fed and not brought before him. And some years passed without his seeing him, until he went against the Greeks. And he returned to Kiev, and four

39 Cf. Stender-Petersen (1953, 1934) and García de la Puente (2006: 228–238).

years went by, and in the fifth year he remembered his horse, by whom the seers had foretold his death. And he called the head groom to him and asked: "Where is my horse whom I ordered to be fed and cared for?" And the groom replied: "He died". Oleg laughed and mocked the seer, saying: "The enchanters do not tell the truth, but all are lies: the horse is dead but I am still alive". And he ordered a horse to be saddled up for him: "So I can see his bones". And he came to the place where the bare bones lay, and the bare skull, and dismounting from the horse he laughed, saying: "Was my death supposed to come from this skull?" And he stamped on the skull with his foot, and a serpent came out from the skull and bit him on the foot. And he fell ill and died. And all the people mourned him with great lamenting, and they took him and buried him on the mountain known as Ščekovica. His burial mound still exists today; it is called the mound of Oleg. And all the years of his reign numbered 33.

4.1.5 PVL, *col. 47–48, 53 and 54*

The *PVL* transmits the third treaty between Rus', this time under the command of Igor, and Byzantium in 945 A.D. (6453). The first part of the oaths takes place in Byzantium without the presence of Igor. In this treaty it is clear that there are already Christians among the Rus'. Volos does not appear as one of the pagan divinities, and Perun appears in opposition to the Christian God. This is the first mention of the threat of dying by their own swords, arrows and weapons if the agreement is not kept, and of not being able to defend themselves with their own shield. The fact that one of the punishments to be incurred if the treaty is broken is to become slaves in the future world suggests that there was a clear belief in a world after death. The oaths are repeated very similarly at two different points in the treaty (lines 47: 28 to 48: 4 and again in 53:3 to 53: 5). In column 54, ambassadors arrive from Constantinople to take the oath from Igor and his men in Kiev, and a somewhat detailed account is given of how they were made to swear. It is worth noting the mention of the idol of Perun on the hill several years before Vladimir declared his cult official.

Иже помыслять отъ страны Русьскыя раздрушити такую любъвь, и елико ихъ свѣщение прияли суть, да приимуть мьсть отъ Бога вьседьржителя, осужение и на погыбѣль и въ сь вѣкъ и въ будущии, а елико ихъ не крьщено есть, да не имуть помощи отъ Бога, ни отъ Перуна, да не ущитять ся щиты своими, и да посѣчени будуть мечи своими и отъ стрѣлъ и отъ иного оружия своего, и да будуть раби въ сь вѣкъ и въ будущии.

(…) А иже преступить се отъ страны нашея, или къняжь или инъ къто, или крьщенъ или не крьщенъ, да не имать помощи отъ Бога, и да будуть раби въ

сь вѣкъ и въ будущии, и да заколенъ будеть своимь оружьемь. А не крьщении Русь полагають щиты своя и мечь своя нагы оброучь своѣ и прочая оружья, и да кльнуть ся о вьсемь, и яже суть написана на харатьи сеи, и хранити отъ Игоря и отъ всѣхъ боляръ и отъ вьсѣхъ людии и отъ страны Русьскыя, въ прочая лѣта и всегда. Аще ли же къто отъ кънязь и отъ людии Русьскыхъ, или хрьстиянъ или не хрьстиянъ, преступить се, еже написано на харатьи сеи, и будеть достоинъ своимь оружьемь умрети, и да будеть клятъ отъ Бога и отъ Перуна, и яко преступи свою клятъву. Да обаче будеть добрѣ Игорь великыи кънязь да хранить любъвь вьсю правую, да не раздрушить ся, доньдеже съльнце сияеть, и вьсь миръ стоить, въ нынѣшьняя вѣкы и въ будущая.

И наутрия призъва Игорь сълы, и приде на хълмы, къде стояше Перунъ; и покладоша оружия своя и щиты и злато; и ходи Игорь ротѣ и мужи его, и елико поганыя Руси; а хрьстьяную Русь водиша ротѣ въ цьркъви святаго Илиѣ (...)

And anyone in the country of the Rusians who seeks to destroy this friendship, if they have received salvation, may they suffer the vengeance of almighty God, be condemned to perdition in this world and in the next; and if they are unbaptised, may they obtain no succour either from God or from Perun, may they not defend themselves with their own shields, and may they die by their own swords, arrows and other weapons, and be slaves in this world and in the next.

And anyone who in our country should violate it, be they a prince or anyone else, baptised or unbaptised, may they not be succoured by God, may they be a slave[40] in this world and in the next, and may they be dismembered by their own weapon.

And the unbaptised Rusians, who laid down their shields and their unsheathed swords, and their armbands[41] and all their other weapons, and who swear by all that is written on this parchment, which will be respected by Igor and by all the boyars[42] and by all the people of the Rus' country for all the years of the future and forever.

And if any of the princes or the Rusian people, be they Christian or non-Christian, should transgress what is written on this parchment, they deserve to

40 In Old East Slavonic there are several terms to designate what today is generically known as "slave".

41 This was probably some kind of armband or wristband that was part of the warriors' clothing.

42 In Kievan Rus' the boyars were the members of the *družina*, the warrior aristocracy closest to the prince and who also formed his personal retinue and the decision-making council in the kingdom.

die by their own weapon, and to be damned by God and by Perun for having broken their oath.

And more, the great Prince Igor will demonstrate his goodness, and maintain all this friendship as is fitting, so that it should not be transgressed, while the sun continues to shine and while everyone remains standing, in the present time and in the future.

And the next morning, Igor called his ambassadors and went to the hill where Perun was. And they laid down their weapons and their shields and their gold, and Igor swore his oath, and his men, and all the Rusians who were pagans. And the Rusian Christians swore the oath in the church of Saint Elijah (…).

4.1.6 PVL, *col. 55–57*

In 945 (6453) Olga is avenging the death of her husband Igor. The three first acts of vengeance she commits form a unitary group, and the way in which they are carried out may conceal information on pre-Christian funerary rites.[43] The third act of vengeance takes place after the celebration of the pagan funerary ceremony (Old East Slavonic *trizna* or *tryzna*) in honour of Igor. Little is known with certainty about the form this type of ceremony took,[44] but the one in this passage is characterised by the presence of many warriors, the consumption of alcohol to the point of inebriation, the construction of a burial mound over the tomb, and the widow's grieving for the deceased.

И повѣдаша Ользѣ, яко Деревляне придоша. И възъва я Ольга къ собѣ, и рече имъ: "Добрѣ гостие придоша"; и рѣша Деревляне: "Придохомъ, кънягыне". И рече имъ Ольга: "Да глаголете, чьто ради придосте сѣмо?" Рекоша Деревляне: "посъла ны Деревьская земля, рекуци сице: мужа твоего убихомъ, бяше бо мужь твои акы вълкъ, въсхищая и грабя, а наши кънязи добри суть, иже распасли суть Деревьскую землю, да поиди за нашь кънязь, за Малъ"; бѣ бо ему имя Малъ, къняжю Деревьску. Рече же имъ Ольга: "Люба ми есть рѣчь ваша, уже мъниѣ своего мужа не крѣсити; нъ хощю вы почьстити наутрия предъ людьми своими, а нынѣ идѣте въ лодию свою, и лязѣте въ лодии, величающе ся; азъ утро посълю по вы, вы же рьцѣте: не ѣдемъ на коних ни пѣши идемъ, нъ понесѣте ны въ лодии; и възнесуть вы въ лодии". И отъпусти я въ лодию. Ольга же повелѣ ископати яму велику и глубоку на дворѣ теремьскомъ, вънѣ града. И заутра Ольга, сѣдяци въ теремѣ, посъла по гости, и придоша къ нимъ, глаголюще: "Зоветь вы Ольга на чьсть велику". Они же рѣша: "Не ѣдемъ на коних ни на возѣх идемъ,

43 Cf. Likhačëv (1996: 435–436).

44 For some information on funerary rites in Rus' see Petrukhin (1998).

нъ понесѣте ны въ лодии". Рѣша же Кыяне: "Намъ неволя. Кънязь нашь убиенъ а кънягыни наша хощеть за вашь кънязь". И понесоша я въ лодии. Они же сѣдяху въ перегъбѣхъ, въ великыхъ сустугахъ гърдяще ся. И принесоша я на дворъ къ Ользѣ, и несъше, въринуша въ яму и съ лодиею. И приникъши Ольга, и рече имъ: "Добра ли вы чьсть?" Они же рѣша: "Пуще ны Игоревы съмьрти". И повелѣ засыпати я живы, и посыпаша я.

И посълавъши Ольга къ Деревляномъ, рече: "Да аще мя право просите, то пришлите мужи нарочиты, да въ велицѣ чьсти поиду за вашь кънязь, еда не пустять мене людие Кыевьстии". Се слышавъше Деревляне, избьраша лучьшая мужа, иже дьржаху Деревьску землю, и посълаша по ню. Деревляномъ же пришьдъшемъ, повелѣ Ольга мовь сътворити, рекуци сице: "Измывъше ся, придѣте къ мънѣ". Они же прежьгоша истъбу, и възлѣзоша Деревляне, и начаша ся мыти; и запьроша мовьницу о нихъ и повелѣ зажещи я отъ двьрии, и ту изгорѣша вьси.

И посъла къ Деревляномъ, рекуци сице: "Се, уже иду къ вамъ, да пристроите меды мъногы у града, идеже убисте мужа моего, да поплачю ся надъ гробъмь его, и сътворю тризну мужю своему". Они же, то слышавъше, съвезоша меды мъногы зѣло, и възвариша. Ольга же, поимъши мало дружины, и лъгъко идуци приде къ гробу его, и плака ся по мужи своемь. И повелѣ людьмъ съсути могылу велику, и яко съсъпоша, повелѣ тризну творити. Посемь сѣдоша Деревляне пити, и повелѣ Ольга отрокомъ своимъ служити предъ ними. И рѣша Деревляне къ Ользѣ: "Къде суть дружина наша, ихъже посълахомъ по тя?" Она же рече: "Идуть по мънѣ съ дружиною мужа моего". И яко упиша ся Деревляне, повелѣ отрокомъ своимъ пити на ня, а сама отъиде кромѣ, и повелѣ дружинѣ сѣщи Деревляны; и исѣкоша ихъ 5000. А Ольга възврати ся Кыеву, и пристрои вой на прокъ ихъ.

And they told Olga that the Derevljane were coming. And Olga called them before her and said: "Some delightful guests have arrived". And the Derevljane said: "We have arrived, princess". And Olga said to them: "Tell me then, what is your reason for coming?" And the Derevljane said: "We have been sent by the Derevljan land saying thus: "We have killed your husband, because your husband was like a wolf, sacking and plundering. But our princes are good, as they have brought peace to the Derevljan land. Marry our prince, marry Mal, as the prince of the Derevljane was called Mal" ". And Olga said to them: "Your words are very pleasing to me, as I cannot resuscitate my husband. Tomorrow I wish to honour you before my people; go now to your boat and go to sleep and be exalted. Tomorrow I will go and fetch you, and you will say: 'We will go neither on horseback nor on foot, but you must take us by boat'. And they will bring you in the boat". And she let them go to the boat. Olga ordered a large deep pit to

be built in the palace courtyard,[45] outside the city, and the next morning Olga, when she was at the palace, sent for the guests. And they went before them and said to them: "Olga calls you for a great honour". They answered: 'We will go neither on horseback, nor by cart, nor on foot, but you must take us by boat'. And the Kievans said: "We have no choice: our prince is dead and our princess wishes to marry your prince", and they took them in the boat. And they took their places ostentatiously, proud of their large brooches on their breasts. And they took them to the palace before Olga and once they had taken them there they threw them into the pit along with the boat. And bowing down, Olga asked them: "Did you find the honour pleasant?" They said: "It is worse than the death of Igor". And she ordered them to be buried alive, and they buried them.

Olga sent [a message] to the Derevljane and said: "If you really want to court me, send me distinguished men so I can marry your prince with great honours; otherwise, the people of Kiev will not let me go". Hearing this, the Derevljane chose the noblemen that governed the Derevljane land and send them to fetch her. Once the Derevljane had arrived, Olga ordered the bathhouse to be prepared, saying: "When you have washed, come before me". And they heated the bath, and the Derevljane entered and began to wash. And they closed the bathhouse behind them, and Olga ordered it to be set on fire from the doors, and they burned them all.

And she sent to the Derevljane, saying: "Behold I am going to you. Prepare great quantities of honey water in the city where you killed my husband so I can weep for him on his tomb, and arrange a funeral rite in honour of my husband". When they heard this they took quantities of honey and boiled it. Olga, taking a small armed retinue and walking slowly, came to his tomb and intoned a funeral dirge for her husband. And she ordered her people to make a great burial mound, and when it was made she ordered them to organise the funeral rite. After this, the Derevljane sat down to drink, and Olga ordered the men in the armed retinue to serve them. And the Derevljane said to Olga: "Where are the others of our people that we sent to fetch you?" She said: "They are coming after me with my husband's armed retinue". And when the Derevljane were drunk, she ordered her men to drink to their health, and she stood aside and ordered her men to dismember the Derevljane, and they killed all five thousand of them. And Olga returned to Kiev and raised an army against the remaining Derevljane.

45 Literally "palace with a tower".

4.1.7 PVL, *col. 73*

The *PVL* presents the text of the peace treaty between Svjatoslav and the Byzantine emperors that took place in 971 (6479). The divinities Perun and Volos are once again mentioned, along with the notion of death by one's own weapon, and the threat of turning yellow like gold for anyone failing to uphold the treaty.[46]

Якоже кляхъ ся къ цьсаремъ Грьчьскымъ, и съ мъною боляре и Русь вься, да храним̑ъ правая съвѣщанья. Аще ли отъ тѣхъ самѣхъ прежереченыхъ не хранимъ̑ъ, азъ же и съ мъною и подъ мъною, да имѣемъ клятву отъ боговъ, въ негоже вѣруемъ̑ъ, въ Перуна и въ Волоса, бога скотия, да будемъ̑ъ злати, яко злато се, и своимь оружьемь да исѣчени будемъ̑ъ.

And as I have sworn before the Greek emperors, and with me the boyars and all the Rus', we will respect the fair treaty. If we do not respect any part of the above, then may I and all those who are with me and under my power be damned by the gods[47] in whom we believe—Perun and Volos, the god of cattle—, and let us turn yellow like gold, and be dismembered by our own weapons.

4.1.8 PVL, *col. 79*

In 980 (6488) Vladimir came to power in Kiev after the death of his two brothers Oleg and Jaropolk. After committing numerous impious actions, including fratricide and adultery with the widow of his recently murdered brother, Vladimir established an official pagan cult in Kiev, consisting of six divinities, five male and one female.[48] The idols were placed outside the palace, and according to the chronicler, human victims were sacrificed to them. Vladimir installed his uncle Dobrynja as governor in Novgorod, who in turn installed an idol in the city.

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46 According to Strumiński (1996: 114) yellow was also associated with falsity among the Scandinavians. Mansikka (1922: 37) maintains that this oath is typical of the Slavs and that there is no reason to assume it is of Scandinavian extraction. In the last bibliography published on the expression "to turn yellow like gold" Vvedenskij (2006: 921) suggests that the original reading was not yellow but *koloti*, as it reads in the L. Based on a study published by Sreznevskij in 1854, Vvedenskij reaches the conclusion that the original expression was a pagan oath similar to the one that appears in the Scandinavian tradition; at a later date, a chronicler editing the *PVL* misunderstood this and corrected it to *zoloti*.

47 Ostrowski-Birnbaum-Lunt (2003: 507) reads "because of the gods".

48 For more information on the pantheon and its divinities, and for bibliography on this point, see García de la Puente (2006: 193–224).

И нача къняжити Володимиръ въ Кыевѣ единъ, и постави кумиры на хълму, вънѣ двора теремьнаго: Перуна древяна, а главу его сьребряну, а усъ златъ, и Хърса и Дажьбога и Стрибога и Сѣмарьгла и Мокошь. И жьряхуть имъ, нарицающе я богы, и привожахуть сыны своя и дъщери, и жьряхуть бѣсомъ. И осквьряхуть землю требами своими; и осквьрни ся кръвьми земля Русьская и хълмъ тъ. Нъ преблагыи Богъ не хотя съмьрти грѣшьникомъ, на томь хълмѣ нынѣ цьркы есть святаго Василия, якоже послѣди съкажемъ. Мы же на предьнее възвратимъ ся. Володимиръ же посади Добрыню, уя своего, въ Новѣгородѣ. И пришьдъ Добрыня Новугороду, постави кумира надъ рѣкою Вълховъмь; и жьряхуть ему людие новъгородьстии акы Богу.

And Vladimir began to reign alone in Kiev. And he placed idols on the hill outside the palace: a Perun in wood with a silver head and a gold moustache, and Khors[49] and[50] Daždbog[51] and Stribog and Simargl and Mokoš. And they offered sacrifices and called them gods, and they took their sons and daughters to them and sacrificed them to the devils. And they profaned the earth with their sacrifices, and Rus' and that hill were profaned by blood. But God the merciful, who does not wish the death of sinners,[52] on that hill stands today the church of Saint Vasilij, as we will relate later.[53] But let us return to our previous matter. Vladimir installed his uncle Dobrynja in Novgorod. And when Dobrynja arrived in Novgorod, he placed an idol[54] beside the River Volkhov, and offered the inhabitants of Novgorod as victims, as to a god.

4.1.9 PVL, *col. 82–83*

In the year 983 (6491) Vladimir continues with the pagan cult he had established in Kiev three years earlier. Once again there are mentions of a human sacrifice, in this case perversely directed against two Varangian Christians. The

49 We transliterate the form chosen by Likhačëv (1950: 254), which coincides with that of Müller (2001: 97). Ostrowski-Birnbaum-Lunt (2003: 567) considers the reading of L to be better substantiated. This is probably a theonym of Iranian origin corresponding to a solar divinity, cf. half Persian *Xursīd*, Avestan *Hvarə Xšaēta*, which in fact was transferred as an eastern cult to Rome as *Sol Inuictus*.

50 The conjunction is missing in L.

51 We transliterate the form chosen by Likhačëv (1950: 254), but we consider the reading of L, A and H to be better substantiated (cf. Müller 2001: 97 and Ostrowski-Birnbaum-Lunt 2003: 567).

52 Ez 33, 11.

53 The sentence lacks a verb in the personal form.

54 H *of Perun*; Kh: *to Perun*. The identification of this idol with Perun in H and Kh is reinforced by the information given in the chronicles of Novgorod and by the legends of that city.

narrative has hagiographic features that are evident from the first reading and which have been unanimously highlighted by the experts.[55] The chronicler appears to have introduced a beautiful and poignant tale in the *PVL* as a form of publicity for Christianity and a vilification of paganism. The information he recounts, as in the passing mention in the passage to Vladimir's pantheon in 980/6488 (text 4.1.8.), on the use of human sacrifices raises problems of historical reliability.

И приде Кыеву, и твореше требу кумиромъ съ людьми своими. И рекоша старьци и боляре: "Мечемъ жребии на отрока и дѣвицю; на негоже падеть, того зарѣжемъ богомъ". И бяше Варягъ единъ, и бѣ дворъ его идеже есть цьркы святыя Богородица, юже създьда Володимиръ. Бѣ же Варягъ тъ пришьлъ отъ Грькъ, и дьржаше вѣру хрьстьяньску; и бѣ у него сынъ красьнъ лицьмь и душею; на сего паде жребии по зависти дияволи. Не търпяше бо дияволъ, власть имѣя надъ вьсѣми: и сь бяше акы тьрнъ въ сьрдьци. И тъщаше ся потребити оканьныи, и наусти люди. И рѣша, пришьдъше, посълании къ нему, яко "Паде жребии на сынъ твои, изволиша бо и бози себѣ, да съторимъ требу богомъ". И рече Варягъ: "Не суть то бози, нъ древо. Дьнесь есть, а утро изгнило; не ядять бо, ни пиють, ни мълвять, нъ суть дѣлани руками въ древѣ. А Богъ есть единъ, емуже служать Грьци, и кланяють ся, иже съторилъ небо и землю и звѣзды и луну и съльнце и человѣка, и далъ есть ему жити на земли. А си бози чьто съдѣлаша? Сами дѣлани суть. Не дамь сына своего бѣсомъ". Они же, шьдъше, повѣдаша людьмъ. Они же, възмъше оружие, поидоша на нь, и разъяша дворъ около его. Онъ же стояше на сѣньхъ съ сынъмь своимь. Рѣша ему: "Даи сына своего, да въдамы и богомъ". Онъ же рече: "Аще суть бози, то единого себѣ посълють бога, да поимуть сынъ мои; а вы чему претребуете имъ?" И кликнуша, и посѣкоша сѣни подъ нима, и тако побиша я. И не съвѣсть никъто же, къде положиша я. Бяху бо тъгда человѣци невѣгласи погани.

And (Vladimir) went to Kiev, and made a sacrifice to the idols with their people. And the elders and the boyars said: "Let us draw lots between a young man and a girl,[56] and whoever is chosen, we will sacrifice them to the gods". There was then a Varangian, and his estate was where today stands the temple of the

55 According to Likhačëv (1996: 304 and ff.) this text was part of a series in the *PVL* that he conventionally called *Tale of the primitive diffusion of Christianity in Rus'*. Cf. Introduction. Mansikka (1922: 40–52) says that the account of the two Varingian martyrs ultimately has a biblical origin.

56 R gives the nouns in plural.

Holy Mother of God built by Vladimir. This Varangian had arrived from Byzantium and professed the Christian faith, and he had a son who was attractive both in his visage and his soul. And it was his misfortune to be envied by the devil, as the devil could not countenance him because having power over everyone, this man was for him like a thorn in his heart, and the evil one sought his downfall and to incite people against him. And those that were sent to him arrived and said to him: "Your son has been lucky, the gods have chosen him for themselves, so we can offer a sacrifice to the gods". And the Varangian said: "These are not gods but simply wood; today they exist but tomorrow they will disappear. They do not eat, they do not drink, and they do not speak, but they are made of wood by men's hands.[57] There is only one God, who is served and venerated by the Greeks, the God who created heaven and earth, and the stars and the moon and the sun and man, and allowed him to live on the earth. And what have these gods done? They themselves have been made. I will not deliver my son to the demons". The emissaries went away and told the people. Taking up their arms, they went to where he lived and they destroyed the estate all around it. He was standing in the covered gallery with his son.[58] They said to him: "Give us your son so we can deliver him to the gods". But he said: "If they are gods, they should send one of their own to take my son; but you, why do you need him?" And they gave a cry and demolished the gallery from below, and that way they killed them. And no one knows where they were buried because the people at that time were ignorant and pagan.

4.1.10 PVL, *col. 116–117*

In 988 (6496) Vladimir took Cherson, and converted to Christianity after his marriage to Anna, the sister of the Byzantine emperors Basil and Constantine. As a wedding present he restored Cherson to the Byzantines and returned to Kiev with his new wife and an entourage which included several priests bearing relics. On their arrival in Kiev he ordered the pantheon that he himself had built eight years earlier to be destroyed, thus officially ending the pagan cult in Kievan Rus'.

И яко приде, повелѣ кумиры испроврещи, овы исѣщи, а другыя огневи предати; Перуна же повелѣ привязати коневи къ хвосту и влещи съ горы по Бориչеву на

57 Recalls Ps. 115:4.

58 In the East Slavic estates at the time this was a type of covered gallery on the second floor, supported on pillars. They could sometimes be very capacious and house a large number of people (cf. Likhačëv 1996: 453). They were often used as a venue for banquets and meetings.

Руѣи, 12 мужа пристави бити жьзльемь. Се же не яко древу чююцю, нъ на поругание бѣсу, иже прельщаше симь образъмь человѣкы, да възмьстие прииметь отъ человѣкъ. "Велии еси, Господи, чюдьна дѣла твоя!" Вьчера чьстимъ отъ человѣкъ, дьньсь поругаемъ. Влекому же ему по Руѣеви къ Дънѣпру, плакаху ся его невѣрьнии людие, еще бо не бяху прияли крьщения. И привлекъше, въринуша и въ Дънѣпръ. И пристави Володимиръ, рекъ: "Аще къде приставеть вы то отрѣвайте его отъ берега, доньдеже порогы проидеть, тъгда охабите ся его". Они же повелѣное сътвориша. Яко пустиша и, проиде сквозѣ порогы, извьрже и вѣтръ на рѣнь, яко и до сего дьне словеть Перуня Рѣнь.

And when he arrived, he ordered the idols to be demolished, smashing some of them into pieces and throwing others into the fire. He ordered Perun to be tied to a horse's tail and dragged downhill along the Borichev slope to the Rukhai, and he placed 12 men so they could beat him with sticks, not because wood can feel anything, but to humiliate the devil, who had deceived the people with this image, and so the people could be avenged. "You are great, oh Lord, and your deeds are miraculous!"[59] Yesterday he was honoured by the people, and now we insult him. When they dragged him along the Rukhai to the Dnieper the non-believers wept, as they had not yet been baptised. And having dragged him they threw him into the Dnieper. And Vladimir commanded, saying: "If he runs aground somewhere, push him far from the shore until he has passed the rapids; then you can let him go". They did as he ordered. When they let him go, he crossed the rapids, and the wind blew him onto a sandbank,[60] which to the present day is known as the Perun sandbank.

4.1.11 PVL *col. 140*

Vladimir died in 1015 (6123) and there is a brief account of what was done to his body before his burial. Since Vladimir was Christian this process can be assumed to have taken place following the Church teachings, although the way of handling the body of the deceased offers clear evidence of traditional customs that were alien to the Church. The cavity dug in the ground may correspond to the Belarus *dušnik*, a hole that was opened in the wall through which the deceased was removed. The custom of removing the deceased through a hole made *ex profeso* or through a window apparently fulfils the function of confusing the soul and thus preventing it from returning to the house and becoming a vampire or malign spirit.[61]

59 Sir. 11:4.

60 L reads erroneously "in the river".

61 Cf. Váňa (1992).

Ноцию же межю клѣтьми проимавъше помостъ, въ ковьръ опрятавъши и, ужи съвѣсиша на землю, и възложьше и на сани, и везъше, поставиша и въ святѣи Богородици, юже бѣ самъ създьдалъ. Се же увѣдѣвъше людие, сънидоша ся бес числа, и плакаша ся по немь, боляре акы заступьника земли ихъ, убозии акы заступьника и кърмителя. И възложиша и въ {кърсту мраморяну / раку мрамо-ряну / гробъ мраморянъ}, съпрятавше тѣло его съ плачьмь, блаженаго кънязя.

By night, opening a hole in the ground between ⟨*two*⟩[62] chambers, and wrapping it in a carpet, they lowered him into the ground with some ropes; and laying him on a sled,[63] and taking him with them, they placed him in the church of the Holy Mother of God which he himself had built. When the people found out, a large number gathered and wept for him: the boyars as the protector of their country, the poor people as their protector and their provider. And they put him in a marble sepulchre, and buried the body of the blessed prince with weeping.

4.1.12 PVL, *col. 147–148*

In 1024 (6532) there was a terrible famine that led to a popular uprising led by sorcerers. The sorcerers or enchanters must have had great power as they appear as the leaders of the people in opposition to the government of the Rjurikid, the reigning dynasty in Rus'.

Въ се же лѣто въсташа вълсви въ Суждали, избиваху старую чадь по дияволю наученью и бѣсованию, глаголюще, яко си дьржать гобино. И мятежь великъ и гладъ въ вьсеи тои странѣ. Идоша по Вълзѣ вьси людие въ Бъгары, и привезоша жито, и тако ожиша. Слышавъ же Ярославъ вълхвы, приде Суждалю; изъима вълхвы, растѣри, а другыя показни (…).

That same year there was an uprising of sorcerers in Suzdál'; they killed the old people under instruction and inspired by the devil, saying:[64] "They are keeping the reserves". And there was a great revolt and famine throughout the entire

62 Only in R and A.

63 As indicated by Likhačëv (1950, II: 357) in this period of the year (April according to him) there was no longer any snow. The use of the sled in these cases was not because this was the ideal form of transport when there is no snow, but because sleds and boats had been part of the funeral rites since ancient times. Remains of burnt sleds have been found in one of the tombs in the Kostroma area.

64 The Old East Slavonic word that appears in the text suggests that the people were not only acting *inspired*, as it must be translated to respect the original, but literally *possessed* by the devil.

region, and all the people went along the Volga to Bulgaria and gathered grain and that way they survived. Hearing of the sorcerers, Yaroslav went to Suzdál', seized and scattered the sorcerers, and executed others.

4.1.13 PVL, *155*

In 1044 (6552) the birth of Vseslav Brjačislávič is mentioned retrospectively. The baby was born with a section of amniotic membrane, which covers the foetus during gestation, adhered to his head. Different cultures attribute various meanings to this phenomenon. Vseslav Brjačislávič is certainly a prince about whom there is a certain aura of mystery; his name is related with the bogatyr Volkh Vseslavič, a personage with close associations with magic.[65] It is also worth noting that this news account reveals the presence of sorcerers in the court and their influential role[66] as royal councillors several decades after the adoption of Christianity.

(…) и Вьсеславъ, сынъ его, сѣде на столѣ его. Его же роди мати отъ вълхвования, матери бо родивъши его, бысть ему язва на главѣ его, рекоша же вълсви матери его: "Се язвьно навяжи на нь, да носить е до живота своего", еже носи Вьсеславъ и до сего дьне на собѣ; сего ради немилостивъ есть на кръвопролитие.

(…) And Vseslav, his son, sat on his throne. His mother had given birth to him with magic: as when his mother gave birth to him, he had a membrane on his head. The sorcerers said to his mother: "Attach the membrane ⟨*to his head*⟩[67] so he carries it all his life", and Vseslav carries it to the present day; this is why he is merciless when spilling blood.

4.1.14 PVL, *col. 170*

In 1068 (6576) nomadic peoples invade Rus' and defeat her. The author, as usual, interprets this event as a punishment from God for the impiety of the Rus' inhabitants and the lack of brotherly love between the Rjurikids. The author's reflections are interesting because by criticising them, he reveals certain popular non-Christian beliefs.

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65 Cf. Putilov (1999: 141). Komarovič (1960) considers Vseslav Brjačislávič to be a late double of Oleg, who is in turn the most enigmatic prince and the one most closely associated to the occult of all those mentioned in the *PVL*.

66 Ivanits (1989: 87–88). In any case, the accusation of using magic is a means to defame Vseslav.

67 Only in H.

Се бо не поганьски ли живемъ, аще въ сърѣчю вѣрующе? Аще бо къто усърящеть чьрноризьца, то възвращаеть ся, ли единьць, ли свинию; то не поганьскы ли есть се? Се бо по дияволю наученью кобь сию дьржать; друзии же закыханию вѣруютъ, еже бываеть на здравие главѣ. Нъ сими дияволъ льстить и другыми нравы, вьсякыми льстьми превабляя ны отъ Бога, трубами и скомрахы и гуслями и русалиями. Видимъ бо игрища утолочена, и людии мъножьство на нихъ, яко упихати научьнуть другъ друга, позоры дѣюще отъ бѣса замышленаго дѣла.

So do we not live as pagans if we believe in encounters?[68] When someone meets a monk, or a wild boar or a sow they turn around: is this not pagan? Under instruction from the devil they thus believe in omens; others believe in sneezing, which occurs for the health of the head. But the devil tempts us with these things and in other ways, distancing us from God with all the temptations, with trumpets and with minstrels and with *guslis* and with Rusalias. We see the games assembled, and many people in them, and they begin to press against each other and see things that have been thought up by the devil.

4.1.15 PVL, *col. 174–175*

In 1071 (6579) there are various accounts on sorcerers. The first describes a sorcerer whose prophecy was never fulfilled. The news account does not give us specific information about the Slavs' beliefs, but is a further testimony of the popularity enjoyed by sorcerers or holy men outside the orthodoxy.

Въ сиже времена приде вълхвъ, прельщенъ бѣсъмь; пришьдъ бо Кыеву, глаголаше: "явила ми ся пять богъ, глаголюще сице: `повѣдаи людьмъ, яко на пятое лѣто Дънѣпру потещи въспять, а землямъ преступати на ина мѣста, яко стати Грьчьстои земли на Русьскои, а Русьскои на Грьчьскои, и прочимъ землямъ измѣнити ся' ". Єгоже невѣгласи послушаху, вѣрьнии же на смѣяху ся, глаголюще ему: "Бѣсъ тобою играеть на пагубу тобѣ". Єже и бысть ему: въ едину бо нощь бысть без вѣсти.

At that same time a sorcerer inveigled by a demon arrived; he came to Kiev saying: "Five gods have appeared to me and said[69] this: 'Tell the people that in the

68 This is a reference to superstition, as certain "encounters" are considered to be premonitions of unlucky events.

69 The sentence from "… saying …" to "… said …" is missing from L, R and A, probably an omission by the copyist on confusing the two verb forms.

fifth year the Dnieper will flow backwards and the countries will change place so that the Greek land will be where the Rus' land is and the Rus' land where the Greek land is, and the other countries will change place'". The simple people listened to him, but the believers laughed and said to him: "A demon is playing with you to lead you astray". And this was what happened, as one night he disappeared without a trace.

4.1.16 PVL, *col. 175–178*

The second news account on sorcerers in 1071 (6579) is the famous passage on the rebellion headed by the two sorcerers from Jaroslavl' in Beloozero. Once again the sorcerers are portrayed as a force opposing the power of the Rjurikids. The sorcerers, who had inflicted a strange death on their victims, the "noblewomen", in a way that recalls a Mordvin ritual, are in turn executed in an equally unusual way.[70] Apart from this, the passage contains a legend on the creation of human beings that signals the presence of Bogomil beliefs in East Slavic territory.[71] Although the ritual performed by the sorcerers from Jaroslavl' is probably the description of a Mordvin rather than a Slavic ritual, we have not moved this passage to the chapter on *Questionable Texts* because of the information it provides on sorcerers as a power opposed to the Church and the princes.

Бывъши бо единою скудости въ Ростовьстѣи области, въстаста дъва вълхва отъ Ярославля, глаголюща, яко "Въ съвѣмы, къто обилие дьржить". И поидоста по Вълзѣ; и къдѣ придуча въ погостъ, ту же нарекаста лучьшая жены, глаголюща, яко си житo дьржить, а си медъ, а си рыбы, а си скору. И привожаху къ нима сестры своя и матере и жены своя. Она же въ мьучьтѣ прорѣзавъша за плечемь, вынимаста любо житo, любо рыбу, и убивашета мъногы жены, имѣния ихъ имашета собѣ. И придоста на Бѣлоозеро, и бѣ о нею людии инѣхъ 300. Въ сеже время приключи ся прити отъ Святослава дань емлющю Яневи, сыну Вышатину; повѣдаша ему Бѣлозерьци, яко дъва кудесьника избила мъногы жены по Вълзѣ и по Шекъснѣ, и пришьла еста сѣмо. Янь же, испытавъ, чия еста смьрда, и увѣдѣвъ, яко своего къняз̀я, посълавъ къ нимъ, иже около ею суть, и рече имъ: "Выдаите вълхва та сѣмо, яко смьрда еста моего къняз̀я". Они же сего не послушаша. Янь же поиде самъ безъ оружия, и рѣша ему отроци его: "Не ходи безъ оружия, осоромять тя". Онъ же повелѣ възяти оружие отрокомъ, и бяста 12 отрока съ нимь, и поиде къ нимъ къ лѣсу. Они же сташа испълчивъше ся противу. Яневи же идущю съ топорьцьмь, выступиша отъ нихъ 3 мужи придоша къ Яневи, рекуще ему: "Вида

70 Cf. García de la Puente (2005).

71 On this passage cf. Sorlin (1981: 472) and Perkowski (1989).

идеши на съмьрть, не ходи". Оному же повелѣвъшю бити я, къ проуимъ же поиде. Они же сунуша ся на Яня, единъ грѣши ся Яня топорьмь. Янь же оборотя топоръ удари и тылиемь, повелѣ отрокомъ сѣщи я. Они же бѣжаша въ лѣсъ, убиша же ту попа Янева. Янь же, възшьдъ въ градъ къ Бѣлозерьцемъ, рече имъ, "Аще не имете вълхву сею, не иду отъ васъ за лѣто". Бѣлозерьци же, шьдъше, яша и, и приведоша я къ нему. И рече има: "Ѹто ради погубиста толико человѣкъ?" Онѣма же рекъшема, яко "Ти дьржать обилие; да аще истребивѣ и избиевѣ сихъ, будеть гобино; аще ли хощеши, то предъ тобою выемѣве жито, или рыбу, или ино ѹто". Янь же рече: "По истинѣ лъжета; сътворилъ бо есть Богъ человѣка отъ земля, съставленъ костьми и жилами отъ кръве и нѣсть въ немь ниѹтоже, и не вѣсть никътоже, тъкъмо Богъ единъ вѣсть". Она же рекоста: "Вѣ вѣвѣ, како есть человѣкъ сътворенъ". Онъ же рече: "Како?". Она же рекоста: "Богъ мывъ ся въ мовьници и въспотивъ ся, отьре ся вехътьмь, и съ вьрже съ небесе на землю. И распрѣ ся сотона съ Богъмь, кому въ немь сътворити человѣка. И сътвори дияволъ человѣка, а Богъ душю въ нь въложи. Тѣмь же, аще умьреть человѣкъ, въ землю идеть тѣло, а душа къ Богу". Рече има Янь: "По истинѣ прельстилъ васъ есть бѣсъ; коему богу вѣруета?" Она же рекоста: "Антихрьсту". Онъ же рече има: "То къдѣ есть?" Она же рекоста: "Сѣдить въ бездьнѣ". Рече има Янь: "То кыи есть богъ, сѣдяи въ бездьнѣ? То есть бѣсъ, а Богъ есть сѣдяи на небеси на престолѣ, славимъ отъ ангелъ, иже предъстоять ему съ страхъмь, не могуще на нь зьрѣти. Сих бо ангелъ съвьрженъ бысть, егоже вы глаголета антихрьстъ, за величание его съвьрженъ бысть съ небесе, и есть въ бездьнѣ якоже вы глаголета, жьда, егда придеть Богъ съ небесе. И сего имъ антихрьста съвяжеть узами и посадить и въ огни вѣчьнѣмъ съ слугами его и иже къ нему вѣрують. Вама же и сьде муку прияти отъ мене, и по съмьрти тамо". Онѣма же рекъшема: "Нама бози повѣдаютъ: не можеши нама сътворити ниѹтоже". Онъ же рече има: "Лъжють вама бози". Она же рекоста: "Нама прѣдъстати предъ Святославъмь, а ты не можеши сътворити ниѹтоже". Янь же повелѣ бити я и потъргати брадѣ ею. Сима же тепеномa и брадѣ ею потърганѣ проскѣпъмь, рече има Янь: "Ѹто вама бози мълвять?" Онѣма же рекъшема: "Стати намъ предъ Святославъмь". И повелѣ Янь въложити рубля въ уста има и привязати я къ упругомъ, и пусти предъ собою въ лодии, и самъ по нихъ иде. И сташа на устии Шекъсны, и рече има Янь: "Ѹто вамъ бози мълвять?" Она же рекоста: "Сице нама бози мълвять: не быти нама живымъ отъ тебе". И рече има Янь: "То вамъ право повѣдали". Она же рекоста: "Аще на пустиши, мъного ти добра будеть; аще ли наю погубиши, мъногу печаль приимеши и зъло". Онъ же рече има: "Аще ваю пущю, то зъло ми будеть отъ Бога; аще ли васъ погублю, то мьзда ми будеть". И рече Янь повозьникомъ: "Ци кому васъ къто родинъ убиенъ отъ сею?" Они же рѣша: "Мънѣ мати, другому сестра, иному рожение". Онъ же рече имъ: "Мьстите своихъ". Они же поимъше, убиша я и повѣсиша я на дубѣ: отъмьстие приимъша отъ Бога по правьдѣ. Яневи же идущю

домови, въ другую ночь медвѣдь възлѣзъ, угрызе я, и съмѣсть. И тако погыбнуста наученіемь бѣсовьскымь, инѣмъ вѣдуща и гадающа, а своея пагубы не вѣдуща.

There was a famine in the region of Rostov, and two sorcerers from Jaroslavl' rose up, saying: "We two know who is hiding the reserves". And they went walking along the Volga, and when they came to a village, they gathered all the noblewomen together[72] saying: "These women are hiding cereals, and these ones are hiding honey, and these fish, and these furs". And they brought their sisters and mothers and wives before the two. They sliced through them in a magical way[73] cutting them behind their shoulders, and they removed either cereals, or fish, ⟨*or squirrel furs*⟩,[74] and killed many women, and kept their possessions. And they came to Beloozero, and there were another 300 people with them. At the same time it happened that Jan, son of Vyšata, arrived from Svjatoslav collecting tax, and the people of Beloozero told him that two sorcerers had already killed many women along the Volga and the Šeksna, and that they had arrived there. Jan asked whose countrymen they were, and discovering that they were his own prince's, sent them before those who were with the two, and said to them: "Bring those two sorcerers here, as these are the countrymen of my prince". But they paid no heed to him. Jan was unarmed, and his men said to him: "Do not go without weapons, they will humiliate you". He ordered his men to take up their arms; and there were 12 men with him, and they went towards them to the wood. But they confronted him, ready for a fight. Jan went with an axe, three of them came forward, they came before Jan and said to him: "You are deliberately going towards death, do not go!" But he ordered them to be killed, and he went for the others. And they charged at Jan, one missed Jan with the axe, but Jan, turning the axe around, hit him with the edge (of the axe) and ordered his men to cut his throat. They escaped to the wood, and there they killed Jan's priest. Jan, entering the city where the people of Beloozero were, said to them: "I will not leave here the whole summer long unless you catch those two sorcerers". And the people of Beloozero went and caught them and brought them to him. And he said to the two: "Why have you killed so many people?" And they said: "Because they are hiding the reserves, and if we rid ourselves of them there will be abundance. If you want,

72 The "best" or "noble" women were according to Likhačëv (1950, II: 402) those who safeguarded the supplies kept in reserve for times of scarcity.

73 The Old Church Slavonic word *mьčьtъ* means "spectre", "hallucination" or "vision", and has the suggestion of "ecstasy, trance".

74 Only in H and Kh.

we will extract cereals or fish or anything else before your eyes". But Jan said: "In truth you are lying, as God created man on earth, he is made of bones and veins with blood, and there is nothing more in him, and he does not know anything, but only God knows". And they said: "We know how man was created". And he asked: "How?" The two of them said: "God was washing in a bathhouse, and he began to sweat, and he wiped himself with a cloth of herbs, and he threw it from heaven down to earth. And Satan began to argue with God about who would create man from it (the cloth). And the devil created man, but God put the soul in him. That is why, when a man dies, his body goes to earth and his soul to God". Jan said to them: "In truth you have been inveigled by a demon. Which god do you believe in?" They said: "In the Antichrist". And he asked them: "Where is he?" They answered: "He lives in the abyss". Jan said to them: "What god is that who lives in the abyss? That is a demon; God is in heaven seated on his throne, honoured by the angels, who are before Him in fear and are unable to gaze on Him. One of these angels was expelled, the one you call the Antichrist, for his pride he was expelled from heaven, and he is in the abyss, as you say, waiting for God to come from heaven and seize that Antichrist, he binds him with chains and leaves him prisoner in the eternal fire with his servants and with those who believe in him. But you two are destined to suffer my torture here, and there after death". And they said: "The gods tell us that you cannot do anything to us". And he answered them: "Your gods are lying to you". And they said: "It is our fate to go before Svjatoslav, but you cannot do anything to us". And Jan ordered them to be beaten and their beards to be pulled out. After whipping them and pulling out their beards with one wrench,[75] Jan said to them: "What do the gods say to you?" And they said: "It is our fate to go before Svjatoslav". And Jan commanded that a gag should be put in their mouths, and they should be tied to the mast,[76] and the boat should be cast off in front of him, and he went behind them. And they stopped at the mouth of the Šeksna, and Jan said to them: "What do the gods say to you?" And they said: "This is what the gods say: that we will not remain alive because of you". And Jan said to them: "They have spoken the truth". And they said: "If you let us go free you will receive many good

75 Müller (2001: 215) translates "with some tongs".

76 Sreznevski (1955–1956) translates this word as "gag" or "piece of wood", also giving the present passage of the *PVL* as an example. Müller (2001: 77), refers to Vasmer (1958: 542) and explains that the original meaning of this word was "garrotte", "chunk" or "sawn or broken piece (of wood)", which could effectively be used as a gag; however, the two sorcerers speak again some lines below. Likhačëv translates it as "rouble", as there was a custom of placing a coin in the mouth of the dead. Contradicting his interpretation is the fact that the Old East Slavonic *rublь* only came into use as a monetary unit from the 14th century.

things, but if you kill us you will receive many misfortunes and evils". He said to them: "If I let you go evils will come from God; if I kill you I will be rewarded". And Jan said to the oarsmen: "Which of you has had a family member killed by these two?" They said: "My mother, my sister, my daughter".[77] He said to them: "Avenge your womenfolk!"[78] They seized them and killed them and hung them from an oak tree; with justice they suffered God's vengeance. After Jan had gone home, on the second night a bear climbed (the oak tree), tore them to pieces and devoured them. And that is how they died by the incitement of demons, knowing and thinking about others but without foreseeing their own downfall.

4.1.17 PVL, *col. 179*

After the two previous news accounts, also in the year 1071 (6579), another account is inserted about a native of Novgorod who goes to a Čud' sorcerer. The Čud' are a Finnish tribe and the information therefore does not refer to the Slavs. We have included it in the selection of texts because in any case it would be a testimony of what a Christian monk understands by magical practices developed in Rus' territory.

Въ си бо времена, въ лѣта си, приключися нѣкоему Новъгородьцю прити въ Чюдь, и приде къ кудесьнику, хотя вълхвования отъ него. Онъ же по обычаю своему нача призывати бѣсы въ храмину свою. Новъгородьцю же сѣдящю на порозѣ тоя храмины, кудесьникъ же лежаше оцѣпъ; и шибе имь бѣсъ. Кудесьникъ же въставъ рече Новъгородьцю: "Бози не смѣють прити, нѣчьто имаши на собѣ, егоже боять ся". Онъ же помяну на собѣ крьстъ, и отъшьдъ, постави кромѣ храмины тоя. Онъ же нача изнова призывати бѣсы. Бѣси же мьтьвъше имь, повѣдаша, чьто ради пришьлъ есть. По семь же поча прашати его: "Что ради боять ся его, егоже носимъ на собѣ крьста?" Онъ же рече: "То есть знамение небесьнаго Бога, егоже наши бози боять ся". Онъ же рече: "То каци суть бози ваши, къде живуть?" Онъ же рече: "Бози наши живуть въ бездьнахъ. Суть же образъмь чьрни, крилати, хвосты имуще; въсходять же и подъ небо, слушающе вашихъ Боговъ. Ваши бо Бози на небеси суть. Аще къто умьреть отъ вашихъ людии, то възносимъ есть на небо; аще ли отъ нашихъ умираеть, то носимъ есть къ нашимъ Богомъ въ бездьну".

77 The word in Old East Slavonic does not specify whether it is "son" or "daughter", although from the context it can be assumed to be "daughter".

78 Old East Slavonic is not explicit in the gender of the pronoun in this case: it may be "your" (masculine object) or "your" (feminine object); from the context it is more likely to refer only to women.

As in this period, in those years, it happened that a native of Novgorod went to the place of the Čud', and went to a sorcerer in search of his magic. And as was his custom he began to call up the demons in his house. The native of Novgorod was sitting on the threshold of his house, and the sorcerer lay dazed, and the demon shook him; the sorcerer rose and said to the native of Novgorod: "The gods do not dare come; there is something in you that they fear". The native of Novgorod remembered he was carrying a cross, and he moved away and put it outside that house. The sorcerer began to call up the demons again; the demons, pushing him, told him[79] why they had come; then he began to ask him: "Why are you afraid of this, of this cross that we carry on us?" And he said: "It is a symbol of the heavenly God and our gods fear him". He said: "So what kind of gods are yours, where do they live?" He said: "Our gods live in the abysses. They are black, they have wings and tails; they rise under heaven, listening to your gods; as your gods are in heaven. And when one of your people dies, he is taken up to heaven; but when one of our people dies, then he is taken down to the abyss".

4.1.18 PVL, *col. 180–181*

This is the last account about sorcerers introduced in the year 1071 (6579). Once again, the texts highlight the opposition between the pagan sorcerers on the one hand, and the princes and the Church on the other.

Сиць бѣ вълхвъ въсталъ при Глѣбѣ Новѣгородѣ; глаголашеть бо людьмъ, творя ся акы Богъ, и мъногы прельсти, мало не весь града, глаголашеть бо, яко {про-вѣде вся / все вѣдаю} хуля вѣру хрьстияньскую, глаголашеть бо, яко "Преиду по Вълхову предъ вьсѣми". И бысть мятежь въ градѣ, и вьси яша ему вѣру, и хотяху побити епископа. Епископъ же, възьмъ крьстъ и обълкъ ся въ ризы, ста, рекъ: "Иже хощеть вѣру яти вълхву, тъ да за нь идеть; аще ли вѣруеть къто крьсту, да идеть". И раздѣлиша ся надъвое: къняз̀ь бо Глѣбъ и дружина его сташа у епископа, а людие вьси идоша за вълхва. И бысть мятежь великъ межю ими. Глѣбъ же възьма топоръ подъ скутъ, и приде къ вълхву и рече ему: "То вѣси ли, чьто утро хощеть быти, чьто ли до вечера?" Онъ же рече: "Провѣде вься" И рече Глѣбъ: "То вѣси ли, чьто хощеть дьньсь быти?" "Чюдеса велика сътворю". Глѣбъ же, выня топоръ, ростя и, и паде мьртвъ, и людие разидоша ся.

79 The interchangeable use of the third person singular and plural in these phrases throughout the manuscript leads to confusion.

There was in the time of Gleb a sorcerer in Novgorod. He spoke to people and behaved like God, and he inveigled many, almost all the city, as he said: "I know everything beforehand", and he slandered the Christian faith, saying: "I will cross the Volkhov before everyone". And there was an uprising in the city, and everyone believed him and wanted to kill the bishop. But the bishop, taking up the cross and donning his cassock, went and said: "He who wishes to believe in the sorcerer, let him stand behind him; but if he believes in the cross, then let him come hence".[80] And they were divided in two, as Prince Gleb and his armed retinue sided with the bishop, but all the people went behind the sorcerer, and a great uprising broke out among them. Gleb hid the axe beneath his cape and approached the sorcerer and said to him: "Do you know what will happen tomorrow and what before this evening?" And he said: "I can foresee everything". And Gleb said: "So you know what will happen today?" "I will work a great miracle". Gleb, removing the axe, drove him through, and he fell down dead.

4.1.19 PVL, *col. 208*

After the death of the previous metropolitan in 1089 (6597), Jan'ka, the stepsister of Vladimir II Monomakh and daughter of Vsevolod I, travelled to Constantinople. In 1090[81] (6598) she returned with a new metropolitan for Kiev. The following text speaks of this new metropolitan, John. Although we do not have data to interpret this passage, it is surprising that it alludes to the presence of a dead person among the living. Similarly, in 1092 there is a reference to dead people among the living, although in this case the dead kill the living.

Приведе Янъка митрополита Иоана скопьчину, егоже видѣвъше людие вьси рекоша: "Се мьртвьць пришьлъ". Отъ года бо до года пребывъ умре. Бѣ же сь мужь не къниженъ, нъ умъмь простъ и простор҃къ.

Jan'ka brought Metropolitan John, a eunuch, with her; on seeing him everyone said: "Behold, a dead person has come". He lived for one year and then he died. He was not an erudite man, but poor in spirit and simple in conversation.

80 I follow the version of Ostrowski-Birnbaum-Lunt (2003: 1458).

81 This news is hard to date because the year 1090 (6598) is only mentioned in H and Kh. Ostrowski-Birnbaum-Lunt (2003) date it in 1089. We opt for the dating of Müller (2001).

4.1.20 PVL, *col. 214*

The year 1091 (6599) is mostly dedicated to Feodosiy, the abbot of the Monastery of the Caves which bears his name (Monastery of the Caves of Saint Feodosiy). The author starts by giving a first-person account of how Feodosiy's relics were transferred to the church in the Monastery of the Caves, and shortly after introduces the following passage on two unconnected natural phenomena that provoke fear among the people. The image of an enormous snake falling from the sky is evocative, although we do not know its associations. There is also mention of another sorcerer, and although nothing is said about him, the fact that he is mentioned at all is another indication of the importance of these personages.

Въ сеже лѣто бысть, Вьсеволоду ловы дѣюцю звѣриныя за Вышегородъмь, заметавъшимъ тенета и {клиуаномъ / людьмъ} кликнувъшимъ, съпаде превеликъ змии съ небесе, и ужасоша ся вьси людие. Въ сеже время земля стукну, яко мънози слышаша. Въ сеже лѣто вълхвъ яви ся Ростовѣ, и погыбе.

In the same year it happened that Vsevolod was organising a wild beast hunt outside Vyšgorod, and after spreading the nets and shouting to the beaters, an enormous serpent fell from the sky and all the men were terrified. At the same time, the earth roared and many heard it. That same year a sorcerer appeared in Rostov, and died.

4.1.21 PVL, *col. 214–215*

1092 (6600) begins in the same tone as the end of 1091, that is, speaking of phenomena and strange and disturbing events. The first news account describes some demonic and ghostly troops that demolished several cities. This is one of the first medieval passages to contain the motif of the "infernal hunt",[82] a typical feature of the folklore of several Indo-European peoples. Immediately after comes a mention of a series of atmospheric phenomena that may have some relation—we do not know what—with the infernal hunt. In 1090 a reference has already been made to the presence of a dead person among the living, although he did not cause their death.

Предивьно бысть въ Полотьскѣ въ мьуьтѣ: в ноци бывъши тутънъ станяше, {по улици / полуноци} яко человѣци рыщуть бѣси. Аще къто вылѣзяше ис хоромины, хотя видѣти, абие уязвенъ бяше невидимо отъ бѣсовъ, и съ того умираху,

82 Cf. Lecouteux (1999: 31–32).

и не смяху излазити ис хоромъ. По семь же начаша въ дьне являти ся на конихъ, и не бѣ ихъ видѣти самѣхъ, нъ конь ихъ видѣти копыта. И тако уязвляху люди Полотьскыя и его область. Тѣмь и человѣци глаголаху: яко навие биють Полочаны. Се же знамение почя быти отъ Дрьютьска. Въ сиже времена бысть знамение въ небеси, яко кругъ бысть посредѣ неба превеликъ. Въ сеже лѣто ведро бяше, яко изгараше земля, и мъногы борове изгараху ся сами и болота; мъногы знамения бываху (…).

Something very strange occurred[83] in Polotsk, a hallucination: there was a noise during the night: demons were running through the street like people. If anyone came out of their house to look, they were immediately and invisibly wounded by the demons, and died of it,[84] and they did not dare leave their houses. Then they began to appear during the day on horseback, and they themselves could not be seen, but only their horses' hooves were visible. And this is how they wounded the people of Polotsk and of the region. And this is why the people said: "The dead[85] are slaying the people of Polotsk". This phenomenon began in Drjutsk.[86] In the same period there was a phenomenon in the sky, when a vast circle appeared in the middle of the sky. That year there was a drought, so the earth dried up and many forests and marshes caught fire. There were many phenomena (…).

4.1.22 PVL, *col. 261*

In the year 1097 (6605) the Ruriks were immersed in internal warfare. Brothers, uncles, cousins and nephews swore a peace before the cross, which was soon cut short by conspiracies. Davyd Igorevič was made to believe that Vasil'ko of Terebovl' had made an alliance with other family members against him. In the end, in spite of opposition from the Church and the people, Vasil'ko was blinded with a knife. After he was blinded he was presumed dead, and the handling of the supposed corpse partly recalls the procedure followed with the body of Vladimir I.

И томь часѣ бысть яко мьртвъ. И въземъше и на ковьрѣ възложиша и на кола яко мьртва, и повезоша и Володимирю.

83 L, R and A read "a very strange miracle".

84 I follow the reading of Ostrowski-Birnbaum-Lunt (2003: 1715).

85 The Old Church Slavonic word *navie* has the meaning of "spirits of the dead".

86 City on the upper course of the Druta, near Minsk.

And at that moment he became like a dead person. And they put him in the rug and placed him on the cart like a dead person and they took him to Vladimir.

4.1.23 PVL, *col. 278–279*

In the year 1114 (6622) the author introduces the following text borrowed from Malalas. What is interesting about it are the glosses[87] by the Slavic author to explain the correspondence between the East Slavic gods and the Greek divinities mentioned. Hephaestus is identified with Svarog. The son of Hephaestus, Helios, is identified with Dažbog, who was previously mentioned in Vladimir's pantheon in 980. Svarog is related with Hephaestus, therefore with fire, and Dažbog is considered his son.

И бысть по потопѣ и по раздѣленьи языкъ . почя цѣсарь ствовати первое Местромъ . от рода Хамова . по немь Еремия . по немь Феоста иже . и Соварога . нарекоша Егуптяне цѣсарьствующю. сему Феостѣ въ Егуптѣ въ время цѣсарьства его . спадоша клѣцѣ съ небесе нача ковати оружье прѣже бо того палицами и камениемъ бьяхуся . тъ же Феоста законъ . оустави женамъ за единъ мужь . посагати и ходити говеюци . а иже прелюбы дѣюци . казнити повелѣваше сего ради прозваше и богъ Сварогъ . преже бо сего жены блоудяху . к немуже хотяше и бяхоу . акы стотъ блудяше аще родяшеть дѣтиць . которыи ѣи любъ бываше . дашеть. се твое дѣтя . он же створяше празнество принимаше Феость же сь законъ . расыпа . и въстави единому мюжю едину жену имѣти . и женѣ . за одинъ моужь посагати . аще ли кто переступить да ввергнуть и в пещь огнену . сего ради прозваша и Сварогомъ . и блажиша и Егуптяне . и по семъ цѣсарьствова сынъ его именемъ Съланьце егоже нарицють . Дажьбогъ семъ тысящь и 400 и семъдесять дьнии яко быти лѣтома . двемадесятьма ти по лунѣ видяху бо Егуптяне . инии чисти ови по лунѣ чтяху .а друзии . дьньми лѣта чтяху . двою бо надесять мѣсяцю число потомъ оувѣдаша . отънелѣже . начаша человѣци дань давати цѣсаремъ Съланьце цѣсарь сынъ Свароговъ . еже есть Дажьбогъ бѣ бо мужь силенъ . слышавше нѣ отъ кого жену нѣкую . отъ Егуптянинъ . богату и всажену соущю . И нѣкоему въсхотѣвшю блудити с нею искаше ея яти ю хотя . И не хотя отьца своего закона расыпати Сварожа . поемъ со собою моужь неколко. своихъ . разумѣвъ годину . егда прелюбы дѣеть нощью припаде на ню не оудоси мужа с нею . а ону обрѣте лежащю съ инѣмъ с нимъ же хотяше емъ же ю и мучи и пусти ю водити по земли в

87 Authors such as Mansikka (1922: 66–75) debate the origin of these glosses. Mansikka considers that they were inserted in the HKh manuscript in the 13th century and that the theonyms were unknown to the chronicler. Due to their importance, we indicate these glosses in the translation by means of italics.

коризнѣ . а того любодѣица всѣкну и бысть чисто житье по всеи земли єгупетьскои . и хвалити начаша .

And after the flood and the division of the languages, the first to reign was Mestrom, of the line of Cam, after him Hermes, after him Hephaestus, *whom the Egyptians call Svarog*.[88] During the reign of this Hephaestus in Egypt, at the time of his reign, tongs fell from the sky and he began to[89] forge weapons, as before that they beat each other with sticks and stones. This Hephaestus established the law that women should marry a single man and behave in a chaste way, and he ordered that those who committed adultery should be punished. *For this reason he was also called the god Svarog, as before this women fornicated with whomsoever they wished and fornicated with cattle. If they gave birth to a child they gave it to whomsoever they wished: "Here is your child". And the person held a feast and accepted it. But Hephaestus eliminated this law and decreed that a man should have one wife, and that a woman should marry a single man, and that if anyone were to violate* (*that law*)*, they should be thrown into a fiery furnace; this is why he was called Svarog*, and the Egyptians blessed him. And after him reigned his son, called Sun,[90] *who was known as Daždbog*,[91] for seven thousand four hundred and seventy days, which make[92] twenty and a half years. Because neither the Egyptians (nor) others knew how to count; some counted by the moon and others counted the years by days; the figure of 12 months was known later, from the time that men began to pay tax to the emperors. The emperor Sun, son of *Svarog,*[93] *who is Daždbog*,[94] was a strong man. Having heard from someone that a certain Egyptian woman, who was rich and respected,[95] that someone wished to fornicate with her, he sought her to apprehend her so she did not break the law of her father *Svarog*. Taking with him some of his men, having discovered the moment at which the adultery would take place by night, he surprised her and did not find her husband with her but found her

88 "whom the Egyptians call Svarog" is a gloss to Malalas, a contribution either by the chronicler himself, or else by the translator to the Slavonic.

89 Kh reads "and they began". In Malalas the subject is Hephaestus.

90 Refers to Helios.

91 "whom they call Daždьbogъ" is a gloss either by the chronicler or by the translator to the Slavonic.

92 In the following phrases both H and Kh totally misinterpret the Greek text. For more details, cf. Müller (2001: 332–333).

93 In the Greek text: "This Helios, the son of Hephaestus".

94 "who is Daždьbogъ" is a gloss by the translator to the Slavonic or by the chronicler himself.

95 "respected" is missing in Kh.

lying with another, with who she wanted. He seized her and tortured her and ordered her to be taken around the country for opprobrium and he beheaded her lover. And life was pure in all Egypt, and they began to praise him.

4.2 *Memoir and Encomium of Prince Vladimir Including the Life of Vladimir*

The *Memoir and encomium of Prince Vladimir*, as it has come down to us in the oldest copies from the 15th century, is in fact a conglomerate of texts that contained the *Memoir and encomium* itself, which as it says in its heading was written by the monk Jacob, an *Encomium of Princess Olga*, a *Prayer of Prince Vladimir* and a *Life of Vladimir*. According to Šakhmatov (1908b: 1044–1052), this is the oldest version of the *Life of Vladimir*, composed in the late 12th or early 13th century. It was subsequently added to the text of the *Memoir and encomium* along with the *Encomium of Princess Olga*, after having undergone some retouching by the compiler (Šakhmatov 1908b: 1045, n. 2). The author of the *Memoir and encomium of Prince Vladimir* has been identified as the monk Jacob in the Kiev Monastery of the Caves mentioned in 1074 in the *Tale of Bygone Years* (Šakhmatov 1916: 186–187), although this is only a supposition (Korpela 2001: 40–42). According to the chronicle, the monk Jacob came from the monastery of Al'ta,[96] from where he arrived at the Kiev Monastery of the Caves with his brother Paul. The Al'ta monastery was subsequently dedicated to saints Boris and Gleb, who were canonised in 1072. This concurs with the information that appears at the start of the *Memoir and encomium*, where its "humble" author, the monk Jacob, claims to have also written a narrative on the sons of Vladimir, the martyrs Boris and Gleb (Hollingsworth 1992: 165). According to this identification, the composition of this *Memoir and encomium* dates from the second half of the 11th century and is related with the campaign in favour of the canonisation of Prince Vladimir (Vodoff 1988/1989: 460–462).

However, scholars do not agree on when the canonisation of Vladimir took place. It is known with certainty that it was not shortly after his death in 1015 (Butler 2002: 58). The reasons proposed for the delay in this canonisation include the absence of recognised miracles, Prince Vladimir's reputation as a sinner during his life as a pagan, the reluctance of the church authorities in Constantinople, and the loss of interest in the figure of Vladimir from the 12th century onward (Butler 2002: 57–67). With regard to the date and place

96 Летьца (Šakhmatov 1916: 187).

of canonisation, there are two possible hypotheses. On the one hand, Fennell (1988: 304; 1995: 60) places it at the council convened in Kiev by the Metropolitan Maksim in 1284, some years before the metropolitan seat was moved to the north-eastern city of Vladimir on the Kljazma, near Moscow, in 1299. Unfortunately, the chronicles do not make any mention of the matters that were discussed in the council. Butler (2002: 68–82) suggests the possibility that this was an initial canonisation of a local nature that took place in the north-western city of Novgorod in around 1311, coinciding with the construction of a church in the city in honour of Prince Vladimir, as described in the *First Chronicle of Novgorod* (Nasonov 1950: 93, 334). Butler bases his hypothesis on the fact that most of the copies of both the *Memoir and encomium* and the surviving liturgical orders dedicated to the feast of Saint Vladimir come from the geographic area around Novgorod, and reveal linguistic features that are typical of its specific dialect. Therefore, and following Bugoslavskij (1925: 131–138), Butler (2002: 77) dates the compilation of the *Memoir and encomium* to the late 13th or early 14th century. In spite of this, some of its parts are older than the *PVL* and the *Sermon on Law and Grace* by Metropolitan Hilarion (see texts 4.1. and 4.6.), and draw from sources that are contemporary with its own, and present additional information.

It is in this composite form that the *Memoir and encomium of Prince Vladimir* appears along with the *Life of Vladimir* in the Russian menologues[97] for the feast of 15 July, which commemorated the death of Prince Vladimir of Kiev in 1015. This can be seen for example in the *Soloveckij Sbornik*[98] of 1494, published by Sreznevskij (1897: 2–12), and in the *Egorovskij Sbornik*,[99] edited by Zimin (1963: 67–75), and which is the oldest surviving copy, dating from 1470s according to Zimin (1963: 66).

Edition used: Sreznevskij (1897: 2–12).
Other editions: Golubinskij (1901: 225–238, 238–245), Zimin (1963: 67–75).
References: Bugoslavskij (1925), Butler (2002: 57–82), Hollingsworth (1992: lxxxi–xcv, 165–181), Šakhmatov (1908b), Serebrjanskij (1915: 17–21), Zimin (1963).

97 Liturgical book consisting of a collection of the lives of saints ordered according to the feast days for the month in the liturgical calendar.
98 Manuscript No. 616 (518) of the Coll. Sol., f. 340–371.
99 Manuscript No. 637 of the Coll. Egor., f. 529–543.

4.2.1 Memoir and Encomium of Prince Vladimir, *f. 341v*

The fragment we offer below belongs to the *Memoir and encomium of Prince Vladimir* itself, and is part of a brief account of the baptism of Prince Vladimir and the forced conversion of his kingdom to Christianity, a praiseworthy action in the view of the author of the work, who was indirectly endorsing his subject's sainthood. Vladimir is subsequently praised as an "apostle among princes", for his role in introducing Christianity into Rus', and is compared to King David and the Emperor Constantine the Great as in the *Sermon on Law and Grace* by Metropolitan Hilarion (see text 4.6.).

[…] Крⷭ̃ти же и всю землю Роуськоую ѿ конца и до конца, и поганьскыа богы, паче же и бѣсы, Пероуна и Хърса и ины многы попра, fol. 342r. и скроуши идолы, и ѿверже всю безбожноую лесть, и црⷦ̃кви созда каменноу во има прⷭ̃тыа Бц̃а, привѣжище и спснїе дш̃амъ вѣрнымъ, и десатиноу еи вда, тѣмъ попы набдѣти и сироты и вдовиⷣа и ницаа.

He also baptised the whole of the land of Rus' from one end to the other, and trampled on the pagan gods, and the demons Perun and Khors and many others, and destroyed the idols and rejected all impious deceit, building a stone church dedicated to the Holy Mother of God, a refuge and salvation for devoted souls, and delivering a tithe with which the priests can care for orphans, widows and the poor.

4.2.2 Life of Vladimir, *f. 369r*

This passage is included in the *Life of Vladimir* that accompanies the *Memoir and encomium of Prince Vladimir* in the Russian menologues. It appears immediately after the account of the baptism of Prince Vladimir in the Greek city of Chersonesus in modern-day Crimea, and before the narration of the forced conversion of the Kievans through their collective baptism in the River Pochaina,[100] a tributary of the Dnieper in the Kiev foothills. In its essential aspects it coincides with the account of the conversion in the *PVL s. a.* 6496, that is, in 988, and according to our chronology, with the exception of some details (cf. text 4.1.10.).

100 Small tributary whose waters flow into the River Dnieper as it passes through Kiev. It was used as a natural port. It was separated from the Dnieper by only a sandbank, and in the 18th century the municipal government embarked on a project to link the two by opening a channel through the sandbank, with the unexpected result that the Pochaina disappeared, as it became assimilated by the flow of the Dnieper.

[...] А самъ, в Кїевѣ вше^{A}, повелѣ испроврещи и избити коумиры, wвы исъсѣщи, а иныа иж'жещи, а Волоса идола, его же именоваxоу скотьа бг̅а, велѣ в Почаиноу рѣкоу въврещи, Пероуна же повелѣ привазати къ коневи xвостоу и влещи с горы по Боричевоу на роучьи, а слоугы пристави бити идолы жезлїемъ; се^{ж} не ꙗко древоу чююцоу, но на пороуганїе бѣсоу, иже прелщаше ны симъ wбразомъ. Плаkаxоу же сѧ его невѣрнїи людїе, еще бо бaxоу не прїали сг̅го крщ̅енїа. И привлекше коумира Пероуна, въвергоша и в' Днѣпръ рѣкоу, и пропли пороги, извѣрже и вѣтръ на брегъ, и wтолѣ прослоу Пероуна гора.

And he himself (Vladimir), on entering Kiev, ordered the idols to be destroyed and beaten, breaking some and burning others, but he ordered the idol of Volos,[101] who was known as the god of cattle, to be thrown into the River Pochaina, and the idol of Perun to be tied to a horse's tail and dragged down the mountain by Borichev[102] towards the river, appointing servants to strike the idols with sticks: this was not because the wood could feel, but to outrage the devil for deceiving us in that way. The infidels wept over this, as they had not yet received holy baptism. And dragging the idol of Perun, they threw it into the River Dnieper, where it was tossed on the rapids and thrown by the wind against the shore, which became known henceforth as the mountain of Perun.[103]

4.2.3 Life of Vladimir, *f. 369v*

The context is the same as in the previous text, and the fragment is from the *Life of Vladimir*, and specifically from the passage immediately after the forced conversion of the Kievans by Prince Vladimir in 988. The information it provides fully concurs with that of the *PVL* (Šakhmatov 1916: 118).

101 This allusion to the god Volos does not appear in the *PVL* (see texts 4.1.8. and 4.1.10.), which does however mention the other gods in Vladimir's pantheon: Perun, Khors, Daždbog, Stribog, Simargl and Mokoš. This absence was particularly relevant, especially in view of the fact that Volos is mentioned in the *PVL* as the "god of cattle" along with the supreme god Perun, as the guarantors of the oaths in the peace treaties signed by the Rus' with the Greeks in the years 907 (6415) and 971 (6479) (see texts 4.1.2. and 4.1.7.). This absence may be due to the fact that the idol of Volos was not placed on the top of the mountain like the rest of the gods in Vladimir's pantheon, but in the lower city, or Podol, beside the River Pochaina.

102 Sloping street which descended from the upper part of the city of Vladimir on the top of a hill, to the lower part or Podol.

103 This is the other main divergence from the text of the *PVL* (see text 4.1.10.). This last, instead of the "mountain of Perun" presented in the *Life of Vladimir*, refers to the "sandbank" on which the idol of Perun washed up after having been thrown into the Dnieper and been tossed around on the rapids in the lower course of the river.

[…] И повелѣ крⷭ̃тьаномъ ставити цр̃кви по тѣмъ мѣстомъ, идеже коумири стоали; а самъ постави церковь стг̃го Василїа на холмѣ, идеже стоалъ Пероунъ идолъ.

And he ordered the Christians to build churches in the places there had (previously) been idols; and he himself built the church of Saint Basil[104] on the hill where the idol of Perun was.

4.3 *Tale of Igor's Campaign*

The *Tale of Igor's Campaign* (*Slovo o Polku Igoreve*) is a key work in Kievan literature, while also problematic. The controversy over its authenticity, in which the latest (or penultimate) assault is the book by Keenan (2003), which attributes its authorship to the 18th-century Czech philologist Josef Dobrovský, has been a constant in medieval Slavic studies in the 20th century. The linguistic evidence supplied by the detailed study of the birch-bark texts in Novgorod has succeeded in resolving the debate for the time being, as the linguistic forms found in the poem evidence a stage of development of the language, corroborated by the birch-bark texts, that would be very difficult to reconstruct subsequently (Zaliznjak 2004, Strakhov 2004) in any hypothetical falsification.

The *Tale* narrates the defeat of Prince Igor of Novgorod-Seversk against the Polovtsians in 1185, a historical event confirmed in both the Hypatian (*PSRL T. 2 Ipat'evskaja letopis*: cols. 628–651) and the Laurentian chronicles (*PSRL T.1 Lavrent'evskaja letopis*: cols. 394–400). However we only have the edition made in 1800 of a 16th-century manuscript belonging to the collection of Count Musin-Puškin which disappeared in the Moscow fire of 1812. The controversy arises precisely due to this lack of old testimony, and to the abundant parallels between the *Tale* and another epic work that is reliably substantiated, the *Zadonščina*.

The *Tale* itself has a large number of particularities that prevent its full inclusion in the literary universe of Kievan Rus'. On the one hand, it lacks the strong Christian element that can be seen in both the written and oral epic, with refer-

104 The dedication of the church to Saint Basil is no coincidence, as this was Vladimir's own Christian name, and that of his brother-in-law and godfather, the Byzantine emperor Basil II (976–1025). It could also implicitly refer to the function of sovereignty embodied by the god Perun, although his most frequent Christian equivalent was the Old Testament prophet Elijah, and the wooden church dedicated to Saint Elijah that existed in Kiev at the time of Prince Igor, Vladimir's grandfather (see text 4.1.5.).

ences to pagan gods associated to the reigning princes. This would not perhaps be so surprising in view of the fact that it is the first epic poem in Russian literature, but it is if we consider it was written after Hilarion's *Sermon on Law and Grace*, for example.

The iconography and symbology are also unusual. Both the Rusians and the Polovtsians are identified with different kinds of birds or with other animals, creating a series of images that are present—although much more moderately—in the rest of the Russian epic.

The key to this imagery can be found in a special type of metaphor, possibly borrowed from the Scandinavian oral literature at the time of the Varangian colonisation, which we know by the name of *kenningar*. *Kenningar* is the plural of the aisl. word *kenning*, meaning "symbol". *Kenning* designates the reference by posing an enigma that is resolved either through knowledge of an anecdote affecting the reference, or through a related similarity, or through the synecdoche of the part with the whole. The vast majority of the references to Slavic paganism we find in the *Tale*, and particularly the theonyms, are *kenningar*, and in most cases we do not have the interpretative keys that allow us to make sense of the metaphor. It is also possible that even the composer himself did not know them, and used them simply as resources for literary expressiveness. This is evident in the references to Div, who, although his etymology identifies him as a theonym of venerable Indo-European antiquity, sometimes simply appears to play the role of a bird of ill omen.

Edition used: Zaliznjak (2004), que sigue la edición de Jakobson (1966).
Other editions: Berelowitch-Cazacu-Gonneau (1998: 30), Adrianova-Peretz (1950).
References: Cooper (1978), Jakobson (1966), Franklin (2005), Keenan (2003), San Vicente-Navtavóvich (2008), Zaliznjak (2004), Zimin (2006).

4.3.1 Tale of Igor's Campaign *14*

An invocation is made to the old poet Boján, whom the author of the *Tale* proposes as a model of oral literature in the manner of the ancestors.

О, Бояне, соловию стараго врѣмене ⟨веремене⟩! абы ты сиѣ пѣлкы вѣщекоталь, скаꙗ, славию ⟨соловию⟩, мыслыну дрѣву ⟨дереву⟩, лѣтая умъмь подъ облакы ⟨оболокы⟩, съвивая славы оба полы сего врѣмене ⟨веремене⟩, рищя въ тропу Трояню чрѣсъ ⟨чересъ⟩ поля на горы.

O Boján, nightingale of bygone times! If only you had sung those campaigns, climbing the tree of thought, soaring with your mind beyond the clouds, braid-

ing the glories of the two halves of this time, following the path of Trojan.[105] This is how his son would have sung[106] the *Tale of Igor* (…) Or he would perhaps have begun to sing thus, o wise Boján, son of Veles.[107]

4.3.2 Tale of Igor's Campaign *28–29*

Prince Igor sets out and the evil omens begin to occur.

свистъ звѣринъ въ сьта съби. Дивъ кличеть вьрху дрѣва ⟨дерева⟩

The whistle reverberated around the flocks of animals. Div[108] shrieks from the top of the tree.

4.3.3 Tale of Igor's Campaign *48*

The battle begins and the unlucky omens continue.

Се вѣтри, Стрибожи ⟨/Стьри-?⟩ вѣнуци, вѣють съ моря стрѣлами на храбрыѣ ⟨хоробрыѣ⟩ пълкы Игоревы.

Now the winds, sons of Stribog, blow from the sea like arrows on the valiant campaign of Igor.

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105 Supposed Slavic divinity who is also mentioned in several apocryphal texts collected in this anthology (Buslaev 1861: 5). On the mentions of the theonym in the *Tale of Igor's Campaign* see Adrianova-Peretz (1950: 11, 15, 17, 25). Most researchers (Adrianova-Peretz 1950: 383, Mansikka 1922: 289) consider this character to be the deification of the Roman Emperor Trajan (98–117 A.D.). In fact, the *Sermon and Apocalypse of the Holy Apostles* clearly states "*Troęn'* was emperor in Rome" (Buslaev 1861: 5), but there are opinions to suit everyone (Danilevskij 1858, Smirnov 1900: 78–79, Sokolova 1995: 131–137). According to Mansikka (1922: 203, 284–285, 288–289), the mention of Trojan by other works is an interpolation with a Southern Slavic origin, as he believes that in the oral tradition of the Bulgars the memory of the Roman emperor would have been maintained as a mythical personage.

106 Prolepsis referring to Veles.

107 Etymologically it appears to refer to Volos, whom we have seen mentioned in the PVL as the god of cattle (text 4.1.2.). However, in the *Tale* he is clearly a divinity who patronises poetic composition. The link established by other Indo-European divinities such as Varuna between the flock and poetic composition appears to derive from the metaphor that the poet patiently awaits the arrival of words like the shepherd awaits his flock.

108 The role of Div appears to be reduced to that of an owl or a bird of ill omen. However, this passage is given renewed interest due to its comparison with the zoomorphic god that appears in a western Slavic text, the *Chronicle of Dalimil* (text 5.1.5.) and the assumption that this theonym may be borrowed from the Iranian, as in Zoroastrianism the *daēvas* are interpreted as demons.

4.3.4 Tale of Igor's Campaign *57*

The feats of the heroes in the battle are described and a reference is made to glorious times in the past.

Были сѣчѣ Троянѣ, минула лѣта Ярославля.

The times of Trojan passed,[109] the years of Yaroslav declined.

4.3.5 Tale of Igor's Campaign *64*

The background of the reigning dynasty of Kiev is recounted: internal discord always leads to defeat.

Тъгда, при Ользѣ Горославичи, сѣяшеть ся и растяшеть ⟨рост-⟩ усобицями; погыбашеть жизнь Дажьбожя вънука, въ къняжихъ крамолахъ ⟨коромолахъ⟩ вѣци человѣкомъ съкратишя ⟨-коротишя⟩ ся.

Then, during the reign of Oleg, son of the Unfortunate, the seed of discord was sown and flourished, the life of the son of Dažbog was extinguished,[110] amid the internal struggles of the princes, curtailing their future generations.

4.3.6 Tale of Igor's Campaign *76*

Lament for the fate of Rus': Igor has been defeated.

Въстала обида въ силахъ Дажьбожя вънука; въступила дѣвою на землю Трояню.

The troops of the son of Dažbog were overcome with sorrow, humiliation entered the lands of Trojan.[111]

4.3.7 Tale of Igor's Campaign *93–102*

The court in Kiev awaits news of the outcome of the battle. Prince Svjatoslav has a revelatory dream that announces the defeat. He consults his boyars to help decipher the dream.

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109 The theonym refers to the times of the pagan past.

110 The theonym serves as a *kenning* to designate the princes of the states of Rus'.

111 Trojan, which in other passages refers to the period of paganism, here simply acts as an echo of the theonym Dažbog; that is, it refers to the heroic princes of Rus', and specifically to Igor.

А Святославъ мутьнъ сънъ видѣ. “Въ Кыевѣ на горахъ си ноць съ вечера одѣвахуть мя—рече—чьрною паполомою на кровати тисовѣ. Чрпахуть ми синее вино съ трудомь съмѣшено. Сыпахуть ми тѣщими тулы поганыхъ Тълковинъ великыи жьньчюгъ на лоно. И нѣгують мя: уже дъскы бес кънѣса въ моемь теремѣ златовьрсѣмь ⟨золото-⟩. Вьсю ноць ⟨ночь⟩ съ вечера бусови врани ⟨вороны⟩ възграяху. У Плѣсньска на болони бѣшя дьбрьскы сани, и несошя ѣ къ синему морю.” И рекошя бояре княземъ: “Уже, княже, туга умъ полонила. Се бо дъва сокола сълетѣста съ отьня стола злата ⟨золота⟩ поискати града ⟨города⟩ Тъмутороканя, а любо испити шеломъмь Дону: уже соколома крильця припѣшяли поганыхъ саблями, а самою опуташа въ путины желѣзны.”

And Svjatoslav had a disturbing dream with a vision: “In the city of Kiev on the hills tonight, from dusk”, he said, “they have wrapped me in a black shroud on a board of yew. They served me poisoned young wine. From the quivers of the nomadic pagans they drew pearls and placed them on my breast and sought to calm me. The walls of the golden domes are already peeling. All night since dusk, the crows of Bus have not ceased to caw. Two captives beside Plesensk were brutally taken to the place where the river flows into the sea and thrown to the bottom of the blue sea” And the boyars said to the prince: “Anguish has taken hold of our minds, prince. Two falcons flew out of the golden throne of your lord in search of the city of Tmutorokan, or perhaps to fill our helmets in the Don. And the wings of the two falcons were transfixed by the pagans’ swords, and the birds became trapped in the chain mail”.

4.3.8 Tale of Igor’s Campaign *106–108*

On the third day, an eclipse presages defeat.

Уже сънесе ся хула на хвалу. Уже трѣсну нужя на волю. Уже вьрже ся Дивъ на землю.

Now shame overcame supplication, now necessity struck over freedom, now Div threw himself to earth.

4.3.9 Tale of Igor’s Campaign *152–153*

There is a call for reconciliation between the descendants of Yaroslav the Wise and Vseslav of Polotsk.

на седмомь ⟨семомь⟩ вѣцѣ земли Трояни. Вьрже Всеславъ жрѣбии ⟨жеребии⟩ о дѣвицю ⟨/дѣльницю?⟩ себѣ ⟨собѣ⟩ любу.

In Trojan's seventh century on earth,[112] Vseslav cast lots to take the maiden away with him.[113]

4.3.10 Tale of Igor's Campaign *159*

Deeds of Prince Vseslav.

Вьсеславъ къняз҃ь суд҃яше, къняземь грады ⟨городы⟩ рядяше, а самъ въ ночь вълкъмь рискаше: ис Кыева дорискаше до куръ Тъмутороканя, великому Хърсови вълкъмь путь прѣрискаше ⟨пере-⟩.

Prince Vseslav was a judge for his subjects, he distributed cities among princes, but by night he ran like a wolf, from Kiev he ran to Tmutorokan, before the cock crowed, as a wolf he ran along the road of the great Khors.

4.4 *Statute of the Holy Prince Vladimir, Who Baptised the Land of the Rus', on the Ecclesiastical Judgements*

The historiographical tradition coined the concept of *dvoeverie* or "dual-faith". According to this, after the christening of Prince Vladimir I in 988, in the primitive East Slavic state of Kievan Rus' the population conserved numerous beliefs and customs of pagan origin alongside the official religion. However, Rock (2007) has shown that the so-called "double faith" is nothing more than a propagandistic concept of Eastern Slavic Christian apologists: The so-called pagan practices are no more than folk customs not sanctioned by Christian authorities. The intended popularity of these pagan traditions accounts for the repeated prohibitions we find in Russian Church law over several centuries, extending as far as the 16th and 17th centuries.

Slavic legal literature, as is the case of all other literary genres, is originally a translated literature and in the case of the East Slavs who concern us here, the source literature could only be Byzantine, as it was within the sphere of influence of the Greek Orthodox Church.

Thus the Byzantine legal text *par excellence*, the *Nomocanon*,[114] was among those that enjoyed the greatest success in the Slavic orthodox world, and was revised and extended on numerous occasions until the 17th century. In fact,

112 In the final days of paganism.
113 He attempted to conquer the city of Kiev.
114 Code of canonical and civil law.

Saint Methodius translated it during his evangelising mission in Great Moravia in the second half of the ninth century. In chapter XV.5 of the *Vita Methodii* it is mentioned as *Zakonu pravilo*, "the rule of law" (Álvarez-Pedrosa Núñez—Santos Marinas, in press), and is assumed to be an abbreviated version of the *Synagogè canonum of the 50 titles* by John Scholasticus (sixth century), although no document from that period survives (Ščapov—Beljakova 2006: 477).

It is known that the revision of the *Nomocanon* attributed to Patriarch Photius[115] was translated in Bulgaria in the reign of Tsar Simeon in the early 10th century, and from there was conveyed to Kievan Rus' as confirmed by manuscripts from the 13th century. This is the first version of what was known as the *Kormčaja kniga* or "Book of the helmsman" (Ščapov—Beljakova 2006: 482–483).

In the early 13th century, this Slavic version of the *Nomocanon* was revised by Saint Sava of Serbia, who included a translation of the *Prókheiron* (9th-century Byzantine civil code), and the comments of John Zonaras. In 1262 the Bulgarian Despot of Russian origin Jakov Svjatoslav commissioned a copy of the *Kormčaja* from Saint Sava for Metropolitan Cyril II of Kiev, which was widely disseminated throughout the lands of Rus' (Ščapov—Beljakova 2006: 484–486).

It was precisely here where the old *Kormčaja* and the *Kormčaja* of Saint Sava were merged, also in the 13th century, giving rise to what was known as the *Kormčaja* in its Russian version. This included for the first time original works on Russian legislation such as the *Pravda Russkaja*,[116] various princely statutes relating to ecclesiastical courts, the canonical epistles from the Russian Metropolitans Ilya II, Cyril II and Bishop Niphont of Novgorod, and penitential texts, among others. Several versions survive from this period such as the *Kormčaja* of Novgorod of 1280 and the *Kormčaja* of Rjazan of 1284, although as we have said, it continued to be revised and expanded until the 17th century.

It is in these compilations where we find most of the allusions to the vestiges of paganism among the East Slavs, in addition to in the *Stoglav*, the *Book of One Hundred Chapters* from the council held in Moscow in 1551 at the initiative of Tsar Ivan IV "the Terrible" (see 4.42).

The document known as the *Statute of Prince Vladimir on ecclesiastical judgements*, which was enacted by this prince shortly after his baptism in 988, has come down to us in the version of the *Kormčaja kniga* produced for the

115 *Syntagma of the 14 titles*.

116 Literally "Russian Truth", compiled during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise in the first half of the 11th century.

cathedral of Saint Sophia in Novgorod during the mandate of its Archbishop Clement (1276–1299), and was subsequently conserved in the Moscow Synodal Library, in Ms No. 132.

Edition used: Golubinskij (1901: 621–627).
Other editions: Goetz (1905: 12–18), Janin (1984: 139–151), Kaiser (1992: 42–44), Ščapov (1976: 14–84), Szeftel (1963: 234–238).
References: Goetz (1910), Golubinskij (1901), Ščapov—Beljakova (2006).

4.4.1 Statute of the Holy Prince Vladimir, Who Baptised the Land of the Rus', on Ecclesiastical Judgements, *9*

This oldest copy of the *Statute of the holy Prince Vladimir* deals with the following subjects: Vladimir's receipt of Christianity from the Greeks and the acceptance of the first Greek Metropolitan of Kiev; the building in Kiev of the church of the Holy Mother of God or "Church of the Tithes", and Vladimir's institution of the donation of this tithe; the allocation to the Metropolitan and the bishops of the responsibility for judging known civil matters and known criminal offences by the secular population, with the insistent oath and exhortation of the Prince to his employees and descendants not to offend the ecclesiastical court; the allocation to the bishops of the responsibility for weights and measures in all the city markets; the allocation to the bishops of complete jurisdiction (in all matters) over the lower clergy and over some other persons; the allocation to the bishops of the responsibility for administering charitable institutions with a further oath and exhortation not to offend the ecclesiastical court. It also specifies the crimes to be judged by the ecclesiastical courts, which are extremely varied and also include some practices of pagan origin. From the legal nature of the texts, it can be assumed that the mentions of paganism refer to customs rather than beliefs.

А се церковнии суди: роспуст, смилное, заставанье, пошиванье, умычка, промежи мужем и женою о животе, в племени или в сватьстве поимуться, ведьство, зелиниичьство, потвори, чародеяния, волхования, урекания три: блядиею и зельи, еретичьство, зубоежа, или сын отца бьеть, или матерь, или дчи, или снъха свекровь, братя или дети тяжются о задницю, церковная татба, мертвеци сволочать, крест посекуть или на стенах режють, скот или псы, или потъкы без великы нужи въведет, или ино что неподобно церкви подееть, или два друга иметася бити, единого жена иметь за лоно другаго и роздавить, или кого застануть с четвероножиною, или кто молиться под овином, или в рощеньи, или у воды, или девка детя повьржеть.

And these are the ecclesiastical judgements: repudiation, lust, rape, abduction,[117] disagreements between spouses over property, marriage between relatives, witchcraft, preparing herbs and potions, spells, magic, three reproaches: charlatans, witch doctors and enchanters,[118] anyone who bites,[119] or the son who strikes his father, or the daughter her mother, or the daughter-in-law her mother-in-law, siblings or children who litigate over inheritance, ecclesiastical theft, grave robbery, the carving or cutting of crosses on walls,[120] introducing cattle, dogs, or birds without supreme necessity into the church, or introducing any other inappropriate item, or for two friends to fight and for the wife of one to seize the other around the waist and crush him, or if someone is caught with a quadruped, or if someone prays beneath the granary[121] or in the forest or in the water,[122] or for a maid to cause harm to a child;[123]

117 Word written above the line in the manuscript.

118 According to Casas Olea (2013: 47), "in northern Russia from the 16th and 17th centuries, the heterogeneous group of those possessed by the devil—sorcerers, witch doctors and witches—are all called heretics (*eretik, eretnik, erestun*), and characterised as appearing after their death as bloodsucking vampires".

119 The *Joasafskaja* version clarifies "he who bites in a fight" (Golubinskij 1901: 624, n. 3), but as it appears after the word *eretičʹstvo*, whose meaning is explained in the previous note, this suggests a possible relation with vampires or dead enchanters who are not at rest.

120 This refers to demolishing crosses found both on the ground, for example on tombs or beside roads, and on the walls of churches (Golubinskij 1901: 624, n. 9).

121 The word *ovinŭ* translated as "granary" can also have the meaning "oven for drying cereals". This meaning is more evident in the mention made in the ***Sermon by One Who Loves Christ and Is a Jealous Defender of the Righteous Faith*** (text 4.26.). The custom of praying under the oven is also mentioned in the *Sermon by our holy father John Chrysostom on how the first pagans believed in idols* (text 4.24.). We believe this to be possibly an agrarian rite related to the harvest, particularly if we take into account the statement found in the ***Sermon by Saint Gregory, Found in the Comments, on How the Ancient Nations, When Pagan, Worshipped Idols and Offered Sacrifices to Them*** (text 4.22.) which says: "Fire dries and ripens this abundance." This is completed in another manuscript with the interpolation "and the fire god when dries the grain, then it produces abundance." This therefore refers to the worship of fire for its role in ripening the crop.

122 The custom of praying in a forest or in the water is mentioned in numerous texts (cf. texts 4.22. and 4.24.), and refers to the worship of the minor divinities of the natural elements.

123 Possible allusion to abortion.

4.5 *Church Statute of Prince Yaroslav*

What was known as the *Church statute of Prince Yaroslav* is later, and was less widely disseminated than the *Statute of the holy Prince Vladimir* discussed in the previous text (see 4.4.), and has come down to us in fewer copies, none of which dates from before the 15th century. Although its authorship is attributed to Prince Yaroslav I "the Wise" of Kiev (1019–1054), son of Prince Vladimir I, according to Golubinskij (1901: 628), the authenticity of this authorship was cast into doubt even by the representatives of the church powers and the copyists of the various versions of the *Kormčaja kniga* (see text 4.4.) that incorporated it. Reliable evidence of this is the fact that the *Stoglav* (see 4.42.) included the *Statute of Prince Vladimir* in its chapter 63, but not the *Statute of Prince Yaroslav* (Golubinskij 1901: 628, n. 3). One of the elements that raises most doubts in this regard is the double punishment incurred by the crimes: an economic fine for the bishop and the punishment decreed by the prince. It is highly unlikely that the high sums of the fines for the crimes, and which were specified in grivnas,[124] referred to the period of Yaroslav himself.

The different copies of the *Statute of Prince Yaroslav* can be distinguished from each other by the introduction and conclusion, and by the different number and order of points into which the crimes the prince allocates to the judgement of the metropolitan and bishops are divided.

The oldest copy, the one edited by Golubinskij (1901: 629–638) that we reproduce here, was found in the *Soloveckaja Kormčaja*, which dates from 1493 (Golubinskij 1901: 629). Golubinskij also presents the variants from another four copies: the one contained in the *Chronicle of Perejaslavl'-Suzdal'*, the one included in the *Rumjancevskaja Kormčaja*, the one found in the *First Chronicle of the Cathedral of Saint Sophia of Novgorod*, and the one published by Karamzin following unknown copies. All of these date from the 16th century.

Edition used:

Other editions: Dmytryshyn (1991: 41, 45), Janin (1984: 167–193), Kaiser (1992: 45–50), Ščapov (1976: 85–135), Szeftel (1963: 251–262), Vernadsky (1972: 39–40).

References: Goetz (1910), Golubinskij (1901), Ščapov—Beljakova (2006).

124 Official currency of the former medieval state of Kievan Rus' and the contemporary state of Ukraine.

4.5.1 Church Statute of Prince Yaroslav *35, 39, 48, 50, 58*

The following fragments belong to the oldest surviving copy contained in the *Soloveckaja Kormčaja*, which dates from 1493, as published by Golubinskij (1901: 629–638). This oldest version contains 59 points or crimes to be judged by the ecclesiastical court plus an introduction and conclusion or epilogue which is not present in other copies, such as the copy in the *Rumjancevskaja Kormčaja*. The content of the crimes to be judged is very varied, covering everything from abduction and dishonouring the daughters of boyars through to the motives for repudiating one's wife, and including crimes related with different types of incest, robbery, bestiality, adultery, fornication between monks and nuns, and all types of cohabitation with Jews, Muslims, pagans or the unbaptised in general. Some crimes relating to pagan practices can also be deduced, such as those listed below.

35. Аще кто иметь красти свадебное и сговорное,—все митрополиту. А оже про дѣвку (сыръ) краянъ будетъ, за сыръ гривну, а за срамъ ей 3 гривны, а что потеряно, то ей заплатити, а митрополиту 6 гривенъ, а князь казнить.

35. If someone steals (the dowry) from the bride and groom and for the marriage, everything (corresponds) to the Metropolitan. He who offers (cheese) for a maiden,[125] one grivna for the cheese, three grivnas for the dishonour and repayment of what has been lost, six grivnas for the Metropolitan, and the Prince shall impose a punishment.

39. Аще жена будеть чародѣйница или наузница и вълъхва или зелейница, или мужъ: доличивъ казнить ю, а не лишится, митрополиту 6 гривенъ.

39. If the woman is a sorceress, makes ligations, is a magician or witch doctor, the husband, when he discovers her, should punish her and not lose her, and 6 grivnas to the Metropolitan.

48. Аще кто поганое ясть по своей воли,—или кобылину или медвѣдину или иное что отреченное, митрополиту въ винѣ и въ казни.

125 Golubinskij (1901: 635, n. 5) interprets this as the bridegroom's rejection of the bride once the engagement has been formalised in the betrothal, but it is more likely to be the practice of sealing this engagement through the pagan custom of offering cheese. Cf. Offering of bread, cheese and honey to Rod and the Rožanicy in the ***Questions of Cyricus, Sava and Ilya to Bishop Niphont of Novgorod*** (text 4.10.).

48. If anyone eats pagan through their own will, both mare and bear meat, his fault and his punishment (corresponds) to the Metropolitan.

50. А съ некрещенымъ или иноязычникомъ или отъ нашего языка не крещенъ будетъ, ни ясти ни пити съ нимъ, дондеже крестится; а вѣдая кто ясть или піеть, да будетъ митрополиту въ вини.

50. If someone is with a foreigner or with one of our people who is unbaptised, they should not eat or drink with them until they are baptised; and knowing of someone who eats or drinks, their fault shall be for the Metropolitan.

53. (…) А сими винами разлучити мужа съ женою: (…)

53. (…) And these are the motives for repudiating a wife: (…)

58. А се 5 вина. Аще жена иметь, опроче мужа своего волѣ, ходити по игрищамъ или во дни или въ ноши, а мужь иметь съчивати, а она не послушаетъ: разлучити ю.

58. And this is the fifth cause: if the woman, against the will of her husband, goes to the games[126] either by day or by night, and the husband exhorts her (not to go) and she does not heed him, he should repudiate her.

4.6 *Sermon on Law and Grace by Metropolitan Hilarion*

Metropolitan Hilarion is one of the most important literary figures in Kievan Rus'. He wrote his masterwork, the *Sermon on Law and Grace*, before his appointment as Metropolitan, between the years 1047 and 1050 (Franklin 1991: xix–xxi; Butler 2002: 6–7), although it has only been conserved in late copies from the 15th and 16th centuries (Butler 2002: 4–5).

In spite of his enormous importance for the history and literature of Kievan Rus', we do not know much about his life. The entry for 1051[127] in the *PVL* tells us that in that year he was appointed to the supreme ecclesiastical authority in Rus' by Prince Yaroslav "the Wise" (see text 4.5) after being convened to a synod of bishops in the cathedral of Saint Sophia, and that he was one of the many

126 Ritual games of a pagan nature.

127 *s. a.* 6559.

metropolitans who officiated in the church of the Holy Apostles in Berestovo.[128] He was also a monk and spent periods as an ascetic in a cave (Šakhmatov 1916: 155–156). The fact that he was a native Metropolitan was somewhat unusual, as was his election by a synod of Rus' bishops; the usual procedure throughout the whole of the period of Kievan Rus' was for a Metropolitan of Greek origin to be appointed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, with the sole exceptions of Hilarion and Klim Smoljatič one century later (see text 4.10.). This has been interpreted by some scholars as a challenge to Byzantium by the Kievan Prince.

There is no doubt about the political and religious intentionality of the work. This was none other than to legitimise the reign of Prince Yaroslav and his kingdom, Kievan Rus' and to insert it fully within the history of Christianity. The aim was to position it as the logical continuation of the process whereby Jewish Law had been superseded by the Grace of Christ, which had spread throughout the world and among the nations with the Christianisation of the Rus', in which the baptism of Yaroslav's father Prince Vladimir in 988 served as the final link and culmination in that chain. It is unsurprising that one of the main parts of the *Sermon*, if not the most important, is the *Encomium* dedicated to Prince Vladimir, which appears after the disquisition on Law and Grace and before a prayer for Rus'.

The *Encomium of Prince Vladimir* presents the Christianisation of Rus' as a direct and personal initiative of the Prince himself, without the need to recur to the intercession of other apostolic figures, as occurs for example in the *PVL*. Vladimir is compared to Emperor Constantine the Great and to the apostles themselves, and is even acclaimed as being superior to them, as he represents the fulfilment of the evangelical word "Blessed are those who believe without seeing".[129] Vladimir is thus praised as the "apostle of Rus'", and using the resource of biblical typology, Vladimir and his son Yaroslav are compared to King David and his son Solomon, the model of a wise and just monarch, thus considering the reign of Yaroslav to be the continuation and culmination of the works of his father, among which is expressly mentioned the building of the cathedral of Saint Sophia in Kiev, similar to the building of the temple of Jerusalem by King Solomon.

For the fragments we offer below, we follow Gorskij's *editio princeps* (1844: 223–252) of the manuscript in the Coll. Syn. of Moscow (GIM) No. 591, identified by the letter *S*, dating from the mid 15th century, and which is the only

128 Princely residence beside the Dnieper, on the outskirts to the south of Kiev (Franklin 1991: xvii–xviii).

129 John 20:29.

manuscript containing the complete works of Metropolitan Hilarion. This same manuscript reproduces all the surviving editions of the text.

Edition used: Gorskij (1844: 223–252).
Other editions: Moldovan (1984), Müller (1962), Rozov (1963), Sbriziolo (1988), Sumnikova (1986).
References: Butler (2002), Franklin (1991), Gorskij (1844: 204–222).

4.6.1 Sermon on Law and Grace

The next passage comes at the end of the first part of the work, and relates how the Grace of Christ spread throughout all the nations of the earth and arrived in Rus' after having prevailed over the Law of Moses.

И уже не идолослужителе зовемся, но Христіани; не и еще безнадежници, но уповающе въ жизнь вѣчную. И уже не капищь [сатанинъ] сограждаемъ, но Христовы церкви зиждемъ; уже не закалаемъ бѣсомъ другъ друга, но Христосъ за ны закалаемъ бываетъ и дробимъ въ жрътву Богъ и Отцу. И уже не жрътвеныа крове вкушающе погыбаемъ, но Христовы пречистыа крове вкушающе спасаемся. Вся страны благый Богъ помилова, и насъ не презрѣ; възхотѣ, и спасе ны, и въ разумъ истинный приведе.

We no longer call ourselves idolaters, but Christians and we are no longer in despair, but expect eternal life. And we no longer erect [satanic] shrines, but we build churches to Christ; we no longer sacrifice each other to demons, but Christ sacrificed himself for us and died in an offering to God the Father. And we no longer condemn ourselves by tasting sacrificial blood, but we are saved by partaking of the pure blood of Christ. The good God took mercy on all nations and also took notice of us; he saw fit to save us and lead us to true enlightenment.

4.6.2 Sermon on Law and Grace

This fragment is framed within the *Encomium of Prince Vladimir*, which acclaims the figure of the Kievan prince as the introducer of Christianity in Rus' and the eradicator of paganism; that is, as a personal intermediary in the salvation of his people.

Тогда начать мракъ идольскій отъ насъ отходити, и заря благовѣрія явишяся. Тогда тьма бѣсовскаго служенія погыбе, и солнце евангельское землю нашу осія; капища раздрушишася; и церкви поставляются; идолы съкрушаются, и иконы святыхъ являхуся; бѣси пробѣгахъ: крестъ грады освящаше; и пастуси словес-

ныхъ овецъ Христовъ, сташя епископи и попове и діакони, бескровную жрътву възносяще; и весь клиросъ украсишя влѣпоту и одѣшя святыя церкви.

Then the fog of the idols began to lift from us and the dawn of mercy rose. Then the darkness of the service to the demons succumbed and the sun of the gospel shone on our earth; the shrines were demolished and churches were built; the idols were destroyed and icons were placed for the saints; the demons were cast out: the cross sanctified the cities; and the bishops, priests and deacons were the shepherds of the sheep of the words of Christ, they brought bloodless sacrifice; and all the clergy adorned and clothed the sacred churches in splendour.

4.7 *Canonical Epistle from Metropolitan John II*

The *Canonical epistle from Metropolitan John II* is another of the texts corresponding to the beginnings of Russian church law that were included in three different versions of the *Kormčaja kniga* (see text 4.4.). The one we offer here, which was edited by Pavlov (1908: cols. 1–20), is part of the parchment of the *Kormčaja* from the Chudov Monastery ("of the Miracles") in Moscow (14th century), and is supplemented by the editor with the variants of several later paper copies of the *Kormčaja* (15th–17th centuries), and some forms of the original Greek in the footnotes. In fact, this version in Old Church Slavonic was a translation of the original letter written in Greek, the Metropolitan's mother tongue, some of whose surviving fragments were also edited by Pavlov (1908: cols. 321–346). The immense majority of the metropolitans in Kievan Rus' were Greeks sent from Constantinople,[130] as it was the custom for the highest church authority in Rus' to be approved by the Byzantine Patriarch (see text 4.6.).

In his *Epistle*, Metropolitan John II (1080–1089) answered the questions posed by the monk Jacob on various questions relating to liturgical practice and social customs and the morality of clerics and the lay population. It is not certain whether this monk Jacob is the monk of the same name mentioned in 1074 in the *PVL* (Šakhmatov 1916: 186–187), and who has been identified with the author of the *Memoir and encomium of Prince Vladimir* (see text 4.2.). Within the 34 answers that form the *Epistle*, we also find some that refer to interactions

130 More specifically, 22 of the 23 metropolitans consecrated between 988 and 1237 were Greeks (Poppe 1982); Obolensky (1975) pointed out that Rus' metropolitans alternated with Greek ones beginning with Cyril in 1242 and ending with Cyprian in 1408.

between Christians and pagans, considered pariahs on the margins of society, and to actual pagan practices maintained by the Christians themselves after their conversion. We see how one century after the official baptism of the Rus', this continues to be one of the main concerns of the clergy.

Edition used: Pavlov (1908: cols. 1–20).
Other editions: Goetz (1905: 97–170), Pavlov (1908: cols. 321–346).
References: Fennell (1995: 48, 79–80, 96–98, 101), Rock (2007: 139).

4.7.1 Canonical Epistle from Metropolitan John II, *Response 7*

Response 7 which we show here, and which deals with sorcerers, is preceded by a condemnation of bigamy, and followed by a reprimand to submit to the ecclesiastical authority corresponding to each person. This gives an idea of the diversity of the subjects addressed.

Иже волхвованыа й чародѣяныа творяще, аще мужю й женѣ, словесы й наказаньемь показати й обратити ѿ злыхъ; ѣ оже ѿ зла не преложатьса, ѣро казнити на въздраненье злу, но не до смерти убивати, ни обрѣзати сихъ тѣлесе: не бо приймаеть [сего] церкъвное наказаные й оученые.

Anyone working magic and spells, be they man or woman, with words and rectifications must be taught and turned away from evil; but anyone who does not reform from evil must be punished severely to prevent evil, without being beaten to death, nor incurring cuts to their body: as they will not receive rectification and the Church teaching (from this).

4.7.2 Canonical Epistle from Metropolitan John II, *Response 15*

In a further example of the wide variety of subjects, in response 15 the metropolitan compares those who maintain pagan rites and make sacrifices to swamps and springs with those who take a wife without the blessing of the Church, who cast off their wives to go with other women, or who do not take communion even once a year. The author considers them all to be estranged from their faith and pariahs of the Church and society. One of the interesting subjects covered appears in the preceding response 14, where the Metropolitan gives his approval to a priest saying mass dressed in animal skins due to the cold, a practice that he claims was not prohibited either among the Greeks or in Rus'.

И иже жруть бѣсомъ и болотомъ и кладаземъ, и иже поймаютьса, [бе]зъ благословеныа суетаютьса, и жены ѿмѣтаютьса, и своѣ жены пущають и прилѣпла-

ютьса [инѣмъ], иже не приймаютьса сватыхъ тайнъ ни единъю лѣтомъ, аще не ѿ отца духовнаго связаны будуть и ни причащатиса, и ты вѣси яавѣ тѣмъ всѣмъ чюжимъ быти нашеа вѣры, ѿвержены сборныа церкви. (…)

And he who offers sacrifices to demons, to the swamps[131] and wells, and he who takes[132] and joins with[133] and repudiates a woman without blessing, leaving his own wife and going with another, he who does not receive the Eucharist even once a year and has no relation with the spiritual father and does not take communion, all these people are alien to our faith and are rejected by the Church of reunion. (…)

4.7.3 Canonical Epistle from Metropolitan John II, *Response 19*

And as in previous cases, this response 19 concerning the contact between Christians and pagans, and the impurity this represents for the former, is preceded by a question on the obedience owed by the priests to the bishops, as they are the ones who give them permission to officiate mass, and it is followed by a response in which the Metropolitan grants a dispensation from fasting for the mothers of baptised children in order not to weaken their strength in the case of illness.

А иже [ядать] с погаными не вѣдаа, молитву творити на осквереные токмо, й тако приймати достоить.

And he who [eats] with pagans without realising, who says a prayer only through impurity, and in this way will be worthy of receiving.[134]

4.7.4 Canonical Epistle from Metropolitan John II, *Response 30*

This response in which the metropolitan describes pagan marriages, which include singing and dancing in their ritual, is preceded by response 29 which speaks of the prohibition of making great feasts and drinking in the monasteries, which is in turn the origin of many other sins, and in the following response 31 referring to the obligations of the bishops to respect the metropolitan's authority in convening meetings of the synods.

131 To the spirits of the swamps, the wells, the waters in general (cf. Johansons 1968: 90).
132 A woman.
133 In marriage.
134 Communion.

30. Ꙗкоже ѥси реклъ, оже не бываѥть на простыхъ людехъ благословеныѥ и вѣнчаныѥ, но боларомъ токмо [и] кназемъ вѣнчатиса; простымъ же людемъ, ꙗко й меньшицѣ поймаютъ жены своꙗ с плаканьемь й гуденьемь й плескањньемь, разумъ даемъ всакъ й речемъ: иже простии закони простьцемъ й невѣжамъ си творатъ совкупление; иже кромѣ божественыꙗ церкви й кромѣ благословеныꙗ творатъ свадбу, тайнопойманиѥ нареченьса: иже тако поймаютьса, ꙗкоже блудникомъ ѥпитемью дати.

30. As you have said, there is no blessing or coronation for the simple people,[135] but only for the boyars and the princes; and, for the simple people, who take their wives like concubines with dancing to the sound of instruments and applause, we endorse them all and we say: those who become united with simple and ignorant people through profane law; and those who celebrate a marriage outside the Church of God and without its blessing, define their understanding of the mystery: those who understand it thus should be given the same punishment as for prostitutes.

4.8 *Commandments of the Holy Fathers to the Sons and Daughters Who Confess*

This text belongs to the genre of penitential books; that is, books consisting of a list of sins together with the corresponding penance or punishment, and admonitions designed to align both clerics and the lay population in regard to different aspects of liturgical practice (meals, fasting and forms of worship for the different religious festivals throughout the liturgical year), and daily life.

Some authors, including Golubinskij (1901: 436–437), attribute its authorship to Metropolitan George (ca. 1065–1078), so this work would therefore date from the second half of the 11th century. In any case, it was certainly composed no later than the 12th century (Mansikka 1922: 247). The mandate of Metropolitan George saw the canonisation of the first saints of Kievan Rus' in 1072, the martyred princes Boris and Gleb, the sons of Prince Vladimir who were murdered by their half brother Svjatopolk in 1015. As recounted by the *PVL* (Šakhmatov 1916: 181–182), Metropolitan George presided over the transfer of the relics of saints Boris and Gleb to Vyšgorod. Metropolitan George is also credited with

135 Canonical marriage (Orthodox).

having encouraged the introduction of the Studite monastic rule in Rus', which he brought with him from Byzantium, together with a certain monk called Michael from the Monastery of Studion in Constantinople (Fennell 1995: 67). He gave a copy of the rule to Saint Theodosius of Kiev, hegumen and co-founder of the Monastery of the Caves.

In spite of its antiquity, this work has come down to us only in several manuscripts from the 16th century. These include the miscellany of the *Izmaragd* type from the Monastery of the Trinity—Saint Sergius,[136] edited by Tikhonravov (1863, reprinted 1970: 289–310) and Golubinskij (1904, reprinted 1969: 531–551), and the *Sbornik* from the Monastery of Joseph of Volokolamsk[137] published by Smirnov (1912: 112–132), whose edition we reproduce below. The text of the *Commandments of the holy fathers* is also included in some of the manuscripts that contain the *Nomocanon*, or rather the *Kormčaja*, of John Scholasticus[138] with additions (Golubinskij 1904, reprinted 1969: 530–531).

The text comprises a total of 165 rules, commandments or penances that have been numbered by the editors, since in the original manuscripts they were written without separations and almost without headings; the exception is the title "Of the commandments of the holy fathers", which appears before point 130 and is also inserted in the body of the text without any kind of distinguishing mark. Golubinskij (1904, reprinted 1969: 546) offers two possible explanations for this redundancy: either rules 130–147, which form a whole according to the Russian historian, were taken from the *Kormčaja* and interpolated in the text of the *Commandments*, or vice versa, although he does not pronounce in favour of either hypothesis.

Edition used: Smirnov (1912: 112–132).
Other editions: Tikhonravov (1863, reprint 1970: 289–310), Golubinskij (1904, reprint 1969: 531–551).
References: Golubinskij (1901: 436–437), Golubinskij (1904, reprint 1969: 530–531), Fennell (1995: 97), Mansikka (1922: 247–248, 252–254).

136 SLR (Fund 304.I) Coll. Tr., No. 204 (ff. 261v.–277r.); accessible online at: http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/book.php?col=1&manuscript=204.
137 SLR (Fund 304.I) Coll. Tr., No. 541 (ff. 189r.–220r.).
138 See text 4.4.

4.8.1 Commandments of the Holy Fathers to the Sons and Daughters Who Confess, *71*

Both the preceding and the following rule refer to those who have repented and done penance. Point 70 says that for the repentant it is not permitted to take a third woman as a wife, and 72 prescribes the saying of a funeral mass for anyone who repents of their sins before dying. Although point 70 apparently alludes to the polygamy practised by the pagan Slavs, as in points 90 and 111, it is specified in the last point 165 that this was after having become widowed from the first wife. In regard to the content of this same point 71, in which it is prohibited to eat with pagans, there is a similar admonition in point 102, which warns of not taking communion or accepting prayers from "Latins", that is, Catholics, nor drinking from the same cup, nor eating with them nor giving them food. Similarly, point 122 specifies the same in regard to "Jews, Bulgars[139] and Saracens", that is, Jews and Muslims. We therefore find a parallelism in the impurity represented by eating with the practitioners of another faith, whether Christian, Jewish, Muslim or pagan, quite apart from the fact that this could be the source of heretical teachings and practices.

Поганоу ѵл҃коу сътворше мл҃твоу не ꙗ҆с҃ с нимъ. но егда кр҃тивше его то҆ꙗ҆ сти с нимъ.

You shall not eat with the pagan who has made a prayer, but only when he has been baptised; then you may eat with him.

4.8.2 Commandments of the Holy Fathers to the Sons and Daughters Who Confess, *105*

The preceding point 104 specifies the times of day at which to pray, chant and praise God, and point 106 contains an instruction on fasting from meat in Pentecost.

Ꙗ҆ко нелѣпо є҆с҃, еллиньскыѭ҆ преданїи хо҆ати, и праз҆никъ неѵ҃твыѭ҆. ꙗ҆же ѿ хр҃тианъ со тщаниемѫ҆ творатъ. въ градеѭ҆ и въ всеѣѭ҆, не вѣдат са гибноуще. Ѥсть достоино намѣнати коби, ни звѣздъ ни сраци вѣровати, ни коши, ни иномоу. по҆бноу тѣмъ, ни ро҆ствоу ѵасти нарицати. но при всемъ бг҃а намѣнати. развѣ грѣха слоуѵающагоса ѵл҃комъ. Ѥсть достоино високо҃наго лѣта блюсти насаженїе вина. ни въ ино всако дѣло. ни налоуѵнаго растениа. ни хоудѣваниа блюсти. ни нари-

139 Possible reference to the Volga Bulgars, a people of Turkic origin settled on the upper course of the Volga, who converted to Islam in around the 10th century.

цати зла дн҃е оукланати же сѧ звѣздоуетца. и коудесника блюстиса. вошьства и подобныхъ тѣмь нѣ҆ лѣпо колѧ҆вати. ни роусалїи играти. ни индиктъ чести, ни празновати в нѧ. ни есть лѣпо юдѣискыхъ праз҆никъ, держати нічтоже иного. сътворимаго по законоу ихъ. ни праз҆новати соуботъ ихъ. ни вѣхода лѣ҆тнаго, ни праз҆новати зажинанїю, ни требы кровавы не творити. ничто же моусиѡва закона. Се҆ токмо празници держати, еже ѡ имени г҃а нашего і҆ѵ х҃а. праз҆никы г҆дскыа, и бц҃а и прдтча, и стыхъ ап҆лъ и всѣхъ бг҃оу оугодивших стыхъ.

It is wrong to conserve Hellenic traditions and impure festivals, that Christians so zealously make in the cities and in the towns, unaware that they are their perdition. It is not appropriate to mention auguries, or believe in the stars, or in encounters, or in sneezes, or in anything similar, or to name the parts of procreation, without mentioning God in everything, as the only result is sin for men. It is not appropriate to mistrust the leap year for planting grapes, or in any other matter, or for onion plants, or to concern oneself with decreases;[140] nor (is it appropriate) to name ill-omened days, keeping a distance from the astrologer and hiding from the sorcerer, from magic, and from similar things. It is not lawful to take part in the *Koljada*,[141] nor play in the *Rusalii*;[142] nor to venerate the indiction,[143] nor feast in it. It is not correct to maintain the Jewish feasts, nor any other that is carried out according to their Law, nor to celebrate the Sabbath, nor the coming of summer, nor to celebrate the lighting,[144] nor make bloody sacrifices, nor anything in Mosaic Law. The only festivals that must be maintained are those in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the festivals of the Lord, of the Mother of God, of the Precursor,[145] of the holy apostles, and of all the saints that have pleased God.

140 This may refer to a decrease in crops.

141 The *Koljada* was the celebration with a pre-Christian origin of the winter solstice, which lasted from Christmas Eve to Epiphany, thereby forming a cycle of 12 days known as *svjatki*. The celebration of the Eve of Saint Basil's day occurred at the central point of the cycle, that is, the New Year. This explains why the term *Koljada* comes from the Latin word *calendae*, the first day of each month. In this festive cycle it was common for people to disguise themselves and go from house to house singing songs and playing games. It was also traditional for young marriageable girls to practice various divination rites to discover the identity of their future husband and whether they would marry that year. All these traditions persist even today in some towns and villages in several East Slavic countries.

142 See texts 4.12., 4.18. and 4.42.

143 In medieval Slavic chronology, this was a 15-year cycle that bore no direct relation with either the solar or lunar cycles (Casas Olea 2004: 54).

144 Of the candles, that is, Hanukkah.

145 Saint John the Baptist.

4.8.3 Commandments of the Holy Fathers to the Sons and Daughters Who Confess, *115b*

The penance imposed on those who go to the games is issued in the manuscript of the Monastery of the Trinity—Saint Sergius[146] edited by Tikhonravov (1863, reprinted 1970) and Golubinskij (1904, reprinted 1969). In the manuscript from the Monastery of Joseph of Volokolamsk published by Smirnov (1912:125), it appears between point 115—which establishes the penance for those who urinate towards the east—, and point 116, which condemns those who stray from the words of the gospels and of the apostles.

Аще кто поидеть на игры да поклонитсѧ. т̄.

If someone goes to the games, they must make adorations three hundred times.

4.8.4 Commandments of the Holy Fathers to the Sons and Daughters Who Confess, *126*

The preceding point determines the penance for bishops who become inebriated, and the following point condemns those who prepare the second table dedicated to Rod and the Rožanicy (see text 4.8.5.), another practice with a pre-Christian origin.

Аще кто цѣлоуетъ мс̑ць, да боудеть проклатъ.

If someone worships the moon, let him be accursed.

4.8.5 Commandments of the Holy Fathers to the Sons and Daughters Who Confess, *127*

The following condemnation of a practice with a pagan origin appears after the one referring to the veneration of the moon, and before the imposition of the obligation to observe all fasts, both those established by the holy fathers and by all other Church rules and norms.

Аще кто кр̑тить вторую трапезоу, родоу и роженицаⷨ. трепаремъ стыѧ вц̄а. і тои ѣсть и піеть, да боудеть проклать.

146 SLR (Fund 304.1) Coll. Tr., No. 204 (f. 271v.); accessible online at: http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/medium.php?col=1&manuscript=204&pagefile=204-0274.

If anyone offers the second table to Rod and the Roženicy[147] with the troper[148] of the Holy Mother of God, and he eats and drinks, let him be accursed.

4.8.6 Commandments of the Holy Fathers to the Sons and Daughters Who Confess, *137*

This penance is before another imposed on mothers who relinquish their children, and is followed by one directed at women who provoke an abortion using herbs. In some manuscripts it is preceded by the title "From the *Koljada*" (Smirnov 1912: 127). This rule belongs to the group of admonitions that is also found in the text of the *Kormčaja* of John Scholasticus, as noted in the introduction.

137. Аще кто в .а̅ дн̅ь генвара. на колаᴬ идеть. ꙗкоже первїи погани̑и творахоу .г̅. лѣтᵀ да покаютсѧ ѡ хлѣбѣ и ѡ водѣ. ꙗко ѿ̑ скотины есть игра та.

If someone goes on 1 January to the *Koljada*,[149] as did the first pagans, he should do penance for three years on bread and water, because that game of cattle exists.[150]

4.8.7 Commandments of the Holy Fathers to the Sons and Daughters Who Confess, *147*

This penance imposed on anyone who casts magic spells and makes magic potions is also found in the group of admonitions contained in the text of the

147 There are interesting comparative data that allow us to compare this cult to Rod and the Rožanicy with other ritual traits in the Western Slavic, Greek and Roman religious traditions. These data allow us to reconstruct a ritual nucleus of simple structure in which a table is present as a receptacle of bloodless offerings presented to the receiving supernatural figures, which are often of a minor character. In the Western Slavic, Greek and Roman religious traditions, this rite has increased its functional importance, becoming in occasions a ritual of public character (Álvarez-Pedrosa 2018). The traditional interpretation of these figures worthy of receiving a cult is based fundamentally on the etymology of their names: aesl. *Rodъ* is a deverbative masculine noun "generation, lineage." Rod appears accompanied by one or more female figures that present a certain formal variation in their names: sg. *Roženica*, *Roždenica*, *Roždanica*, pl. *Rožanicy*, *Roženicy*, *Roždenicy*. In any case, they are derivatives of the Common Slavic form that we find attested in the neutral noun OCS *roždenije* "childbirth, birth", which with a collective value may also mean "lineage, family".

148 Monostrophic form of the hymnography of the Orthodox church that became a constitutive element of each of the nine odes that composed a canon. Specifically, each ode ended with a troper dedicated to the Mother of God (or *theotokion* in Greek).

149 See text 4.10.1.

150 Possible reference to the games and rites with animal disguises mentioned in text 4.11.1.

Kormčaja of John Scholasticus. It appears after the penance established for thieves, and after a series of penances for different types of illicit fornication, and before the indication of the correct way to say a prayer for the sick. It is surprising to find a distinction between a harsher penance imposed in general terms, and another milder one corresponding to "us", that is, to the clergy, who must also have incurred in these magical practices.

Ѡ потворех. Иже потворы и чародѣанїа исповѣдаетъ. по стм҃оу василїю. е҃і. лѣтъ. да не комкаетъ. поста҆ и плача҆. мы же .г҃. лѣтъ. бе҃з комыканїа. соухо ꙗ҆сти в .д҃. ча҆. покланаꙗ҆. н҃. и .с҃. да ѿстоупить ѿ грѣхъ.

Of the potions. Someone who makes potions and casts spells, according to Saint Basil,[151] should not take communion in 15 years, fasting and weeping; we ourselves, three years without communion, and food must be taken without seasoning at Nones, saying 250 adorations for the remission of sins.

4.9 *Rule of the Holy Apostles*

According to Smirnov (1912: 292) the *Rule of the holy apostles*, also known as *Certain commandment* or *Small Nomocanon*, was one of the oldest Slavic penitentials, together with the *Commandments of the holy fathers to the sons and daughters who confess* mentioned earlier. The *Rule of the holy apostles* was cited in article 75 of the *Questions of Cyricus, Sava and Ilya to Bishop Niphont* (see text 4.10.), and was referred to precisely as *"Certain commandment"*, which is the name preferred by most scholars. Smirnov (loc. cit.) dates its composition to the first half of the 11th century. Smirnov is undecided as to its geographic origins, although it can be said to have been already known in the city of Novgorod in the second half of the 12th century, based on its the mention in the *Questions of Cyricus*, and this work may ultimately have a Southern Slavic origin to judge from certain elements of its lexicon (Smirnov ibid.). According to Vašica (1960: 31–48) it is even older, as he is of the opinion that this is the translation in Old Church Slavonic of a Latin penitential made during the mission of Cyril and Methodius in Great Moravia. Although this is actually a Slavic composition, most of its content is based on Greek works belonging to the penitential literature and canonical law, as is the case of the *Nomocanon* of John Scholasticus (see text 4.4.). However, this is not a direct or complete translation of either of

151 1 January.

them. Therefore, from the point of view of its content, this work could be classified as a hybrid between the penitential genre and Church law. In spite of its great antiquity, as occurs with many of the works included in this monograph, the work in question only survives in a single late manuscript,[152] dating from the 14th to 15th centuries.

Edition used: Smirnov (1912: 28–31).
References: Mansikka (1922: 247–248), Smirnov (1912: 282–298), Vašica (1960: 31–48).

4.9.1 Rule of the Holy Apostles, *11–14*

The four references to paganism appear in four consecutive articles, and are preceded by several condemnations of fornication.

11. Аѣще кто wскверитсѧ въ сѵ̑тъıй пѡ̑. да поститс̑ ıну. ѕ̑. дн̑ıй. аѣще бꙋдѣ̑ въı ınъı дн̑ı поганьство то да створить пѡ̑ мл̑твъı. г̑. да сѧ пıѥ́ть ı ѣсть то.

12. Всакъ ıже в чаръı вѣрꙋ̑ѥ̑ тъсъ наречетъ̑. ı аѣще прııдеть на покаıанıѥ́. да сѧ каѥ́ть. в̑ı. лѣ̑. ı покл̑ѡ̑. в̑ı. заоутра. в̑ı. вѣ̑ръ. ıако кр̑тıаıнъı бъша в поганъı wбратиша̑.

13. Иже ıдолѡ̑ служить ıли жреть. ıли трѣбꙋѥ́ть ıхъ. да сѧ постить. ѥ̑. лѣ̑. ı причастьѥ́ w̑ гѡ̑ до гѡ̑. покл̑ѡ̑. к̑. заоу̑. .к̑. вѣ̑ръ.

14. Вса̑ ıже звръза и вазаѥ́ть ımъıць в дому своѥ̑. да ıма̑. пѡ̑. к̑. лѣтѣ. а̑ причастиѥ́ въ м̑ци ѥ́дıноıѡ. покл̑ѡ̑. в̑ı. заоутра. в̑ı. вѣ̑ръ.

11. Whoever besmirches the saintly fast of Lent should fast another 40 days, as though they were in other days of paganism so the priest could say three prayers and then could eat and drink.

12. Anyone who believes in witchcraft and invokes the devil, and if he repents, he must lament for 12 years, and make adoration for 12 vespers and 12 matins, as being Christian he once again became pagan.

13. Anyone who serves idols or makes sacrifices or offerings to them should fast for five years, and take part year on year in the adoration of 20 matins and 20 vespers.

14. Anyone who wears an amulet and has it in his house should fast for two years and take part for one month in the adoration of 12 matins and 12 vespers.

152 Ms. No. 153 of the former Moscow Synodal Library (Gorskij-Nevostruev 1862: 247–283).

4.10 *Questions of Cyricus, Sava and Ilya to Bishop Niphont of Novgorod*

The *Questions of Cyricus, Sava and Ilya to Bishop Niphont of Novgorod* is part of the group of texts on Church law in Kievan Rus' dating from the second half of the 12th century which have come down to us together with the *Instruction and epistle of the monk Theodosius the Greek*, and the *Instruction of Archbishop Ilya of Novgorod* (see text 4.11.). All these constitute a valuable testimony, not only because of their antiquity, but because they indicate both their author and the time and place of their composition. Whereas the *Instruction and epistle of the monk Theodosius the Greek* probably came from Kiev, the origins of the other two were most likely in the other great Rus' city: Novgorod. Indeed, they shared one of their authors, as the last of the three clerics who formulated the questions, Ilya, was subsequently appointed Archbishop of Novgorod between 1165–1186 (Pavlov 1908: 21–22). Niphont was Bishop from 1131 to 1156, and between him and Ilya, the seat of Novgorod was occupied by the hegumen Arkady (1156–1165), of whom Cyricus and Ilya himself also ask questions. It is therefore possible to date the composition of the work to within the mandates of Niphont and Arkady in the bishopric of Novgorod, that is, between 1131–1165.

As can be seen, several of the protagonists of the text, which could be considered in part as belonging to the genre of penitential works,[153] are not anonymous clerics, but held senior positions in the Church hierarchy. And they also lived in a turbulent period in the history of Novgorod and Kiev. Starting with Niphont, it should be recalled that according to the account in the *Hypatian Chronicle* (Šachmatov, 1908a: 340–341; Franklin 1991: xlvi–xlvii), he was a member of the synod of bishops in Rus' which on 27 July 1147, under the sponsorship of Prince Izjaslav M'stislavič, elected Klim (Clement) Smoljatič as the Metropolitan of Kiev, without the approval of the Church hierarchy in Constantinople. As is well known, the immense majority of metropolitans in Rus' were Greeks who were chosen and sent by the Patriarch of Constantinople, except for two: Metropolitan Hilarion (1051–1054) under the reign of Prince Yaroslav Vladimirovič, and Clement Smoljatič himself (1147–1149, 1158–1159). These cases could be interpreted as an attempt by the political and religious authorities of Kiev to gain greater autonomy from Byzantium. However, there were two bishops at the synod in which Clement Smoljatič was elected who did not approve his enthronement without the blessing of the Patriarch of Constantinople: Manuel of Smolensk and Niphont of Novgorod. Indeed, Niphont

153 Medieval church works that enumerate and describe sins along with their corresponding punishments.

was a staunch defender of the Orthodoxy and of old Byzantine Church law, as he demonstrates in the answers to the questions of Cyricus, Sava and Ilya. The new Patriarch Nicolas IV Mouzalon, recently elected in December 1147 after the seat had been vacant for some months, publicly manifested his support for the position of Manuel and Niphont, to which Prince Izjaslav and Metropolitan Clement gave an unequivocal response: in 1149 Niphont was summoned to appear before them in Kiev, with the result of a kind of arrest in the Monastery of the Caves (Franklin 1991: xlviii–xlix). Even during his internment, Niphont sought to convince the Prince to dismiss Clement. Patriarch Nicolas once again expressed his support for Niphont in a letter requesting his release, while delegitimising Metropolitan Clement. Finally, the Patriarch's request was heeded and Niphont was freed.

It should also be noted that Novgorod had a particular form of government which distinguished it from the rest of the Rus' cities, with similarities only with neighbouring Pskov. Although in theory it was a principality that was subordinated to the Prince of Kiev, in practice it constituted a type of oligarchic traders' republic. From 1136, the richest and most powerful inhabitants of Novgorod, gathered in their public assembly or *veče* in Yaroslav Square, assured their right to choose their prince and their *possadnik*[154] (Gordienko 2010: 145–146). From 1156, the *veče* also elected the city's Bishop, who then became the second authority in the Rus' Church after the Metropolitan. The first to be elected was precisely Arkady that same year, followed by his successor Ilya in 1165, who was promoted to the position of Archbishop (Gordienko 2010: 146). Enthroned with the help of Prince Rostislav M'stislavič, Archbishop Ilya established the cult of the icon of the Virgin of the Sign, who became the patron saint and protector of Novgorod and worked the miracle during the attack by troops from the principalities of Vladimir-Suzdal' in 1170, who failed in their attempt to subdue the city. The clerics Arkady and Ilya who intervene in the commented text were thus outstanding witnesses to the increasing autonomy of Novgorod from Kiev in both the political and ecclesiastical sphere. Until his appointment as Archbishop, and hence during the period in which the work that concerns us here was composed, Ilya was a confessor cleric, as was Cyricus, who was also a monk and mathematician. In fact, Cyricus (or *Kirik*) was the author of the famous treatise entitled *Učenie imže vedati čeloveku čisla vsex" let'*, "Teaching whereby a human being can know the number of all the years", relating to the study of chronology and timekeeping (Casas Olea 2004: 45). This text suggests that Sava was a married priest.

154 Type of mayor-governor.

The nature of the work can be deduced from the occupation of those who ask the questions, constituting a genuine manual for confessors which deals with all kinds of aspects pertaining both to ecclesiastical life and to the everyday life of the lay population. The character of the respondents, mainly Bishop Niphont, gives an indication of the type of answers given, consisting of the strict application of the Byzantine Orthodoxy with particular emphasis on the condemnation of the pagan practices mentioned. In addition to Niphont and Arkady (Smirnov 1912: 10, § 13), there are some mentions of a certain Klim, corresponding to Metropolitan Clement Smoljatič (Smirnov 1912: 4–5, § 4; 23–24, § 30), and of a monk from Pskov called Lucas—Evdokim (Smirnov 1912: 26, § 34).

Two main versions of the *Questions of Cyricus, Sava and Ilya to Bishop Niphont of Novgorod* survive, which Smirnov (1912: 257) calls the "normal version" and the "special version". The first was published by Pavlov (1908: cols. 21–62) from the version conserved in the *Kormčaja* in Novgorod from 1280 (see text 4.4.), along with variants of another five manuscripts (one from the 15th century and the others from the 16th century). The second was published by Smirnov (1912: 1–27), exactly as it appears in a *Sbornik*[155] from the early 16th century, including the variants from another *Sbornik* from the 16th century, a *Nomocanon*[156] from the 16th–17th centuries and the "normal version" published by Pavlov. The main difference between both versions is the different way the articles or questions are organised. In the "normal version" they are arranged in three parts or chapters according to the person asking the questions: first the questions corresponding to Cyricus himself, which are the most numerous (101), then those of Ilya (28), and finally those of Sava (24). But in the "special version", the questions are ordered by themed chapters or by the name of the person who answers them, which appears preceded by titles. The "special version" therefore represents an attempt to systematise the "normal version", as it presents the information by themes. The problem is that some of the questions sometimes do not correspond to the title under which they are grouped, and on some occasions the same theme is repeated. It is this edition of the "special version" by Smirnov that we cite below.

Edition used: Smirnov (1912: 1–27).
Other editions: Pavlov (1908: cols. 21–62).
References: Franklin (1991), Gordienko (2010), Pavlov (1908), Rybakov (1981: 593–636), Smirnov (1912).

155 Compilation of texts which generally tend to be of the same type.
156 See text 4.4., n. 117.

4.10.1 Questions of Cyricus, Sava and Ilya to Bishop Niphont of Novgorod

The following questions form part of section § 12 entitled "On enchantments". The three questions we present here (two from Ilya and one from Cyricus) indeed refer to this subject. However, another four questions from Ilya belonging to this section that we do not include (questions 23–26 from Ilya) refer to lesbianism, which Arkady describes as "sodomitic fornication". Number § 11 of the preceding section deals with a husband's repudiation of his wife, and immediately after, number § 13 is titled Arkady, and deals with a variety of subjects. This gives an idea of the mixture of disconnected subjects it contains, in spite of the attempts at systematisation. It should be noted that in his edition of the text, which is the one we follow, Smirnov (1912) conserved the numbering of the questions in Pavlov's edition (1908), where they appeared consecutively. This is not the case in Smirnov's edition, as they are ordered by themed sections, as we said in the introduction.

Или 18. Аще жены дѣтеи дѣла творѧ͡т что любо, а неже возбола͡т или к волх-вом несоу͡т. а не къ попови на мц҃твоу то. ѕ҃. неᴬль. или г҃. аще бꙋдꙋ͡т молоᴬᵐ. Или 16. Аще носили къ д҃рскомоу попоу. дѣти на мц҃твоу. ѕ҃. неᴬль. ре͡ᵗ занеж акы двоевѣре͡ц сꙋ͡т . (...) Кирика 33. Аще родоу и рожᴬеници. крають хлѣбы. и сыры. и меᴬ. брана͡ш велми и нѣгдѣ ре͡ᵗ молва͡т . горе пиющиᵐ рожᴬеницаᵐ.

From Ilja 18. If women do anything to children, and those who are ill are taken to the witch doctor and not to the priest to pray? Then six weeks, or three if they are young. From Ilja 16. If the children are taken to the Frank priest[157] to pray? Six weeks,[158] he said, because they are like practitioners of dual faith.[159] From Cyricus 33. If they offer bread, and cheese and honey to Rod and to Rožd̈enica? It is strictly forbidden, he said, to pray anywhere. Unfortunate are they who drink for the Rožd̈enicy![160]

157 The variant варажьскомоу "Varangian" appears in Pavlov's edition (1908: col. 60). It refers to a priest of Roman obedience.

158 Pavlov's edition (loc. cit.) adds the word опитемые, a variant of епитемыа "punishment, penalty".

159 Here we find the agent noun derived from двоевѣра "dual faith" (see text 4.4.).

160 This form of Rožd̈enicy in the plural in Smirnov's edition is repeated in other texts, such as for example in the ***Sermon by One Who Loves Christ and Is a Jealous Defender of the Righteous Faith*** (see text 4.26.) and in the ***Sermon by the Prophet Isaiah, Commented by Saint John Chrysostom, on Those Who Set a Second Table for Rod and the Roženicy*** (text 4.33.). In fact, in this last phrase of his response, Bishop Niphont is quoting the ***Sermon by the Prophet Isaiah, Commented by Saint John Chrysostom, on Those Who Set a Second Table for Rod and the Roženicy*** (Rybakov 1981: 602; see text 4.33.).

4.11 *Instruction of Archbishop Ilya of Novgorod*

As we said before, the *Instruction of Archbishop Ilya of Novgorod* comprises a block of texts on contemporary Church law dating from the second half of the 12th century, along with the *Instruction and epistle of the monk Theodosius the Greek* and the *Questions of Cyricus, Sava and Ilya to Bishop Niphont of Novgorod* (see text 4.10.). This last in particular is the one with which it has most affinity, as its shares both its place of origin, Novgorod, and one of its protagonists; one of the three clerics who formulate the questions, Ilya, was subsequently promoted to the Church hierarchy as Archbishop of the city, a post he held between 1165–1186 (Pavlov 1908: cols. 21–22). His *Instruction* was therefore consecutive in time to the *Questions of Cyricus, Sava and Ilya to Bishop Niphont of Novgorod*. Since both works have a partially penitential nature, as their questions and instructions are the result of its protagonists' personal experience during their activity as confessors, they contain valuable information about the sins that were condemned by the Church authorities in Kievan Rus' in the second half of the 12th century in general, and particularly in regard to the customs inherited from the pre-Christian Slavic religion.

In regard to Archbishop Ilya, in addition to what has already been said in the introduction to text 4.10, it should be recalled that he was a witness to the growing autonomy acquired by the Principality of Novgorod in the second half of the 12th century. He died on 7 September 1186 after having taken monastic orders under the name of John (Pavlov 1908: cols. 347–348).

His *Instruction* was pronounced by Ilya during the first year of his functions as Archbishop; more specifically, paragraph 18 indicates the start of the second Lent he spent as Archbishop.[161] Taking into account that Easter Sunday of the year following his enthronement as Archbishop fell on 24 April 1166, Pavlov (1908: cols. 347–348) deduces that Ilya-John must have dictated his *Instruction* on the first Sunday in Lent, that is, on 13 March that same year.

The edition we follow here is that of Pavlov (1908: cols. 349–376), which reproduces another edition published by himself (1890: 285–300) based on manuscript no. 2515 in the Rumjancev Public Museum in Moscow, containing the text of a 15th-century *Sbornik*. This same text of the *Instruction* appears in the *Izmaragd* from the 16th century (No. 204) conserved in the Monastery of the Holy Trinity—Saint Sergius, under the heading *Sermon of John Chrystostom to the priests and the simple people*.[162]

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161 А се пакы пришелъ есть великы постъ въ ньже бы достойно первѣе намъ въстягноути[ся] самѣмь отъ питьа отьноуди "And thus Lent has arrived again, when for the first time we ourselves are called on to abstain completely from drink" (Pavlov 1908: col. 364).

162 Слово іѡанна златоустаго к попо^{м} й к простымъ люде^{м} SLR (Fund 304.I) Coll. Tr., No. 204

Edition used: Pavlov (1908: cols. 349–376).
Other editions: Goetz (1905: 344–389), Pavlov (1890: 285–300), Ponomarev (1894–1897/3: 240–250).
References: Golubinskij (1901: 354, 438, 660–663, 674, 819–821), Gordienko (2010), Pavlov (1908: cols. 347–348).

4.11.1 Instruction of Archbishop Ilya of Novgorod *26*

The preceding paragraph, number 25 in Pavlov's edition (1908: col. 370), talks of the need for children to confess and repent, and at the end of paragraph 26, whose fragment we quote, emphasises the importance of repentance and the obligation for all Christians to lead a clean life. Paragraph 27 urges the priests to teach children to honour their parents. It is worth noting the fact that the fragment we present below is omitted from the parallel text contained in the *Izmaragd* from the 16th century belonging to the Monastery of the Holy Trinity—Saint Sergius.[163]

И о тоурѣхъ, и о лодыгахъ, и о колѣдницѣхъ, и про безаконный бой вы, попове, оумайте дѣтий своихъ.

You, priests, keep your children away from both aurochs[164] and knucklebones,[165] from those who celebrate the *Koljada*, and from the impious struggle.

(ff. 238r.–243r.); accessible online at: http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/medium.php?col=1&manuscript=204&pagefile=204-0240.

163 SLR (Fund 304.I) Coll. Tr., No. 204 (ff. 242r.–242v.); accessible online at: http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/medium.php?col=1&manuscript=204&pagefile=204-0245.

164 The Eurasian auroch was a large bovine from Central Asia that was widespread throughout India, the Near East, Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe, where it became extinct in the 17th century. In this case, according to Pavlov (1908: cols. 370–371, n. 24), it refers to a popular custom of pre-Christian origin that was held during the pagan festivities of the *Koljada*, coinciding with the Christian Christmas, and to the *Semik*, which took place towards Pentecost and was popularly known as *Rusal'naja nedelja*. The origin of this custom was the worship of the auroch as a totemic animal and symbol of fecundity, and may have been a fertility rite. According to Pavlov (loc. cit.), this involved young people of both sexes dressing a youth from the town as an auroch and then parading him through the streets on a rope while they sang songs alluding to the auroch. The auroch disguise may originally have been the actual skin of the animal. Rybakov (1981: 578–584) associates this festivity of the auroch at the beginning of the year with the god Veles-Volos, the "cattle god" according to the *PVL* (see texts 4.1.2 and 4.1.7.), and with the Christian festivity of the Epiphany, in honour of which Saint Abraham of Rostov founded a monastery in the city of his birth on the same site which is said in his *Life* to have been occupied by the pagan idol of Veles, whose demon he had defeated (see text 4.38.). Rybakov (1981: 581) reports that the horned masks used in the New Year and Epiphany celebrations were also known as *tury* or "aurochs".

165 Both the term *lodyga* and its derivative *lodyška* mean "ankle, knucklebone". In fact, it is

4.12 *Sermon of Saint Niphont on the* Rusalia

The accounts of the life and miracles of Saint Niphont, Bishop of Constanza in Cyprus, constitute a rich tradition transferred from Byzantium to the Slavic world, where it achieves a very significant dissemination for two reasons; in the first place because of the content of the hagiography itself, which fits perfectly within the medieval ideological context (the saint continually finds himself between the earthly and the supernatural, and many of the revelatory dreams and apocalyptic visions are narrated in the *Vita*); and in second place, due to the wide range of textual variants of the hagiography within its transmission in the Slavic sphere (not only does the hagiography have several versions, but certain passages of the *Vita* had an even wider individual dissemination).

The versions of the *Vita* narrate how the saint, a native of Paphlagonia and commemorated by the Orthodox church on 23 December, after renouncing his dissolute life and taking holy orders in fourth century Constantinople, experienced a series of extraordinary episodes thanks to the gift granted him by God of seeing angels and devils that are invisible to the rest of mankind and yet inhabit the earthly world and constantly intervene in the lives of men. These episodes, as often occurs in the hagiographic genre, are distributed autonomously throughout the narrative, that is, they are not part of the chronological sequencing and can thus be found independently in the manuscript tradition as complete texts inserted in other religious compendia of a didactic or catecumenising nature.

In the Slavic tradition the hagiography of Saint Niphont consists of two versions, one long and another abbreviated. The long version is conserved in two early copies which according to Gribble (1989:44) come from the same source: a Southern Slavic translation (probably Bulgarian) from the Greek. The first is a Russian version copied in Rostov (13th century) and published by Rystenko (1928), and the second is a Serbian version that can be dated to between 1350 and 1360.[166] The abbreviated Slavic version was probably composed between the 11th and 12th centuries.[167]

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known that the anklebones of cattle were used in East Slavic countries in the game of knucklebones. The word *lodyga* is used in this sense in the Russian saying *книгами не лодыгами играть*, "you can't play knucklebones with books" (Dal' 2005: 262). Pavlov (loc. cit.) mentions the prohibition by Tsar Alexis I in a letter in 1649 written in the Siberian city of Tobolsk against the game of *lodygas*, in addition to other games including cards and chess, which were considered to be sinful and impious and carried severe penalties.

166 Ms HM.SMS. No. 472.

167 On the abbreviated version in the *Vita, see* Gribble (1974).

Furthermore, three versions are considered in the medieval Russian sphere, two extended[168] and one abbreviated, in the *Vygolenskij Sbornik* [hereinafter *vs*], dating from the middle of the 12th century, which contains from folios 1r to 33v the earliest copy of the *Vita*.[169]

Among the episodes in the *Vita* which had a special dissemination in Rus', it is worth highlighting the one entitled "On the Rusalii", which describes how in a type of festival a group of demons dance, sing, beg for alms and mock the name of Christ, while the parishioners are chanting matins inside the church. The festival described is first identified as "Rusalii" in the *vs* in folios 20r–24v, where the name of the *Rusalii* appears twice: the first in a gloss, with small lettering and outside the frame of the writing at the bottom of folio 21v, and the second within the text on folio 24v. These are certainly interpolations that may come from the hand of the scribe of the *vs*, or else from the author of the abbreviated version of the *Vita* on which the text in question depends, according to the criticism of the text. The interpolation found in *vs* had a specific didactic purpose for the Russian people, who would understand the festivals with music and dancing described in the fragment as being characteristic of the custom of the Rusalia.

According to Gal'kovskij (1913: 263), the chapter on the Rusalia took an independent form as a "sermon" towards the 14th or 15th centuries; in fact, it is inserted in subsequent miscellanies where the aforementioned interpolation is included as an integral part of the text and in its title. Thus in Izm1, folio 47r and in Izm2, folio 44r, or in *Zlatoust* (Ms SLR Coll. Rum., No. 182, year 1555), among others, it appears under the title *Sermon of the holy Father Niphont on the Rusalia*.

The basic text for the present fragments is *vs* and they include the variants in Izm1 and Izm2.

Edition used: Dubrovina—Bakhturina—Golyšenko (1977)
Other editions: Gal'kovskij (1913: 260–270); Sreznevskij (1863).
References: Gal'kovskij (1913: 260–270); Gribble (1974; 1989); Kostomarov (1863); Mansikka (1922: 213–215); Polenov (1862).

168 Represented by the Ms SLR Coll. Tr., No. 35, from the year 1219 and the Ms RNB Coll. Sol., No. 525/212.

169 Gribble (1989: 44) considers this to be an abbreviated adaptation of the long Slavic version.

4.12.1 Sermon of Saint Niphont on the Rusalia, VS *20r*

The saint, on his way to church, comes upon a group of demons who are indignant at the chants of the faithful at matins. To console the demons, their leader shows them how men also honour the evil one with earthly festivals.

и се шбрѣте сѧ ѵл҃вкъ скачась сопѣльми. и идѣше съ нимь множьство народа. и послоушахоу его.[170] и с нимъ идѧше множество народа послоушающе его. и всѣхъ сихъ зьрѧще блж҃ныи и ѿ единого мурина съвѣзаны. и ведоми ꙗко единѣмь оужемь поверъсты въ слѣдъ сопѣльника. и се видѣвъше шканьнии бѣсы сего народа прельщена ѿ кнѧзѧ ихъ. въздрадоваша сѧ радостию великою. и начаша ити люди възоущати. швы подвизахоу плѧсати а дроугыѧ плескати и въспѣвати. и бѣсомъ съ ними плѧшющемъ а дроугымъ плещющемъ шнѣмъ невидимо.[171] и се моужь нѣкыи зѣло богатъ. зьрѧше съ полаты. и тъ постреченъ ѿ сотоны. повелѣ предъ собою ставъши играти и плѧсати. бѣсомъ оугодиѧ творѧще. и начаша дроузии плѧсати. и зьмъ сребрьцю болѧринъ[172] дасть ю сопѣльникоу. […]

And behold, a man came out to meet them cavorting with pipes and accompanied by a crowd that was listening to him. [And others danced and sang] and they were all observed by the blessed one, and by a single gentile bound with a rope and drawn behind the piper, and when the accursed demons saw this, that everyone was deceived by their prince, they rejoiced with great delight. And intending to inveigle the people, some began to dance and others to clap and sing, while the demons danced [and jumped up and down] along with them, and the people did not see [the demons, only the blessed Niphont].

And behold there was a certain man, very wealthy, who looked from his palace and, provoked by the devil, ordered them to stand before him to play and dance, and others to sing and clap, for the enjoyment of the demons. And the boyar [wealthy man] took a silver coin and gave it to the piper (…).

4.12.2 Sermon of Saint Niphont on the Rusalia, VS *24v*

The demons remove the coin from the piper's pocket and take it to Satan in Hades. Satan says he is flattered and returns the coin to the piper. The demons scatter in search of other men whom they can inveigle.

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170 var. Izm1 add. инїи же плсахоу и подхоу.

171 var. Izm1 с ними же и бесо҃ плсоущимъ, и скачющимъ, народи же не видахоу бѣсо҃ токмо блж҃ный нифонтъ.

172 var. Izm1 бр҃атый.

гл҃ше ꙗко трⷭба събираѥтъ воѥ. мл҃тва же творима събираѥть а҃нглы бж҃ия. тако же к сопѣли и гоусли събираютъ wколо себе. бестоудьныꙗ бѣсы. дьрьжави въ сластъ сопѣлька ѹьтѣть тьмънаго бѣса, иже желаѥть пожерети вьсь миръ.[173] и се гл҃а молꙗше всꙗ оудалити сѧ ѿ нихъ хытрости диꙗволꙗ.[174] наипаче шже своѥ имение проныриливомоу бѣсоу дают. *иеже соуть роусалиꙗ* и игрьци. […]

He said: "Like a bugle, which, when blown, calls men to the fight, repeated prayer [the books read out loud] summons God's angels, and in a similar way the pipes and *gusli* draw the ignominious demons; and the one who gives a reward to the piper honours the dark demon who wishes to devour the whole world [and those who wish to honour Satan, and those who honour and make gifts to musicians, they are giving to the cunning devil. And if anyone partakes in this evil work, then they will be judged along with the infidels and the idolaters]. [And the blessed Niphont, on seeing them, shed tears and was overcome by great sadness at these crimes and at the corruption of the Christians]".

And speaking thus, he implored them to abandon all this [diabolical feasting] through the deceit of the devil, and because after they give their possessions to the cunning devil, *which are the Rusalia*, and other things to the bards (…).

4.13 *Books of the Council of Vladimir in 1274*

The present text is framed within the period of the Mongol Rule[175] which subjected the lands of Kievan Rus' from the defeat of the princes of Rus' in the battle of the River Kalka (1223), to the first victory of the Grand Duke of Moscow Dmitri Donskói against the Tartars or Mongols in the battle of Kulikovo (1380). This period marked the shift in the centre of power of the East Slavic states from Kiev, which had already been in clear decadence for almost one century, to Moscow, through the agency of the principality of Vladimir-Suzdal'.

During most of this period, the official policy of the Russian princes, supported equally by the Church authorities, was one of *entente cordiale* with the Tar-

173 var. Izm1 ѝ молѧшесѧ остати, всѣмъ ѝгръ бѣсовъскыѩ ѿ льсти дьаволѧ.

174 var. Izm1 ѝже *соуть роусалиꙗ*, ѝнїе же скомороχwᵘ.

175 Ostrowski (1998: 1–27): the today obsolete term 'Tatar Yoke' first appeared in the middle of the sixteenth century.

tar khans of the Qipchaq Khanate,[176] who always displayed great tolerance and respect for the religious beliefs of their new vassals. One example of this was the attitude of Metropolitan Cyril II of Kiev (1243–1280), the highest Church authority in Rus' during these first turbulent years that followed the destruction of his metropolitan seat in Kiev—among other cities—by the invading Mongols in 1240. In spite of this, he showed no ill will to the invaders, and accepted their dominion as a manifestation of divine will, as evidenced by the fact that he appointed a bishop in the Tartar capital of Sarái in 1261, who served as an intermediary between the Khan and the Metropolitan (Gonneau 2010: 215).

There are another invaders and attackers of the principalities to the northwest of Rus', like the Swedes and the Teutonic Knights, who attempted to conquer Pskov and Novgorod in the early 13th century. These cities enjoyed considerable autonomy and prosperity, which they achieved to a large extent thanks to the intense trading activity they maintained with the Hanseatic League, as they were situated at its eastern end. The offensive of the "Latins", enemies of the Orthodox faith, was interrupted by the Prince of Novgorod, Alexander Nevsky (1220–1263), who is remembered for his successive victories over the Swedes on the River Neva (1240) and over the coalition of Lithuanians and Knights of the Teutonic Order on the frozen Lake Peipus (1242). In these terms he is praised as a saint in the *Tale of the life of Alexander Nevsky*, which was composed around 1280 at the instigation of his son Dmitri and Metropolitan Cyril (Gonneau 2010: 217). However, Prince Alexander Nevsky maintained the same policy of concord and submission as the Metropolitan with the Tartars, obliging his own subjects from Novgorod and Pskov to pay the tax required by the Mongol Khan.

The text that concerns us here contains the rules dictated during the council held in the city of Vladimir on the Kljazma, and convened by Metropolitan Cyril for the purpose of appointing Serapion, who until that time had been the hegumen of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves (1274–1275), as Bishop of that important city. This Bishop is thought to be the author of a series of moralising sermons that see the invasions and catastrophes that beset Rus' in the 13th century as a divine punishment, and that urge the faithful to repent of their sins (see text 4.19.). This council was attended by another four bishops: Dalmatius of Novgorod, Ignatius of Rostov, Theognostus of Pereyaslav

176 Mongol state that included territories in modern Ukraine, Russia and Kazakhstan, from the division of the Mongol Empire in 1241 through to the 15th century, taking for its capital the city of Sarái, founded on the lower course of the River Volga.

and Simeon of Polotsk. The most important was Dalmatius, archbishop of Novgorod (1251–1274), who officiated the burial of the heroes of the Battle of Rakovor[177] (1268)—in which the troops of Novgorod and Pskov defeated the sword-wielding horsemen of Livonia[178]—in the cathedral of Saint Sophia of Novgorod. In addition, he himself stamped his seal on the treaty of 1259–1260, which reopened trade between Novgorod and Pskov and the Hanseatic cities of the Baltic (Gordienko 2010: 149). He was also witness to the city's growing autonomy, as it became virtually a republic of traders after the 1264 treaty, which limited the powers of Prince Yaroslav Yaroslavich, brother of Alexander Nevsky (Gonneau 2010: 216).

As documented in the *Books of the Council of Vladimir*, Metropolitan Cyril made a point of reminding the five bishops assembled of certain practices of the clergy and of the faithful that were not correct, including some customs with a pre-Christian origin. This council appears to announce the increasing importance of the city, which one quarter of a century later would become the metropolitan seat when Cyril II's successor, Metropolitan Maksim, decreed the transfer of the seat from Kiev in 1299 (Ostrowski 1993: 94). And in fact, the archbishopric of Vladimir remained vacant between 1238 and 1274, and the Bishop's functions were performed by the Metropolitan of Kiev himself (Ostrowski 1993: 90–91).

The text of the *Books of the Council of Vladimir* was included in the *Kormčaja kniga* compiled for the cathedral of Saint Sophia in Novgorod (see text 4.4.), where it appeared immediately before the *Sanctifying Instruction for a Newly-Ordained Priest* (text 4.20.). The *Books* are drafted in the form of a series of norms or rules that have been numbered by the editors, and whose number varies according to the copies, ranging between seven and nine. Pavlov (1908: cols. 83–84) highlights the fact that in numerous copies of the *Kormčaja kniga* appearing in 15th century manuscripts, the text of the *Books* begins directly in the second rule and omits the first, which establishes a series of taxes or tariffs for those who wish to exercise the priesthood or diaconate. According to Pavlov (ibid.), this could be due to censure by the Church, as these taxes were considered to violate all preceding Church law, which expressly condemned all types of simony. Conversely, these same later manuscripts contain two rules (7–8) that do not appear in the older versions, such as the *Kormčaja* of Saint Sophia of Novgorod in 1280 (Pavlov 1908: cols. 99–100).

177 Rakvere, in modern Estonia.

178 State on the shores of the Baltic occupying the territory of modern Latvia and Estonia.

Edition used: Pavlov (1908: cols. 83–102).
Other editions: Beneševič (1914: 1–8).
References: Gonneau (2010), Gordienko (2010), Fennell (1995:88), Ostrowski (1993), Pavlov (1908: cols. 83–84).

4.13.1 Books of the Council of Vladimir in 1274, *3*

This rule, listed as the third by the editors, appears in all versions of the Books. The preceding second rule clarifies to the priests the correct way to give the sacrament of baptism, while the fourth rule reproves the deacons of the region of Novgorod for exceeding their powers by taking on the function of priests during the liturgy, especially concerning the consecration of the spiritual gifts.

Пакы же оувѣдѣхомъ бесовьскаꙗ ѥще дьржаще wбычаꙗ трeклатыхъ ѥлинъ, въ божествьныꙗ праздьникы позоры нѣкакы бесовьскыꙗ творити, съ свистаниемь и съ кличемь и въплемь, съзывающе нѣкы скарѣдныꙗ пыаница, и бьюцеса дрьколѣиемь до самыꙗ смерти, и възымающе ѿ оубиваемыхъ порты. На оукоризноу се бываѣть Божиймъ праздьникомъ и на досажение Божиймъ церквамъ. Паче w семь досажаютъ нашемоу Спасоу и Застоупоу, иже насъ избави ѿ проказы смертьныꙗ и ѿ тоугы дыавола, и wбъвеселивый сердца наша сватыми честьными праздьникы, да познаемъ и помнимъ спасенаго ѥго тайньства, да почитаемъ ѥго въ сватыхъ Божиахъ церкъвахъ, въ хвалоу и въ пѣснь създавшаго насъ, и прочее по нашемоу законоположению. Мы же послѣдоуемь сватымъ и преподобнемъ нашемь ѿцемь: аще кто изъwвращетьсѧ по сихъ правилѣхъ бещиныѥ твора, да изгънани боудоуть ѿ сватыхъ Божиихъ церквь, а оубиении да боудоуть проклати въ сий вѣкъ и въ боудоуций. Аще нашемоу законоположению противатьсѧ, то ни приношениꙗ ѿ нихъ приимати, рекше просфоуры и коутьи, ни свѣчи. Аще и оумреть, то надъ нихъ не ходать иерѣй и слоужбы за нихъ да не творать, ни положити ихъ близь Божиихъ церквь. Аще который попъ дерзнеть что створити надъ ними, да боудеть чюжь своѥго сана.

Once again, we have become aware that the demonic customs of the accursed Hellenes still remain, since some put on spectacles at holy festivals of devils with whistling, cries and groans, gathering shameless drunks, who beat each other even to death and take the clothes from the dead. This is an outrage at holy festivals and an offence against the churches of God. Furthermore, it offends our Saviour and Protector, who freed us from the evil of death and the devil's deceits, and filled our hearts with the joy of saints and honourable festivals so the we would know and remember the mystery of his salvation and worship him in the holy churches of God, with praise and song composed by us, and everything else according to our laws. We follow our saints and rever-

end fathers: if one is found flouting these rules, let him be expelled from the holy churches of God, and murderers be condemned in this life and the next. If they reject our rules, then no offerings should be accepted from them, meaning no hosts, nor *kut'i*,[179] nor candles. And if they die, then no priest should go to them and no rites said for them, nor should they be laid near the churches of God. If a priest defies what is to be done with them, let him be sent away from his order.

4.13.2 Books of the Council of Vladímir in 1274, *5*

Rule number five is also included in all versions of the Books. As with the fourth and sixth rules, this refers to a failing committed by those celebrating the liturgy in the surroundings of Novgorod, but while the fourth alludes to the deacons, and the sixth to lay persons, the fifth is directed at the priests.

Понеже оувѣдѣхомъ въ тѣхъ же странахъ неродьство творяще бещиньые свати-тельско, оупиваюцеся безъ мѣры въ сватыа пречистыа дьни постеныа, ѿ свѣтлыа недѣлѣ верьбныа до всѣхъ сватыхъ, ꙗко не быти божествьномоу приношению, ни божествьнаго крещениа до всѣхъ сватыхъ: мы же послѣдь-ствуемъ божествьнымъ правиломъ; глаголють бо: попъ оупиваꙗся, да ѡста-неться, ли да изверженться. Мы же заповѣдаемъ преподобнымъ епископомъ: аще не покаеться, повелѣваемъ всѣхъ изврьци. Лоучше бо единъ достойныхъ слоужа, неже тысаща безаконьнъ. Аще ли ꙗваться спиры творяще народы, не покоряю-цеся семоу правилоу, проклати да боудоуть.

Since we have become aware that, in these very lands[180] the priests are negligent and commit excesses by drinking immoderately on the holy and most pure days of fasting, from the splendour of Palm Sunday to All Saints Day,[181] that there is no divine liturgy or holy baptism until All Saints. We ourselves follow the divine rules, which say: "The priest who becomes drunk must either resign or be expelled."[182] We ordain the reverend Bishop: if they do not repent,

179 *Kut'ja* is a dish of grain with honey and dried fruit prepared for funerals and ritual meals commemorating the dead, as well as for other festivals, such as Christmas.

180 This refers to the Novgorod regions, a city mentioned in rule 4.

181 In the Orthodox Church, All Saints' Day is celebrated on the first Sunday after Pentecost, or the eighth after Easter, which is the same. This period coincides with several pre-Christian festivities, such as the *Rusalii* and *Radunicy*.

182 Rule 42 from the *Apostolic Canons* (Pavlov 1908: col. 97, n. 12). This work is a collection of ecclesiastical rules (85 in the Orthodox Church and 50 in the Catholic) attributed to the Apostles and compiled for the first time in the last book (8) of the *Apostolic Constitu-*

we order all to be expelled. One worthy servant is better than a thousand impious ones. Should groups form of people who do not abide by this rule, may they be condemned.

4.13.3 Books of the Council of Vladímir in 1274, *6*

The sixth rule follows a series of rules directed at the failings of those celebrating the liturgy in the region of Novgorod, starting with deacons in the fourth rule, and going on to the priests in the fifth, until reaching the lay persons in this section. However, the seventh rule, which follows it, breaks the mould and deals with a marriage custom, although still in the Novgorod area.

Паκы же оувѣдѣхъмъ, въ тѣхъ же странахъ, ꙗко нѣций несвѧщений wсвѧщаютъ приносимаꙗ къ церкви плодоносиꙗ, рекше кроупы или коутьꙗ за мертвыꙗ, повелѣваемъ w̃ сего времени таковомоу не быти, ни w̃ дьꙗконовъ да не wсвѧщено. […] Ничтоже да не внесено боудеть въ Божий wлтарь, ни коутьꙗ, ни ино что w̃иноудь. Попъ, ни дьꙗконъ да не входать праздению, ни лѣностию, да не досажаютъ прѣчистоумоу мѣстоу бещиноу въхода.

Once again, having become aware that, in this region, some lay persons consecrate the offerings of fruit they take to the church, namely, cereals or *kut'ja* for the dead, we ordain that, from this time, they should no longer do so, and neither must it be consecrated by deacons. […] Let nothing be brought to God's altar, neither *kut'ja* nor any other thing whatsoever. Let neither priest nor deacon enter with idleness nor sloth, so as not to offend the most holy place by bringing disorder.

4.13.4 Books of the Council of Vladímir in 1274, *7*

According to Pavlov (1908: cols. 99–100), the seventh rule, together with the following eighth, do not appear in the earliest versions of the *Acts*, such as the one included in the *Kormčaja Kniga* of Saint Sophia in Novgorod in 1280, but only in later manuscripts from the 15th century, such as the *Kormčaja* of the Monastery of Solovki in 1493 or that of the Chudov Monastery ("of the Miracles") of Moscow in 1499. Nevertheless, in spite of the subject matter not continuing the series formed by rules 4–6, referring to those celebrating the liturgy, from the geographical point of view, it still remains in the region of Novgorod. The eighth rule condemning pre-Christian ceremonies held on the night from Sat-

tions. They are mainly concerned with the obligations and conduct of the clergy and faithful, as well as administration of the Christian church and its sacraments.

urday to Sunday, although the geographical region is not specified, could well have fallen within the Novgorod area, since it is joined to the seventh rule.

И се слышахомъ: въ предѣлѣхъ новгородьскыхъ невѣсты водять къ водѣ. И нынѣ не велимъ томъ тако быти; аще ли, то проклинати повелѣваемъ.

And we have heard this: on the outskirts of Novgorod, they take the brides to the water. We now do not wish this to happen; if it does, then we ordain it to be condemned.

4.13.5 Books of the Council of Vladímir in 1274, *8*

As already mentioned in the previous rule, rules 7 and 8 do not appear in the earliest versions of the Books, but only in later ones in the manuscripts of the *Kormčaja Kniga* in the 15th century. Unlike the seventh, the eighth rule provides no geographical coordinates, although since they go together, it can be deduced that it also refers to the Novgorod region. As for the content, the season of the year concerned is not specified, only the night of Saturday to Sunday. With the others, rule nine is the last in the Acts and speaks of the cross that the priests draw on the ground and on ice. According to Pavlov (1908: col. 100), in spite of being presented independently, its content and form certainly relate it to the rest of the rules and form part of the oldest versions of the Books.

И се слышахомъ: въ суботу вечеръ сбираються вкупь мужи и жены, и играють и пляшуть бестудно, и скверну дѣють въ ночь свѣтаго въскресенія, яко Дионусовъ праздникъ празднують нечестивіи елини, вкупѣ мужи и жены, яко и кони вискають и ржуть, и скверну дѣють. И нынѣ да останутся того, аще ли, то въ преже реченый судъ впадуть.

And we have heard this: on Saturday evenings, men and women gather and play and dance shamelessly, and commit impure acts in the night of holy Sunday, the same as with the festivals of Dionysius celebrated by the impious Hellenes, with men and women together, moaning and neighing like horses and committing foul acts. And now, so that they renounce this, if it is true, then the judgement described before will fall (upon them).

4.14 Moses of Novgorod, *Sermon of the Holy Father Moses on Blasphemy and Oaths*

The authorship of the *Sermon of the Holy Father Moses on blasphemy and oaths* has been disputed among Russian textual critics. Popov and Gal'kovskij propose Moses, archbishop of Novgorod (1325–1330; 1352–1359) as author of the sermon; he was known for his untiring work as a founder of churches and monasteries, and a very prolific writer, as told in his hagiography,[183] although I.I. Sreznevskij doubted this. However, at present, A.I. Sobolevskij's proposal is accepted, which identifies the author of this and another sermon titled *Teaching on untimely unruliness*, with the abbot of Saint Anthony Monastery in Novgorod, who died in 1187 (*cf. 1 Chronicle of Novgorod*). The subject matter and sociocultural incardination of the sermon respond to the context of the Church in 12th-century Novgorod, as well as being written in a language very close to the vernacular, in the simple, unadorned style of Novgorod parishioners. Moreover, Sobolevskij considers the sermon to have been written because of the drought and ensuing famine that scourged the city of Novgorod in 1161.

The text was aimed at condemning violations of swearing and taking the name of God in vain, although it also contained a list of other sins concerned with Slavic pagan customs.[184]

The earliest preserved copies of the sermon date from the 14th century, in *Khludovskij Sbornik* (Ms State Historical Museum (SHM) Coll. Khludov No. 30 fol. 116) [henceforth *KhlS*] and *Paisievskij Sbornik* (Ms NLR Coll. Kir.-Bel. (Collection 76103), No. 4/ 1081, fol. 197) [henceforth *PS*], although it is also found in miscellanea as Izm1 (fol. 161r). In the version included in the *KhlS*, the sermon is integrated with the *Teaching on untimely unruliness*, under a single title, while in later miscellanea it has its own identity and is given its own title; thus, in Izm1, it comes under the title of the *Sermon of the Holy Father Moses on blasphemy and oaths*, by which it is known in subsequent literary tradition.

This section is based on the *KhlS* text and includes the *PS* and *Izm1* variations.

Edition used: Kolesov (1980)
Other editions: Gal'kovskij (1913: 133–140); Sobolevskij (1912), Sreznevskij (1863: 703).
References: Mansikka (1922: 189–192); Popov (1875: 56–57).

183 The hagiography of Moses, in both the abbreviated and full versions, was written by Pachomius the Serbian. *Vid.* Jablonskij (1908: 20, 105–108; 82–91).

184 The section also contains the sermon *Slovo sv. Otecъ, kako žiti khristianomъ* (Gal'kovskij 1913: 102–112), probably as an interpolation of Moses's sermon in it.

4.14.1 Sermon of the Holy Father Moses on Blasphemy and Oaths, *KhlS*, fol. *116r*

Christians are reminded that those who swear in vain or incite others to do so and then go to church in a state of sin will burn in eternal fire. A list of other sins follows.

[...] томоу же подобна и дроугаꙗ вина: жертвоу приносать бѣсомъ. и недоугы лѣчать чарами. и наоузы немощнаго бѣса гл҃емаго трацю,[185] прогонать нѣкыми писмены лживымы. проклатыхъ бѣсовъ ꙗлиньскыхъ пишюще на ꙗблоцѣхъ. и покладаютъ на ст҃ѣи трапезѣ. въ годъ стыꙗ литоургиꙗ. и тъгда оужасноу҃тьса страхомь анг҃лскаꙗ воиньства. и того ради б҃ъ гнѣваꙗса не поущаѥть дъжда на землю.[186] и зане же не велить б҃ъ недоугъ лѣчити чарами. ни оузы. ни бѣсъ искати[187] или ловы идоуще. или коуплю дѣюще. или мл҃ти ѿ цра горе кр҃тыаномъ тако дѣюци. и моука горше поганыхъ. аще са не ѳстаноуть того и придоуть на покаꙗние. то вѣкъ сь коротокъ. а моука долга и бес конца.[188]

Similarly and other like misdeeds: making sacrifices to demons, curing illness with charms and knotted cords,[189] and believing they expel the weak demon called *Trjasca*[190] with certain false writings, by inscribing the names of accursed Hellene demons on apples and putting [them] on the holy altar during the liturgy and then terrify themselves with fear of confrontation by angels; and because of this, our Lord God, full of ire, refuses to let rain fall on earth, and at other times sends fire and frequent wars and many kinds of misfortune, he sends punishments until we stop our wickedness and repent. But we continue to do the same, and adhere to the sins that the Lord God prohibits largely through his saints, and does not allow disease to be cured by charms, nor knotted cords, nor by seeking demons, or believing in encounters, or by hunting and trading or seeking the Czar's favour; and sends bitterness to Christians who act

185 var. PS, Izm1 трасцю.

186 var. PS, Izm1 add. ѳвогда пожаромъ, и ратьми частыми, и прочими бедамѝ многими, казни ны посы̀лаетъ да мы престанемъ ѿ злобъ и на пр҃коанїе обратимъса. но мы̀ є҆дїнако пребываемъ. не ѳстаноуцеса ѿ гр҃ѣхъ. ꙗко велми претитъ г҃ъ б҃ъ стыми своими.

187 var. PS add. въ стр҃ѣчю вѣровати Izm1 add. ни стр҃ѣчно вѣровати.

188 var. PS, Izm1 или ѿ кн҃за мїлости хотяще, не велить чародѣꙗниѣмъ. и кобми ходяще. сихъ искати, аще кто ѿ кр҃тыанъ волхоу҃а [Izm1 въшествоу҃а], и коблениа твора, горше поганы҃х осоу҃дятъса, таковыи аще покаа҃ниа о то҃м не прїмоу҃тъ, ни wстаноу҃тъ҃с.

189 *Nauz*. This is a special type of talisman, a knotted cord worn round the neck or on the wrist to ward off sickness and evil spirits.

190 *Trjasca* or *trjasavica*, means demons personified as Fever.

thus, and even more bitter punishment for pagans, if they do not put this aside and repent; then this life [will be] short and the pain [will be] long and without end.[191]

4.15 *Discourse on the Barrel of Divine Punishments*

The *Discourse on the barrel of divine punishments* is integrated into the *Zlatostruj* [henceforth *Zl*], a miscellany compiling teaching sermons attributed to Saint John Chrysostom; the *Zl* reached Rus' from Bulgaria, where Czar Simeon (893–927) had it translated from the Greek,[192] according to the prologue of the extended version on the work.

It is found in the two established redactions on the *Zl*, the extended[193] and the abbreviated ones.[194] The extended redaction, which contains 138 sermons is in position 86, while the shorter one—which differs in the number of sermons, also the themes are also arranged more coherently—is at number 40.

Probably the version of the discourse contained in *Zl* was the first one known in medieval Rus' and was later included in other texts. Thus the discourse is found in PVL (*sub anno* 6576), relating to a specific historical fact: the Cuman attack and slaughter of Russian princes by the River Alta, in a *sbornik* (SLR Coll. Rum., Nº 435) under the title *Poučenie blaženago Theodosija, igumena Pečerskago*[195]—with interpolations recorded in the PVL; in the *Zlatoust*, in week 36, titled *Poučenie Ioanna Zlatousta o kaznjakh božiikh i o strastjakh*.

The oldest manuscript preserved of the abbreviated redaction in the *Zl* is Ms SPL (NLR) F.п.1.46 (12th century), written on parchment with the text distributed in two columns; it is incomplete (only 198 folios are preserved), also according to Malinin (1910), its quinternions are not in order. It has been

191 According to PS and Izm1, the end of the text: "… the prince's favour is not disposed to seek out sorcerers or quack doctors by frequenting them; if any Christian uses magic or quack medicine, he will be judged more harshly than the pagans if he does not repent or desist from doing so".

192 For sources of the *Zl*. *v*. Thomson (1982).

193 Also preserved in other manuscripts in Rus', in PSL (NLR) Q.п.1.74 (11th century), known as the *Zlatostruj of Byčkov* (fragmented); SAL 4.9.41 (fragments); SAL 33.2.12 (15th century) etc.

194 The abbreviated redaction is preserved in manuscripts in the PSL (NLR) F.п.1.46 (12th century); SAL 33.16.15 (year 1407); PSL (NLR) F.1.241 (16th century); SLR Egor. Coll., Nº 283 (15th century); SLR Tr. Coll., Nº 145 (15th century) SHM Nº 3455 (15th century); SAL 4.9.40 (fragments from Finland, 13th century); SAL 4.9.42 (fragments from Finland, 13th century); etc.

195 Attribution to the holy abbot at the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev is erroneous. *Vid*. Sreznevskij (1867: 34–35).

hypothesised that this manuscript, which has linguistic features of the region, belonged to the library of Cyril, bishop of Rostov († 1230).[196] Sreznevskij believes that it consists of two units, the first with texts from the *Zl*, and the second can be partially found in the *Toržestvennik*.

The discourse included in the *Zl*, as a large part of the sermons in the miscellany, deals with the immoral habits of men, leading them to suffer divine punishment after death. In the Ms SPL (NLR) F.п.1.46, a list of certain customs and beliefs is found, relating to Slavic paganism, and which may have been interpolated after translation from the Bulgarian.

This fragment comes from the Sreznevskij edition (1867) on Ms SPL (NLR) F.п.1.46 (12th century).

Edition used: Sreznevskij (1867: 34–43).
Other editions: Malinin (1910); VMČ nov.13–15, col. 1180–1579 (1899).
References: Čagovec (1910), Fomina (1984), Karaulova (1977), Orešnikov (1961), Thomson (1982).

4.15.1 *Discourse on the Barrel of Divine Punishments*

The author addresses his Christian brothers to remind them that, when they are dragged down by sin, they cannot attain the reward from the celestial heights, but are punished by hunger, war and disease. Each of the punishments and the evils causing them are described.

[…] роукы бо ваша и ногы ослаблены соуть къ цьркъвамъ. и къ добрыимъ дѣломъ. а на игрища и на трѣбы. и на прониривають дѣла оубыстрены. цр҃кви стоять зарастъше. а игрища оутлачены грѣховьныими плясании. да како ны хощеть миловати б҃ъ бѣсовьскаа оугодиа твораша. нѣсть бо насъ на зълобоу, ни на проказы створилъ б҃ъ. нъ на сн҃овьство себѣ. поносѧ же нашемоу невѣрию. самъ вл҃дка рече. аще есмь оц҃ь вамъ. то къде есть слава моя. аще есмь г҃ь вамъ. то къде есть боязнь моя. обаче не наричаите си е҃а на земли ни въ рѣкахъ ни въ истоуьницѣхъ. ни на аѣаръ. азъ бо роукою моею оутвердихъ н҃бо. азъ на водахъ основахъ землю. азъ потоуихъ истоуьникы и рѣкы на пищю ул҃комъ и скотомъ. […]

Your arms and legs are too weak to carry you to church and to do good works, yet they hurry to festivals and offerings and bad deeds. Churches are abandoned, but festivals are condemned by sinful dancing. How are we going to have the

196 Karaulova (1977).

mercy of God when we give ourselves to the pleasures of demons? For God did not create us for evil or lies, but to be his children. Cursing our lack of faith, the same writer continues: "If I am Father to you, where is my glory; if I am God to you, where is your fear of Me? Do not place (your fear) in the earth, nor in rivers, or springs or the air. For I, by my own hand, hardened the sky, I put the foundations of earth in the waters, I made the springs flow to feed men and animals (…)".

4.16 George of Zarub, *Teaching of the Monk, George of Zarub to His Spiritual Son*

The author of this text is George (12th century), abbot of the Zarub monastery on the right bank of the Dnieper river, opposite the mouth of the Trubež river, apparently with caves similar to the ones in Kiev[197] and its existence attested to from the mid-12th century.[198] The hegumen dedicates the text, titled *From the sinful monk George, of the caves of Zarub, teaching for his spiritual son*, a certain young man of good lineage, who wished him to become his spiritual guide. Thus, George explains some guidelines to follow to lead a Christian life, and condemns worldly pursuits.

Sreznevskij (1867: 53) thought that, chronologically, the text came from before the Tartar yoke. Indeed, the teaching is contained in a miscellany of sermons by Ephrem the Syrian, dated to the 13th century (Ms NLR Coll. Pogod., Nº 71a), as well as in later manuscripts from the 16th and 17th centuries.

Edition used: Sreznevskij (1867: 51–57).
Other editions: Byčkov (1917: 101–105), Vladimirov (1890: 135; 140–141).
References: Tvorogov (1987).

4.16.1 Teaching of the Monk, George of Zarub to His Spiritual Son

The author advises his spiritual son to abide by Christian conduct, with death and the fear of God constantly in mind, by listing a number of faults and sins that must not be committed, among which he makes some allusion to pre-Christian pagan practices.

197 Sreznevskij (1867: 53).
198 *PVL* (H) *sub anno* 6655.

[…] смѣха бѣгаи лихаго. скомороха. и слатоуѣхара. и гоудца. и свирца. и нѣ оуведи оу домъ свои глоума ради. поганьско бо то ѥсть а не крⷭ҃тьанъско. да любаи та глоумлѣныа поганъ ѥсть. и съ крⷭ҃тьаны причастьа нѣ имать. дьяволи бо то соуть. всегда сли съ мысци. и созваныа и весѣлыа блоудьскаа бо то ѥсть краса. и радость. бѣсѣщихсѧ wтрокъ. а крⷭ҃тьанъскы соуть гоусли прѣкраснаа доброглⷭ҃наа псалтыра. ѥюже присно должьни ѥсмы веселитисѧ. къ прⷭ҃тоумоу владцѣ млⷭ҃твомоу хⷭ҃оу бⷭ҃оу нашемоу. стⷭ҃ъ. стⷭ҃ъ. ѥси бⷭ҃е исполнивыи нбⷭ҃ и землю славы твоѥѧ. […]

Flee from laughter, the perdition of poetry and *slatoč'khar*[199] and musicians, do not bring the piper to your house for merriment, for this is pagan and not Christian, and the person who likes such amusements is a pagan and cannot have communion with Christians, for they are devils who always have cunning tricks and invitations and lascivious pleasures, for it is the delight and enjoyment of young people who are possessed; but the *gusli* who chant the psalms beautifully are Christians with whom we must rejoice eternally before Our Most Pure Lady, the Merciful Christ Our Lord, Holy Holy Holy is God who created heaven and earth for his glory (…).

4.17 *The Virgin Mary's Journey through the Torments*

What is known as the *The Virgin Mary's journey through the torments* is one of the oldest apocryphal stories in Russian Orthodox literature, also one of the most popular, which serves as a source of inspiration for Dostoevskij in his novel, *The Brothers Karamazov*. Therefore, several copies have reached us, the oldest of which is in a 12th-century *Sbornik*[200] from the Holy Trinity—Saint Sergius Monastery.[201] However, most of the copies were made in the 17th and 18th centuries, in the ambit of "Old Believers".[202] There are many versions of the story, some of which do not contain the passage on the pagans that concerns us. Similarly, the Greek source lacks this section, which must have been entered into the text by the translator into Old East Slavic, or by one of the

199 Unclear term.

200 Compilation of texts (in general, texts with the same type of content).

201 Manuscript No. 12, fs. 30–38; these can be consulted online on the monastery's web page: http://www.stsl.ru/manuscripts/book.php?col=1&manuscript=012.

202 Split within the Russian Orthodox Church following Patriarch Nikon's reforms in 1653. The so-called "Old Believers" continued to use the rites and liturgical books from before the reform.

first copyists into that language (Tikhonravov 1898: 202, n. 9; Mil'kov 1999: 583). Since it is written in the form of a dialogue (questions and answers) among the two principal characters, it is easier for the copyists to add innovations. According to most scholars, the original Greek must have appeared around the 4th–5th centuries, while the Slavic translation was known from the 11th century (Rožd estvenskaja 1999: 407). As the title indicates, the story tells of the descent of the Virgin to hell, guided by the Archangel Michael, and moved by the desire to see the punishments for sinners. Consequently, it belongs to the genre of visions of the saints in which they describe the Other World. It also has eschatological elements when referring to the Second Coming of Jesus Christ and the Final Judgement. In it, the Virgin presents herself as an intercessor and defender of humans before God and his Son, showing a typical trait of Russian Orthodoxy: compassion toward sinners suffering torment. With her repeated supplications to God, the Virgin obtains temporary relief from punishment for the sinners in hell (from Holy Thursday to Pentecost). The fragment given here belongs to the oldest, 12th-century version, as published by Mil'kov (1999: 586). Unfortunately, it is incomplete and does not have the beginning of the story, which includes part of the fragment given. Therefore, we have filled in the gap with the edition by Pypin (1863 reprint. 1970: 118–124) from an 18th-century copy, which fundamentally agrees with the former. We also give a significant variation of the latter in a footnote. To differentiate between the editions, we have put the beginning, taken from the latter, between square brackets.

Edition used: Mil'kov (1999: 586–597), Pypin (1862, reprint 1970: 118–124).
Other editions: Mil'kov (1999: 598–608, 609–617), Rožd estvenskaja (1999: 306–321), Tikhonravov (1863, reprint 1970: 23–30).
References: Aničkov (1914, reprint 1995: 25, 249–250), Mansikka (1922: 203, 284–285, 287–290), Mil'kov (1999: 582–585; 617–626), Niederle (1916: 95–105, 112–116, 120–122, 125–127), Reiter (1973: 170–171, 175, 189–191, 198, 202), Rožd estvenskaja (1987), (1999: 407), Tikhonravov (1898: 201–204).

4.17.1 The Virgin Mary's Journey through the Torments, *f. 30r.1–9*

The Virgin goes to the Mount of Olives and prays to the Archangel Michael asking him to come down and guide her through hell, as she desires to see the punishments of sinners. No sooner said than done, and the chief of the heavenly host descends with four hundred angels and shows her the torments. First, they see how pagans are punished, with their beliefs and gods mentioned in the paragraph below.

[И воспроси благодатная архистратига:[203] «кто си суть?» И рече архистратигъ: «сіи суть, иже не вѣроваша во Отца][204]

и сн҃а и с҃тго дх҃а. нъ забъіша ба. и вѣроваша. юже нъı бѣ тварь бъ на работъ створилъ. то то они все богъı прозваша. сл҃нце и мц҃ь землю и водоу. звѣри и гадъı. то сетьнѣые и чл҃вѣьска имена та оутриа[205] троана хърса велеса пероуна. на бъı wбратиша бѣсомъ злъıимъ. Вѣроваша. дондоселѣ мракъмь злъıимъ одьржими соуть. того ради сде тако моучатьса.

[And the Virgin asked the Arch-strategist: "Who are these?" He replied: "These are the ones who do not believe in the Father,] nor the Holy Spirit, for they forgot God and (do not) believe that we, as creatures, were created by God for work. They called all things gods: the sun, the moon, the Earth and water, wild animals and reptiles. Later, they made them into gods (giving them) names of people on the following day[206] (?), Trojan,[207] Khors, Veles, Perun,[208] and they believed in evil demons. And they are surrounded by the darkness of evil until this very day. So they are here, suffering thus."

4.18 Peter the Unworthy, *Tale of Peter the Unworthy on Fasting and Prayer from the Canon and Ecclesiastical Order*

The tale is in fols. 56v–59r of the well-known *Troickij Sbornik* (Ms SLR Coll. Tr. Nº 12), an edifying anthology written in Kievan Rus' between the end of the 12th century and beginning of the 13th, using Slavic sources, especially from Bulgaria, including the *Zlatostruj*, *Knjažij Izbornik, Paraenesis of Ephrem the Syrian, Izbornik by Czar Simeon, Bulgarian Nomokanon, Homillary for Easter*. However, the sources of Peter the Unworthy's texts still remain unidentified today, together with a set of homilies attributed to Clement of Ojrid, for which no source has been found, either.

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203 Loanword from Greek ἀρχιστράτηγος "Commander-in-chief", in this case of the heavenly army, fot it refers to archangel St. Michael, who is guiding the Virgin in Her journey through hell.

204 Pypin (1862, repr. 1970: 118–119).

205 Variant: то стѣи чл҃къı, ѿ камени ту устроя "afterwards (?) the human beings, making them of stone" (Pypin 1862, repr. 1970: 119), that is, "making statues of stone with their image".

206 та оутриа literally means "those tomorrows", which does not make much sense in the context. Therefore, it may be a wrong spelling of the word та оутрѣи "on the following day".

207 Cf. 4.3.1.

208 Cf. the pantheon of Kíev described in 4.1.8.

Neither is there a clear explanation of who wrote the sermon, which has been attributed to Peter I of Bulgaria (927–969) (Popovski-Thomson-Veder 1988: 2), and to the writer, *Pëtrъ Ruski*, who appears in the list of apocryphal books among the most famed names of authors and Byzantine and Slavic-Russian works (Petukhov 1904: 151; Pypin 1806: 36). In any case, both for the basic content and the simplicity of the composition of the text, most literary critics say the text is of Russian origin and not a translation (Petukhov 1904). In fact, the message of the sermon, to a large extent, fits into the ideological context of the very primitive state of society and the Russian church.

The following fragment is from the *Troickij Sbornik* by Popovski—Thomson-Veder (1988).

Edition used: Popovski—Thomson-Veder (1988)
Other editions: Gal'kovskij (1913, II: 141–163), Petukhov (1904), Ponomarev (1897: 57–64), *PS* (1858), Sobolevskij (1908).
References: Jakovlev (1893).

4.18.1 Tale of Peter the Unworthy on Fasting and Prayer from the Canon and Ecclesiastical Order

The sermon tells Christians that their conduct must adhere to the commandments and lead upright lives in which they must keep the holy days, fasting periods and abstinence as ordained.

[…] тѣмь же сице пожити оповелимъ имъ. пьрвоѥ да праздноуѥть чисто въскрьсение хво. и вса праздьникы ѥго. и бц̃а и вса праздьникы и всѣхъ нароучитыхъ оугодьникъ ѥго. и да не кланѣаютьса до земла ѿ великаго дне. и̅. дни. и. не тъчно тѣло милоующе нъ славаще въскрьсение. и чьтоуще распатие. и покланѣающеса крьстоу. и иконѣ христовѣ. и бц̃а. и ст̃ыхъ такоже и вса дн̃и недѣльныа. и не постітиса вса дн̃и. нъ дъвашьды ѣсти. ѥже хотѧще брашьно. тъчно грѣха не сътворити. и не оупиватиса. ни въ кыа же дни. не бо мьздоу троудоу своѥмоу. въ ты же дни молитвы творити часто. а и вса дн̃и и ноци. ѩкоже вѣдоуще. противоу силѣ оумнѣи. отъ видѣниа разоума. и комсание възимати часто. самомоу са чисто съблюдъше. аще ли не недостоити соуще. причастимса. ст̃ыхъ тѣхъ христоувахъ таинахъ осоудимъса.

И по съшьствии ст̃го дх̃а. рекше по роусалиихъ. такоже недѣлю прѣити славаще прест̃оую троицю. до дне всѣхъ ст̃ыхъ. и отъ толѣ дьржати по оустаовоу отьчестоу до петрова ап̃ла дн̃е ѥдиною дньмьѣ стоую тр̃цю.

And you are ordered to live thus: first, celebrate with all purity the Resurrection of Christ and all its rites, and that of the Virgin Mary and all holy days of the

Venerable Saints; and do not bow down to the ground for eight days following Easter Day,[209] and do not only worship with your body, but glorify the Resurrection and honour the Crucifixion and venerate the Cross and the icons of Christ and the Virgin Mary and the saints; likewise, every day of the week: do not fast every Sunday and do not fast every day, but eat twice when you want to eat, just do not sin and do not become drunk on any day, as those who are inebriated destroy the reward for their efforts; during this time; pray often, every day and night, as a guide against a force of the mind through a vision of what is right; also take communion frequently, keeping yourselves pure, for if we receive the sacrament from these Mysteries of Christ and are not unworthy, we will not be punished. And after the Coming of the Holy Spirit, meaning after the Rusalia,[210] spend every Sunday in the same way, too, glorifying the Holy Trinity until All Saints' Day.[211] And from then, keep to the canon until the Day of Saint Peter the Apostle the only (…).

4.19 Serapion of Vladimir, *Teaching of the Venerable Serapion*

Little is known of the life of Serapion, Bishop of Vladimir, Suzdal and Nižnij Novgorod († 12 July 1275). The chronicle tells that, before becoming bishop, he was the Abbot of the Cave Monastery of Kiev, and on his death, he left a large number of disciples and a significant amount of writings.

Five sermons are usually attributed to him, four contained in the *Troickij spisok* of *Zlataja Cep'*[212] [henceforth ZC] (*Slovo prepodobnago otca našego Serapiona*[213] (fol. 78v–80v), two titled *Poučenie prepodobnago Serapiona* (fol. 80v–

209 Bending the knee to the ground is prohibited at certain times in honour of the Resurrection of Christ, as recorded from the First Ecumenical Council (canon 20) and the Fourth (canon 90).

210 The popular name is used to refer to Pentecost: Rusalia. This fact is found previously in Byzantine literature, such as Demetrius Chomatianus (§ 1.11.1.) *vid.* Koukoulès (1948: 31), and in southern Slavic literature, such as the *Savvina kniga* (ed. V. Ščepkin, 1903), from the 10th–11th centuries, where the term *Rusalii* appears three times as a synonym of Pentecost (in Savv. 134r, 135v, 149r).

211 The week from Sunday of Pentecost (eighth after Easter),—popularly known as *Rusalii*—until the following Sunday, called All Saints' Sunday (ninth after Easter). The week between the two Sundays is called *rusal'naja nedelja*. The Fast of Saint Peter follows All Saints' Sunday and lasts until the Day of Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

212 The parchment manuscript in the Holy Trinity-Saint Sergius Lavra dating from the end of the 14th century (SLR Coll. Tr., Nº 11), known as the *Troickij Spisok*, which until now is the only one from the first textual version of the *Zlataja Cep'*.

213 It is the same one as recorded under the title of *Slovo svjatago Ioanna Zlatoustago o kaznekh božiikh i o ratekh* in Izm1, ch. 37. fol. 107v.

83r;[214] fol. 84v–86v[215]), *Slovo svjatago prepodobnago Sirapiona*[216] (fol. 83r–84v) and *Slovo blaženago Serapiona o maloverii*[217]). In addition, Kolobanov (1958) says that Serapion may have been the author of *Poučenie k popam*, a sermon included in the book of acts of the Council of Vladimir (1273–1274).

His work is characterised by great literary skill combined with clear, simple language which made it a model for later works. If Serapion's early sermons can be firmly placed in their historical context, the later ones talk of more general matters. The bishop interprets the attack by the Tartars and Mongols, the destruction of Kievian Rus' and the earthquakes happening around the time (either the one in 1230 or that of 1258) as divine punishment. In the *Poučenie prepodobnago Serapiona* (fol. 84v–86v) Serapion launches an attack against pagan customs and those carrying out witchcraft.

This piece is from the Petukhov edition (1888), in turn used in the in PLDR by Kolesov (1981).

Edition used: Petukhov (1888)
Other editions: Kolesov (1981), PS (1858: 472–484), Ševyrev (1850), Zenkovsky 1974[2].
References: Aristov (1878), Bogert (1984), Gorlin (1948), Gudzij (1952), Kolobanov (1958a, 1958b, 1960, 1961, 1962), Mansikka (1922:216–221).

4.19.1 Teaching of the Venerable Serapion

Serapion laments the short time that his faithful have kept up their good behaviour after his exhortation to live according to the Holy Scriptures.

[...] аже еще поганьскаго обычая держитесь. волхвованию вѣруете и пожигаете огнем невиныя человѣкы и наводите на всь миръ и градъ оубийство. аще кто и не причастися оубийствоу, но, в соньми бывъ въ единой мысли, оубийца же бысть. или могай помощи, а не поможе, аки самъ оубити повелѣлъ есть. От которыхъ книгъ или от кихъ писаний се слышасте, яко волхвованиемь глади бываютъ на земли и паксы волхвованиемь жита оумножаются. то аже семоу вѣруете, то чемоу помигаете я. молитеся т утете я, дары и приносите имъ, ать строятъ миръ, дождь поущатъ, тепло приводятъ, земли плодити велятъ. се нынѣ по три лѣта житоу

214 The former is also found in *Zl* titled *Poučenie Ioanna Zlatoustago, da prestanem ot grekh našikh*.
215 It is also found in *ZC*.
216 In *Izm2*, ch. 148. fol. 272r, it appears under the title of *Slovo svjatago Efrema o kaznjakh božiikh i o ratekh*.
217 It is also found in the *PS*.

рода нѣсть не токмо в Роусь, но в Латѣнѣ. се вѣлхвове ли створиша. аще не Богъ ли строить свою тварь, яко же хощеть, за грѣхы нас томя. видѣ азъ от божественаго написанья, яко чародѣици и чародѣйца бѣсы дѣиствоуютъ на родъ человѣкомъ и надъ скотомъ и повторити могоутъ. надъ тими дѣйствоуютъ, и имъ вѣроуютъ. Богоу попоущьшоу вѣси дѣйствоуютъ. попоущаеть Богъ, иже кто ихъ боиться, а иже кто вѣроу твердоу держить к Богоу. с того чародѣйци не могоутъ. печаленъ есмь о вашемь безоумьи, молю Вы, отстоупите дѣлъ поганьскыхъ. […]

And you still continue in your pagan ways. You believe in witchcraft and burn innocent people in the fire and blame the whole world and the city for the killing. And if someone did not take part in a killing, but held the same opinion, he also is a killer. Or if, being able to help, he did not do so, it is as though he ordered the killing himself. In which books or writings have you heard this, that famine exists on earth because of witchcraft, and witchcraft causes the wheat to multiply? If you believe that, why then do you burn them? You pray to them and honour them and bring them gifts. Let them organise the people, make it rain, make the sun shine, let them fill the earth with fruits! Behold, for three years now there has been no wheat not only in Rus', but among all Catholics.[218] Did the witches cause this? Is it not God, the architect of creation, punishing us for our sins as he wishes? I have seen in the Holy Scriptures that witches and sorcerers, with the help of demons, act on human beings and animals and can destroy them, they act on these and still you have faith in them! Demons act if God permits it. God only gives permission to the one who fears Him and who has a strong faith in God, witches cannot act against this. I am saddened by your stupidity. I beg you to stay away from pagan activities (…).

4.19.2 Teaching of the Venerable Serapion

Serapion rails against people who set themselves up as judges of others, with interests other than justice in mind. He considers David to be an exemplary judge, since he was in fear of God.

[…] правила божественаго повелѣваютъ многыми послоухъ осоудити на смерть человѣка. вы же водоу послоухомь постависте и глаголете. аще оутапати начнеть, неповинна есть, аще ли попловеть, волхвовь есть. не может ли дияволъ, видя ваше маловѣрье, подержати, да не погроузится, дабы вѣверци въ доушьгоубьство, яко, оставльше послоушьство боготворенаго человѣка, идосте къ бездоушноу естьствоу к водѣ приясть послоушьство на прогнѣваньье божие […]

218 This may refer to the famine of 1271–1273 (Kolesov 1981).

Divine laws state that a person can [only] be condemned to death before many witnesses. And you make water the witness and say: "If she sinks, she is innocent, and if she floats, she is a witch". Is not the devil, on seeing your lack of faith, able to hold her so she does not sink, so as to impute you in a killing? How can you repudiate the witness of men created by God and accept an inanimate object, water, as a witness, for the divine wrath?

4.20 *Sanctifying Instruction for a Newly-Ordained Priest*

This text has to be included in the literature of ecclesiastical rules as a type of very practical teaching for the clergy. Its content usually relates it to the conclusions of the Council of Vladimir (1273–1274),[219] convened by Metropolitan Cyril II (1243–1280), with the aim of eradicating the abuses and malpractice of many of the Russian clergy, by rewriting the Balkan *Nomokanon* (*Kormčaja Kniga*) and adapt it to the real needs of Rus'.

In fact, the instruction is contained in the Russian version of the *Kormčaja Kniga* after the conclusions from the Council of Vladimir, in the writings of Saint Sophia in Novgorod[220] (Ms SHM Coll. Syn., Nº 132 fol. 583r, year 1280). Thus, the history of the text of the *Instruction* from the 13th century is joined to the Novgorod edition of the *Kormčaja Kniga*, which was read widely in the 14th and 16th centuries, it was revised by Patriarch Nikon[221] (1653?) and repeatedly published in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Edition used: Pavlov (1908²: col. 102–110).
Other editions: AI (I: 162ss.).
References: Milov (1980), Ščapov (1962; 1978), Šmidt (1984: 207–210), Vostokov (1842: 274–276).

219 The conclusions from the Council of Vladimir were written by Metropolitan Cyril II in the *Pravilo Kjurila, metropolita rus'kago*.

220 Unlike the Kazan' edition of the *Kormčaja Kniga*, Saint Sophia of Novgorod's manuscript (also known as the *Kormčaja of Clement* (*Kliment*)*, Archbishop of Novgorod 1276–99*) is older and includes texts of Russian origin, together with the rules from ecumenical councils, and other more general ones for the Orthodoxy.

221 In Nikon's edition, the *Instruction* appears in chapter 60.

4.20.1 Sanctifying Instruction for a Newly-Ordained Priest

After the opening: "On finishing (his period of service), a recently ordained young priest in the Cathedral, as is the custom, the bishop, on sending him to the church assigned to him, having ordered it, will give him, by his own hand, his lectionary and will read this text to him, he will place it on the altar and order him to collect it, to have a vision and memory of holiness, canonical text and the placing of hands by bishop (name)", a series of recommendations is made to priests starting on their pastoral life on all aspects of their daily duties.

[…] ни почитай възбраненыхъ книгъ, или досель҃ чемоу наоучилъса иеси, невѣ-домаꙗ словеса, чары и лечьбы, коби или игры, дивы твора басний звагомыхъ, лѣкы и шахматы имѣти да са ѿстанеши, ни коньнаго оуристаниꙗ не зри. […]

Do not read prohibited texts; what have you learned until now? Hateful words, enchantments and cures by witchcraft, prophecies from the flight of birds or games, to tell wonderful tales by charlatans; you must renounce your sets of dice and chess, do not watch horse races.

4.20.2 Instruction on the Duty to Sanctify for a Newly-Ordained Priest

Priests are recommended to keep order in the church.

А къ съсоудомъ священымъ не прикасаютьса сдоугы, ни кадать: да боудеть святъ святой церкви. въ wлтарь не носи коутьѣ, ни пива; церковь дьржи чисто, бес пороха и паоучинъ, паче же wлтарь. […]

Do not let servants approach or place incense in the sacred vessels, in order to preserve the sanctity of the Holy Church. Do not take *kut'ja*[222] or beer to the altar; keep the church clean, free from dust and spider webs, also the altar.

4.20.3 Instruction on the Duty to Sanctify for a Newly-Ordained Priest

There follow recommendations to neophyte priests, this time so that they do not fall into the ways of superstition.

Въ церкви не дай повѣстити, и не присеси приноса въ божий жертвьникъ ѿ невѣр-ныхъ, ни ѿ иєретикъ, и ѿ блоудникъ, ни прелюбодѣй, ни ѿ татий и разбойникъ и грабитель, и власть немилосердъ, ни ѿ къчемника и ѓзоимьца, ротника и

222 For *kut'ja* see text 4.13.1.

клеветника, поклепика и лже послоуха, вълхва и потвориника, игрьца и злоюника, или тома челадь свою гладъмь и ранами: кто боудеть ѡ таковыхъ, а҆ не покаютсѧ, не ѥ҆мли оу҆ нихъ приноса. [...]

Do not allow talking in the church and do not bring offerings to the divine altar from infidels or heretics, nor fornicators or adulterers, nor thieves and bandits and footpads, nor from uncharitable men, taverners and usurers, those who swear false oaths and slanderers, informants and those who bear false witness, sorcerers and [sorcerer's] apprentices, bards and wicked men who mistreat their servants with hunger and beatings; whoever these people are, do not receive offerings if they do not repent.

4.21 *Conversation of the Three Saints*

The *Conversation of the three saints*[223] is an apocryphal text published in the form of questions and answers,[224] supposedly taken from a dialogue held among the three principal Fathers of the Orthodox Church: Saint Basil the Great (c. 329–379), Saint Gregory the Theologian[225] (c. 325–c. 389), and Saint John Chrysostom (c. 347–407). However, the title embraces three different texts: a translation of the Greek dialogue between Gregory the Theologian and Basil the Great,[226] the translation of a work by Athanasius of Alexandria on the three saints,[227] and the *Conversation of the three saints* itself. The oldest surviving copy in Russian of the latter dates from the 15th century, although there are some of southern Slavic origin from the 13th–14th centuries (Lur'e 1988: 90, Mil'kov-Smolnikova 1993: 152, Roždestvenskaja 1999: 410). From the 14th century, the text starts to appear in the lists of prohibited books, mostly in copies by Bogomils.[228] The main feature of the *Conversation of the three saints*

223 In Russian *Беседа трёх святителей*, although its original title in Church Slavonic is Слово сватаго Григорија Богослова и Василија Кесарииского Иоанна Златоустаго "Sermon by Saint Gregory, Saint Basil and Saint John Chrysostom".

224 Genre named by the Greek compound *erotapokriseis* (Miltenova 2004).

225 Also known as Saint Gregory of Nazianzus (in Capadoccia, Asia Minor), where he was bishop at the end of his life (381–383). Previously, he was bishop of Constantinople (379–381). He earned the name "the Theologian" after writing five discourses on the Trinity.

226 Of a distinctly dogmatic character, and whose earliest writing already formed part of the *Izbornik* of 1073.

227 The title in Church Slavonic is О оустроении словесъ Василија, Григорија ѳеолога, Иоанна.

228 See text 3.3.

is that it assimilates many elements from the oral tradition, such as superstitions, prophecies, songs, games and even some remains of pagan beliefs. Until now, there has been no reconstruction of the complete textual history of all preserved Russian writings. Moču l'skij classified all the writings he was aware of in ten versions or editions, starting with the opening words in each one (Lur'e 1988: 90–91). Although the coincidence of the first words does not guarantee that the whole text is verbatim, the series of questions and answers in each text is the same, in general. The copies attached to the second and seventh editions, as classified by Moču l'skij, are of particular interest. They include questions-prophecies and questions on knowledge of the physical world that are not found in the southern Slavic versions. Moreover, the second edition contains the words "from the Roman Patericon".[229] On its own, this subtitle does not serve as definite proof of its origin. However, it is possible that the edition has some relationship with western sources, such as the *Ioca monachorum*[230] (Lur'e 1988: 91, Rožd estvenskaja 1999: 410). The second edition is attested, among others, by manuscript No. 256 in the Holy Trinity-Saint Sergius Monastery, and contains the fragment given below.[231] This manuscript is a *Kanonnik*[232] dating from the 15th century, and has not been published until now. Fortunately, we gained access to it through its publication online in the monastery's web page.[233] In the monastery's collection we found another two manuscripts[234] containing an almost identical passage. These are two 16th-century *Sborniks* which have also been posted online.[235] However, another 16th-century *Sbornik* diverges significantly from the others in the passage concerning us now.[236] Therefore, we decided to include it in our compilation, as we believe it to be a very important version. As far as we know, none of these manuscripts has been published until now, neither has the edition of the text attesting to them. Only indirect references to the passage in question can be found in secondary biblio-

229 Collection of sayings and stories of saints, martyrs and Fathers of the Church.

230 Latin text in the form of questions and answers with ingenious riddles to entertain the monks.

231 The complete work within this manuscript in folios 175v.–179v.

232 Compilation of hymnography called canons.

233 http://www.stsl.ru/manuscripts/medium.php?col=1&manuscript=256&pagefile=256-0181.

234 Manuscript No. 769, (fs. 238v.–244r.) and No. 778 (f. 1r. and fs. 218r.–227r.).

235 http://www.stsl.ru/manuscripts/medium.php?col=1&manuscript=769 and http://www.stsl.ru/manuscripts/medium.php?col=1&manuscript=778&pagefile=778-0223.

236 Manuscript No. 786, (fs. 167v.–173r.); read online at: http://www.stsl.ru/manuscripts/medium.php?col=1&manuscript=786.

graphy. Thus, the bibliographical references included under the heading "Other editions" allude to other publications of the *Conversation of the three saints* that do not contain the passage. Only the edition from Pypin (1862, reprint. 1970: 169–171) of a *Sbornik* from the 17th–18th centuries has a parallel passage; nevertheless, it has notable difference from the ones transcribed here, in that the two Slavic gods are not mentioned.[237] The same occurs with manuscript Nº 774 from the Holy Trinity-Saint Sergius Monastery.[238] The Porfir'ev edition (1891: 385) of a 17th-century manuscript directly omits the whole passage. All these data, together with distorted names of the gods found in some of the versions, enables us to deduce that the passage posed many problems, precisely because it was a reminder of the pagans. The solutions adopted in publications of the text have been either to remove it, or else attempt to camouflage the names of the gods.

Edition used: Neither of the two fragments has been published so far.
Other editions: Kolesov (1989: 69–74), Mil'kov-Smol'nikova (1993: 165–182), Porfir'ev (1891), Pypin (1862, reprint 1970), Roždestvenskaja (1999: 350–359), Smol'nikova (1997: 169–176), Tikhonravov (1863, reprint 1970: 429–438), Vjazemskij (1880: 87–123).
References: Afanas'ev (1865, reprint 1970: 250), Aničkov (1914, reprint 1995: 249), Ivanov (1903), Kolesov (1989: 437–439), Lur'e (1988), Mansikka (1922: 202, 305), Mil'kov-Smol'nikova (1993: 149–164), Miltenova (2004: 40–76), Močul'skij (1893: 1–172), (1901), Nachtigall (1901), (1902), (1904), Niederle (1916: 95, 120), Orlov (2007: 14–16), Roždestvenskaja (1999: 410–411), Ščapov (1863: 8), Smol'nikova (1997: 176–185), Vjazemskij (1880: 63–86).

4.21.1 Conversation of the Three Saints, *ms. 256 f. 178v. 1–5*

This fragment is preceded by a series of questions searching into the composition of certain natural and supernatural elements: "(…) What are angels made from? Spirit, light and fire. (…) What is the Sun made from? From the very robes of the Lord. (…) What was the Moon made from? From ether, air and the Lord's throne". As can be seen, the answers given are an equal mix of natural and supernatural elements. This fragment is the only one in this series that lacks a

237 "John said: "What were thunder and lightning made from?"—Basil said: "(Thunder was made from) the voice of our Lord held in a chariot of fire, and (lightning was) added by the angel of thunder." (Pypin 1862 reprint. 1970: 169).

238 Manuscript No. 774, (f. 17v.3–4); read online at: http://www.stsl.ru/manuscripts/medium.php?col=1&manuscript=774&pagefile=774-0023. Cf. Nachtigall (1902: 357).

question, as it only provides the answer as we have transcribed it.[239] The question, which does appear in other copies, such as manuscript 786 reproduced below, is asked by Saint John Chrysostom: "What was thunder made from?".

(…) Василий ре. два є̀сть а̀ггѣ́ла громъная̀ на не є̀леньский старець перѹ́ть. а̀рх҃ѡ̀ є̀сть жидовинъ. а̀ два є̀сть а̀ггѣ́ла молненаа̀ (…)

(…) Basil said: "There are two angels of thunder.[240] For this, the ancient Greek Perut',[241] Arkhos[242] is Jewish. And there are two angels of lightning". (…)

4.21.2 Conversation of the Three Saints, *ms. 786 f. 168r.7–11*

This fragment comes within the same series of questions on natural and supernatural elements as before. The main difference is that, in manuscript 786, the questions on the Sun and Moon are omitted, with only the answers given, but the one on thunder does appear.

(…) ію̃ ре ѡ̃ чего громь створенъ бы̑ в ре два а̀ггѣ́ла громнаа̀ є̀ста. а̀ є̀леѡ̈ньскъ́ый старець пероунь є̀сть. а̀ хоръ̀ є̀сть жи̑винъ. а̀ два а̀ггѣ́ла є̀ста громнаа̀. (…)

239 The same occurs in ms. 769 (f. 240r.9–12) and 778 (f. 218v.13–17).

240 The reference to the angels of thunder and lightning, together with the guardians of other meteorological phenomena in each of the Russian translations of the *Treaty of Saint Epiphanius of Cyprus on weights and measures*, which forms part of the *Christian Topography* by Cosmas Indicopleustes in the 15th century (Golyšenko-Dubrovina 1997: 119v.32), and the *Patericon Scaliger* of the 13th century; the latter is kept in the library of the University of Leiden (Veder 1978, 2: 178r.13).

241 Distortion of the name of Perun, god of thunder and lightning (also the supreme god) among the eastern Slavs. The correct name of the god is found in manuscripts 769 and 786. His presumed Greek nationality originated from another apocryphal narration: the *Sermon and Apocalypse of the Holy Apostles*. In this work, we are told that Perun, the same as other gods, such as Khors and Trojan, were no more than human beings who had been chiefs or leaders in their respective countries: Perun in Greece, Khors in Cyprus and Trajan as emperor of Rome (Buslaev 1861: 5). However, it must be said that є̀леньский used for the "Greek" people is wrong, and the correct form is є̀линьскъ́ый, so the former could be a distortion of the word є̀леѡньскъ́ый "of the olives", seen in manuscript 786. The term "Hellenes" in medieval Byzantine texts indicates Pagan Greeks.

242 On first sight, it seems to have been borrowed from the Greek ἄρχων "chief, leader", if it were not for an abbreviation mark or sign, leading one to suppose that it is an abbreviation of a longer word. However, the mark does not appear in the other two manuscripts containing the same version. In our translation, we have opted for leaving it untranslated, and identifying it as a proper name (Arkhos). In fact, it is most likely a distortion of the name of Khors, which does appear unchanged in manuscript 786.

(…) John said: "What was thunder made from?". Basil said: "There are two angels of thunder: Perun is the old man of the olives,[243] and Khor[244] is Jewish. And there are two angels of thunder". (…)

4.22 *Sermon by Saint Gregory, Found in the Comments, on How the Ancient Nations, When Pagan, Worshipped Idols and Offered Sacrifices to Them, and Continue to Do So Now*

This is one of the homiletic works found in medieval oriental Slavic literature, and which were used by the local clergy to evangelize Kievan Rus'. In addition, it contains some of the best-known passages on practices and prophecies in pre-Christian Slavic religion. As with many other texts, it is an adaptation of a sermon by one of the most famous Fathers of the Church, Saint Gregory Nazianzus (c. 325–c. 389), more specifically the sermon on the Epiphany, published by Migne in volume 36 of the PG (1886: cols. 335–360). The sermons of Saint Gregory Nazianzus were quickly translated into Old Church Slavonic, as attested by a collection of thirteen sermons by the Church Father in Old Church Slavonic of Bulgarian origin that is preserved in an 11th-century manuscript edited by Budilovič (1875).

However, as it was in general use in the *"Slavia Orthodoxa"*, according to the term coined by Riccardo Picchio, the scribes did not only translate the Greek originals, but also adapted them to their own context by introducing elements from East Slavic culture of the medieval era. This led to a series of interpolations being added to the original sermon, censuring pagan beliefs and practices continued by the East Slavs. In Mansikka's (1922: 160–161) opinion, the comments had already been inserted in Greece and the Slavic compiler of the sermon would have used the Greek comments on paganism in Graeco-Roman Antiquity as a base to add his own interjections.

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243 Probably "from the Mount of Olives", a symbolic place that appears in several apocryphal writings, such as the *The Virgin Mary's journey through the torments*. (Mil'kov 1999: 598), or the *Sermon and Apocalypse of the Holy Apostles* (Buslaev 1861:5). In fact, the place has eschatological and apocalyptic connotations, as, according to the Gospels, it is where Jesus Christ revealed to his apostles what the End of the World and the Second Coming would be like (Matt. 24:3; Mark 13:3–4). Nevertheless, it could also be the adjective from *eleony*, one of the names used to invoke God in the *Prayer to the Lord against fear, lightning and thunder*, as attested by a 17th-century Serbian manuscript XVII (Jacimirskij 1915, 2: 179, 1915, 3: 332).

244 Mansikka (1922: 202) considers that here the name of the god, Khors, is being assimilated with the biblical figure of Nahor, Abraham's brother.

The text in question has been preserved in later copies dating from the 14th–16th centuries and, as is usually the case in the textual tradition of Church Slavonic, it is not easy to decide when it was written, nor its original form. Basing himself on the linguistic features of the text, Gal'kovskij (1913: 20) put the date at the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th centuries, in which he agrees with Sreznevskij (1851: 56). With reconstructing the original text, the difficulty lies in the earliest copy, contained in the *Paisevskij Sbornik*[245] (PS) of the 14th century, having several omissions in comparison with the text in the cathedral library of Saint Sophia in Novgorod[246] (Coll. Soph.) dating from the 15th century. The latter also included a copy of the *Sermon by One Who Loves Christ and Is a Jealous Defender of the Righteous Faith* (v. 4.26). The version given in manuscript No. 270 in Chudov Monastery in Moscow[247] (14th century) is considered by Gal'kovskij (1913: 21, 30–31) to be a special edition, combining parts of the two previous ones, as well as some interpolations taken from the *Sermon by Saint John Chrysostom* (see text 4.24).

For this volume, we have followed Gal'kovskij's (1913: 22–25) edition in which he gives a two-column synopsis of the PS versions in the Coll. Soph., and then the versions from manuscript[248] No. 43/1120 of the Coll. Kir.-Bel. (op. cit.: 26–27), from the 17th century, in addition the complete version from the Chudov Monastery (ibid.: 32–35). More specifically, we are giving the text from the PS, including in the footnotes the variations or additions in the version from the Saint Sophia library in Novgorod

Edition used: Gal'kovskij (1913: 22–25).
Other editions: Buslaev (1861b: cols. 528–530), Ponomarev (1897/3: 231–235), Tikhonravov (1862/4: 96–105).
References: Gal'kovskij (1913: 17–35), Mansikka (1922: 160–172), Sreznevskij (1851: 52–64).

4.22.1 Sermon by Saint Gregory, Found in the Comments, on How the Ancient Nations, When Pagan, Worshipped Idols and Offered Sacrifices to Them, and Continue to Do So Now

This is the start of the sermon in which he condemns various rites and practices of the pre-Christian Greek religion, some of which have already appeared in the

245 Ms. NLR Coll. Kir.-Bel. (Collection 76103), No. 4/ 1081, fol. 40 (Sreznevskij 1851).
246 Ms. NLR Coll. Soph. (Collection 728), No. 1295.
247 Ms. SHM Coll. Syn. (Collection 80370), No. 270. 221.
248 Ms. NLR Coll. Kir.-Bel. (Collection 76103), No. 43/1120.

original Greek sermon by Saint Gregory Nazianzus. However, he uses these rites and practices to make a veiled reference to pre-Christian Slavic gods and practices, with these allusions becoming more obvious as the discourse proceeds (*gusli* and *zamara* music, worshipping lightning and thunder, and the god Vil). These references are much more explicit and numerous in the additional passage in the manuscript from the Coll. Soph. and included as a footnote.

Видите wканную сию скверненую службу ствараемy w̃ скверныхъ ꙗзы̑к. елени wканини. владивыꙗ жертвы оученьемъ дьволимъ. їзowбрѣтено потвореньемъ темнаго бѣса ї коцюннаг. злымъ кладомы зловѣрнїї мнаще суетy истиннyю. служаще ї кланающе̑ їдоло̑. нѣкое оухищренье творя̑. мы же сихъ ча̑ w̃мѣтаемъ̑ неутивыхъ жертвъ. ї дыева служенья. ї кладенья требъ. критьска̑ wканꙋ̑наго оучите̑. ї мамеда проклата̑. сраciньска̑ жерца. еленьскиа любви. бyбенꙋ̑наго плесканья. свирѣлнаго звyка. пласанья сотонина. фрyжьскиа слонꙋ̑ница. ї гyслеї. мyсикѣискиа. їжї самара. є бѣсать̑. жрyще мт̑ри бѣсовьствї афродитѣ бг̑инѣ. ї корyнѣ.[249] и артемидѣ. проклатвї дємисꙋ̑сѣ. и недоношеныи породъ. ї финѣїское безyмное пыꙗньство почитаю̑. ꙗко б̑а. и семелино. требокладенье гром̑. ї молан¬ыамъ. ї вилy їже есть былъ идолъ. нарицаемый вилъ. егоже погyби данилъ прркъ в вавилоне.[250]

Think on this abominable and unclean service given by impure nations, the accursed Greeks, empty sacrifices taught by the devil, obtained by enchantments from the dark demon. With tales they make malign offerings, with the impious thinking that the deceit is true, and they use some ruse, by serving and worshipping idols. We reject their descendants because of their blasphemous sacrifices and the offerings and the cult of Zeus; and the despicable Cretan master and cursed Mahomet, Saracen priest; and Greek love, the beating of the

249 Ms. RNB Coll. Soph. (F. 728), No. 1295: короyна же боyдеть и антихр̑ца мт̑и. "Koruna will be too the mother of the Antichrist".

250 Ms. RNB Coll. Soph. (F. 728) No. 1295: и вилоy. бг̑оy вавилоньскомy. его же разби данило прр̑къ. тѣмъ же бг̑омъ требоy кладоyть и творать. й словеньскыи ꙗзыкъ. виламъ. и моко¬шьи. дивъ. пероyноy. хърсоy. родоy. й рожаници. оупиремь. и берегынамъ. и перепл̑тоy· и верьтачеса пьютъ емоy въ розѣхъ. й wгневи сварожицю молатса. и навьмь. мъвь творать. и въ тѣстѣ мосты дѣлаютъ. й колодазѣ. й йна многаꙗ же оутѣхъ. "And to Vil, Babylonian god destroyed by prophet Daniel. To those gods the Slavic people makes offerings too, and to *Vily*, and Mokoš, Div, Perun, Khors, Rod and *Rožanicy*, to the vampires and to the *Beregyni*, and to Pereplut, for whom they drink in horns while pouring around. And they pray to the fire Svarožic. And they prepare a bath for the souls of the dead. And with bread dough they make bridges and wells, and many other things of the like kind." On Vil *vid. infra* note 258.

drum, the sound of the pipes, Satan's dances, Phrygian horns,[251] *gusli*,[252] and *zamara*[253] music. The possessed who make sacrifice to the mother of the devil, the goddess Aphrodite and Koruna,[254] and Artemis, and the most accursed Dionysus, the foetus who did not come to term, and the senseless drunkenness of the Thebans, and those who worship God as well as Semele. Also offerings to the thunder and lightning, and to Vil, who was the idol Vil who was destroyed by the prophet Daniel in Babylon.[255]

4.22.2 Sermon by Saint Gregory, Found in the Comments, on How the Ancient Nations, When Pagan, Worshipped Idols and Offered Sacrifices to Them, and Continue to Do So Now

Section immediately following the first passage, which continues listing the rites practised by various people in Antiquity, among which he inserts those attributed to the Slavic peoples, and mixes Graeco-Roman and Slav gods equally.

фаликаци же ї фюфули.[256] чтуть срамныа оуды. ї кланаютъ имъ. и требы имъ кладуть.[257] ѡ нихъ болгаре научивше. ѡ срамныхъ оудъ истекшюю скверну. вкушаютъ рекуще симъ вкушеньемъ ѡщѣщаютъ гръси.[258] таверскаа дѣторъзаньа. їдолꙋ ѡ первѣнець. лаконьскаа требицьнаа кро. просажаемаа ранами

251 Wind instrument, possibly a curved horn (Sreznevskij 1893–1906/3: 423).

252 String instrument used by the East Slavs.

253 Music instrument (Sreznevskij 1893–1906/1: 929).

254 This may be a reference to Kore, the goddess of the underworld Persephone.

255 This refers to the "story of Bel and the dragon" (Dan. 14:1–22), although in fact the Babylonian idol destroyed by the prophet Daniel was called Bel, not Vil. The idol's name may have been altered because it was identified with other beings in popular Slavic religion, the *Vily*, which are mentioned in the *Sermon by One Who Loves Christ and Is a Jealous Defender of the Righteous Faith* (see text 4.26.), and in the addition in Ms. NLR Coll. Soph. (Collection 728), No. 1295 (*vid. supra* n. 253), where the difference between Vil and the *Vily* is described. This would have generated a corresponding masculine figure of the female *Vily*, as with Rod and the *Rožanicy*.

256 Ms. RNB Coll. Soph. (F. 728), No 1295: и въ ѡбразъ створены. "and those made in likeness".

257 Ms. RNB Coll. Soph. (F. 728), No. 1295: словѣне же. на свадьбахъ въкладываюче срамотоу. и чесновитокъ въ вѣдра. пьютъ. ѡ фюфильскихъ же. и ѡ аравитьскыхъ писанїй. наоучьшеса болгаре. "The same Slavs during the wedding celebrations put their private parts inside of a bucket with garlics and drink through ithyphallic objects. Bulgarians learned this from the Arabic writings."

258 Ms. RNB Coll. Soph. (F. 728), No. 1295: й соуть всѣхъ ꙗзыкъ скверньише и проклатьише. "and they are among all the nations the most impure and abominable."

ѣюже мажю҃. ѣкадью[259] вгиню сиюже дѣву вмѣнаю҃[260] ї мокашь чту҃. ї малакию велми почитаю҃. рекуцїи буıакини[261]

Phallic and ithyphallic objects. They venerate parts of the pudenda, they worship them and make offerings. Of these, the Bulgarians[262] learnt to taste the repugnant flux from the pudenda, saying that such tastings purified sins. The Taurian[263] sacrifices made by the first born sons to the idols, the sacrificial blood of the Laconians[264] spilt from wounds and with which they bathed the goddess, Hecate, whom they considered a virgin. And they worship Mokoš, and greatly revere Malakaia,[265] uttering nonsense.

4.22.3 Sermon by Saint Gregory, Found in the Comments, on How the Ancient Nations, When Pagan, Worshipped Idols and Offered Sacrifices to Them, and Continue to Do So Now

This passage is a continuation of the former and mentions a whole raft of magic prophesying practices from various ancient peoples, among which some of Slavic origin can be glimpsed, especially based of the indigenous lexicon designating these facts, and insertions, which, as usual, are more explicit in the Saint Sophia version in Novgorod, as notes.

пелепеловоѣ темное мясо їмъ҆ насыщаю҃ бї. делфичьскаа ворожа. їли кастелино запоїство. ї волшебнаıа проповѣ҆. наоу҆зи смрадниї. халдѣ҆їскаа встроноумѣıа. ї родопочитанье[266] ї їеврачьскиа сны. ї чары. їзвыкше ефроновы[267] скверныıа басни ї коцıюны. митрофа[268] му҆ка. нарицаѣмаıа праведнаа.[269]

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259 Ms. RNB Coll. Soph. (F. 728), No. 1295: просашаѣмаıа ранами то ихъ епьтемыıа. и тою мажютъ ѣкатию. “spilt from wounds, which is their punishment, and with which they bathed the goddess, Hecate.”

260 Ms. RNB Coll. Soph. (F. 728), No. 1295: творать. “they make”.

261 Ms. RNB Coll. Soph. (F. 728), No. 1295: и кылоу҆. и малакыıа иже есть роу҆чьныı блоу҆дъ. “and to Kyla, and to Malakya, that is masturbation.”

262 This probably refers to the Bulgarians of the Volga, who adopted Islam.

263 Belonging to ancient Taurica, a territory covering the modern Crimea peninsula.

264 Spartans.

265 The original Greek text (Gal’kovskij 1913: 28): μαλακίαν “softness, weakness, effeminacy”.

266 встроноумѣıа. ї родопочитанье are a loanword and a calque respectively from the corresponding temrs in the Greek original (Gal’kovskij loc. cit.): ἀστρονομία και γενεθλιαλογία “astrology and genealogy”.

267 Misspelling through metathesis of the name of Orpheus that is to be found in the Greek original (Gal’kovskij loc. cit.): Ὀρφέως.

268 Misspelling and christianization of the name of god Mithra that appears in the Greek original (Gal’kovskij loc. cit.): Μίθρον.

269 Ms. RNB Coll. Soph. (F. 728), No. 1295: пелопово. тѣмное масотворье ижѣ насыщаѣ бгы твора

The evil flesh of Pelope with which the gods are sated, the oracle of Delphi or Castalia's water, and magical prophecies, foul knotted cords, Chaldean astrology, genealogy,[270] the dreams of the Hebrews, spells learned from Ephron, tales and legends, the torment of Mitrophan, who is called just.

4.22.4 Sermon by Saint Gregory, Found in the Comments, on How the Ancient Nations, When Pagan, Worshipped Idols and Offered Sacrifices to Them, and Continue to Do So Now

This fragment constitutes the final part of the sermon, with an ending that differs among the various manuscripts. It is one of the ones that most explicitly refer to the gods and practices of pre-Christian Slavic religion, although they are always identified with the corresponding Greek culture and, in this case, also the Egyptian.

проклатѣ́ же w҃сирида роженъ.[271] мт҃ти бо его ражающи[272] ї того ст҃вориша бм҃ъ собѣ. ї требы ему силны творахѹ҃ wканн҃иї. w҃ тѣхъ извыкоша халдѣ́ї.[273] начаша требы имъ творити великиа. роду ї рожениц҃а.[274] пороженью проклатаго ба҃ w҃сира. сего же w҃сирида. скажю҃ книги сороциньскиа. ꙗко нелѣпы҃ проходомъ проїде. но смердащй҃. того ра҃ сороцини мыю҃ wходъ. ї болгаре. ї терканинї холми.[275] ѿкудѹ҃

е алъчьны. ли трипода. дьлфичьскаго. ворожа. й розгометаниꙗ҃ писанаꙗ въ книгахъ ли калоугнстово запоиство. чьтоутъ ꙗко бг҃а. й елиньское волхвованиѣ҃ й волшебноую проповѣдь. и на оузи смрадьнии. w҃ нихъ же никыйже ꙗзыкъ гоньзноулъ. и халдѣйскаꙗ астрономиꙗ҃. и родопочитаниѣ҃. йже ѣ҃сть мартолои и фражьскыа сны. и чары и оузрачѣ. и къшь. ѣ҃фр҃новы. скверьныꙗ басни ꙗ҃же и всюда соутъ, и коцюны. митрофа. моука нарицаѣ́маꙗ праведнаꙗ. "The evil flesh of Pelope with which the gods are sated, the oracle of Delphi's tripod and the throwing of branches written on the books or Castalia's water. They venerate like God the Greek sorceries and magical prophecies, foul knotted cords that no people could avoid, Chaldean astrology, genealogy, that is *Martoloj*, the dreams of the Phrygians, spells, visions and lots learned from Ephron, tales and legends, the torment of Mitrophan, who is called just." In what concerns *Martoloj*, according to Sreznevskij (1893–1906/2: 112) it would be a "false or apochryphal book" (Cf. text 4.37.1.).

270 In the sense of "prophesying the destiny of a person from the time of their birth" (v. text 4.42.3.).

271 Ms. RNB Coll. Soph. (F. 728), No. 1295: и въ w҃бразъ створены. "and those made in likeness".

272 Ms. RNB Coll. Soph. (F. 728), No. 1295: мати бо его ражающи w҃казиса. "For it happened that a mother gave him birth."

273 Ms. RNB Coll. Soph. (F. 728), No. 1295: w҃ тѣхъ извыкоша древле халдѣи. "From them learnt the ancient Chaldeans".

274 Ms. RNB Coll. Soph. (F. 728), No. 1295: и начаша трѣбы творити своима бг҃oма. родоу. и рожаници. "and they started to make big offerings to their two gods: Rod and Rožanica."

275 Ms. RNB Coll. Soph. (F. 728), No. 1295: по того рожению. проклатаго. и скверьнаго ба҃ ихъ. w҃сиърида того же wсирида скажеть книга лъживаꙗ и скверьнна ꙗ. срачиньскаго жьрца.

ꙁвыкоша ѣлени класти требы. артемиду. ї артемидѣ. рекше роду ї роженицѣ. таціиже їгуптане. такѡ и до словѣнъ доїде. се слов. ї ти начаша требы класти роду ї рожаницѣ. преже перуна бг̑а їхъ. а переже того клали требу. оупирѐ ї берегинѣ. по сг̑мъ крещеньй перуна wринуша. а по хр̑а бг̑а ꙗшѧ но ї ноне по оукраінамъ молѧтъ ѐму проклатому бг̑у перуну. ї хорсу. ї мокоши. ї вилу.[276] ї то творѧ wтаі. сего не могутъ лишити. проклатаго ставленьа.[277] в. ꙗ трапезы нареченыѧ роду ї рожаницѣ. (на) велику прелесть вѣрнымъ крстыанom. и на хулу сг̑му крщ̑нью. и на гнѣвъ бг̑у.[278] а се егуптане чть и требы кладу. нилу ї wгневѣ. рекуще нилъ плодавець. ї растителѣ класѡ. wгнь твори спорыню сушить.[279] ї зрѣёть того рѧ wканиї. полудень чтуть. ї кланѧютъ на полъдень. wбратившеса. сиже повѣсть велика есть. но мы лѣности рѧ. w многа мало избрахѡ.

The birth of the accursed Osiris. For he had a mother and they made him their god, presenting him with plentiful offerings, the wretched people. The Chaldeans learned from them and started to make great offerings to Rod and

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моамеда. и бохмита проклатаго. ꙗко нелѣпымъ проходомъ пройде. рожаѧса. того ради й бгомъ его нарекоша. wтолѣ начаша мыти гоузицѣ. срацини й болгаре. й тьркмени. и wлико йхъ ѐсть въ вѣрѣ той. й wмытье то въливаютъ въ рътъ. "During the birth of the accursed god Osiris, the unfaithful and dirty book of the Saracen priest Muhammed and of the accursed Bokhmit tells that, this same Osiris passed through the shameful birth canal. Because of this, they called him god, and it is because of this that the Saracens wash their anuses, also the Bulgarians and Turkmen people of the hills, and all those who have such faith, and the water from the washing up they pour into their mouths." Bokhmit is the East Slavic form of the name of Muhammad, as it can be found in the *PVL* (Ostrowski-Birnbaum-Lunt 2003: 619–621, cols. 84,18.20.22.25). The passage on the unclean customs of Bulgarians and Muslims seems to have been taken too from the *PVL* (Ostrowski-Birnbaum-Lunt 2003: 638, cols. 86,18.19): (…) бо wмываютъ wходы своѧ в ротъ вливаютъ. и по брдѣ мажютса поминаютъ бохмита (…) "For they wash their anuses, pour the water into their mouths and anoint their beards with it, remembering *Bokhmit*" (Cf. Hazzard Cross, Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953: 98).

276 Ms. RNB Coll. Soph. (F. 728), No. 1295: й виламъ. "and to the *Vily*."

277 Ms. RNB Coll. Soph. (F. 728), No. 1295: сего же не могутса лишити. наченше въ поганьствѣ. даже й доселѣ. проклатаго того ставлениѧ. "not being able to quit what they started being heathens and that even now (they practice), the accursed consecration (…)".

278 Ms. RNB Coll. Soph. (F. 728), No. 1295: по стѣмъ крщенїи черевоу работни. попове оуставиша трепарь прикладати. рѫжтва бц̑и. къ рожаничьнѣ трапезѣа wклады дѣюче. таковии наричаютса кармогоузьци а не раби бж̑ьи. й недѣли днь й кланаютса написавше женоу. въ чвлчьскъ wбразъ тварь. "After the holy baptism, the priests who were servants of their belly decided to sing the hymn devoted to the birth of the Mother of God to the table of *Rožanicy*, making offerings. Those are called "well fed" and not servants of God. And they worship also the day of Sunday, representing it with human shape and a woman's face."

279 Ms. RNB Coll. Soph. (F. 728), No. 1295: а wгнь бг̑ъ ѐгда съхне жито. тогда спорыню творить. "And the fire god when dries the grain, then it produces abundance."

the *Roženicy*.[280] During the birth of the accursed god Osiris, Saracen books tell that, this same Osiris, practiced indecent and shameful conduct. It is because of this that the Saracens wash their anuses, also the Bulgarians and Turkmen people of the hills. From this, the Greeks learnt to take offerings to Artemid and Artemis,[281] whom the Egyptians called Rod and Roženica. Thus it also came to the Slavic peoples. These Slavs started making offerings to Rod and the *Rožanicy* before Perun, their god, and before then to the vampires and *Beregyni*.[282] Following holy baptism, they rejected Perun, but even after accepting Christ, in the border areas they still pray to the accursed Perun, and to Khors, and Mokoš and Vil. And they do it secretly, unable to give up the accursed consecration of the second table dedicated to Rod and the *Rožanicy*, (to) greatly deceive faithful Christians, to blaspheme holy baptism and to the wrath of God. And thus the Egyptians revere and make offerings to the Nile and to fire, saying that the Nile is fruitful and makes the wheat grow. Fire dries and ripens this abundance. For this reason, the damned worship the noon sun and bow towards it. This is a long tale, but sloth has led us to choose a small part of a much longer text.

4.23 *Sermon of the Holy Father Cyril, Archbishop of Cyprus, on Evil Souls*

Three copies of this sermon have reached us. First, the oldest is the one containing a *Sbornik* or miscellany belonging to the Holy Trinity-Saint Sergius Monastery,[283] dating from the 14th century. This is the first of these edited by Gal'kovskij (1913: 68–72), and which we have followed for this paper. Secondly, the transcription published by Prince Obolenskij in *Moskvitjanin* (1844/1: 241–

280 On Rod and the *Rožanicy vid. supra* n. 150 and texts 4.8.5., 4.26., 4.27. and 4.33.

281 The author of the sermon duplicates the Greek goddess Artemis into her masculine counterpart "Artemid", the same as the pair of Slav gods Rod and Roženica, with whom they are identified later in the text.

282 The vampires (*Upiry*) and the *Beregyni* are also mentioned together with the *Sermon by St John Chrysostom* (v. text 4.24.1.). In the latter, the *Beregyni* are characterised in the same way as the *Vily* in the *Sermon by One Who Loves Christ and Is a Jealous Defender of the Righteous Faith* (v. text 4.26.1.). From its etymology, the name derives from *bereg*ъ "bank" or the verb *bereči* "keep", and so refers to the place where they were supposedly found. Therefore, these are Naiads or water spirits. Both the vampires and *Beregyni* would be ambivalent beings, as they were simultaneously natural deities linked to fertility and life, but also concerned with death. Similarly, they are ambivalent because they can be beneficial to humans, while also being harmful, and having power over the natural elements.

283 Ms. SLR Coll. Tr. (Collection 304), No. 39, fs. 232v.–236v., accessible on-line at: http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/book.php?col=1&manuscript=039.

245), which in the words of the editor, as brought to us by Mansikka (1922: 194), correspond to a 15th-century *Sbornik*, without stating which, and agrees almost literally with the first. Thirdly, the version of an 18th-century *Sbornik* kept in the National Library of Russia,[284] edited by Petukhov (1887: 13–16) and re-edited by Gal'kovskij (1913: 72–74). In the latter, it is noteworthy that the title is *Sermon of our holy father Cyril on evil and impious people*, unlike the first title, which reads as we put in the heading of this text (*Sermon of the Holy Father Cyril, archbishop of Cyprus, on evil souls*). We will not go into identifying the author, Cyril, since it is very well known that the tendency of homiletic works of East Slavic origin is to attribute authorship to a famed Church Father, in order to provide the text with greater legitimacy. It is enough to say that "father Cyril, Archbishop of Cyprus" has not been identified so far. The position of the sermon in the manuscript edited by Petukhov is also striking, as it appears following the *Sermon on the Rusalia and troubadours*, and stays in line with it, as they have the common theme of condemnation of pagan practices. Not so with the sermon in the *Sbornik* in the Holy Trinity-Saint Sergius Monastery which precedes a sermon condemning drunkenness.

In respect of the composition of the *Sermon*, in Mansikka's (1922: 195) opinion, it would probably be a compilation based on the testimonies of the *Izbornik of Svjatoslav*, as well as those in the *Sermon of Saint Gregory*, found in the comments on how the ancient nations, when pagan, worshipped idols (*v*. text 4.22), and the *Sermon of Saint John Chrysostom on those who cure sickness with spells and knotted cords* (text 4.25), to which the author-compiler had added elements that he knew first-hand and belonging to pre-Christian customs and rites still in use in 14th-century Rus'.

Edition used: For this edition, we consulted manuscript No. 39 directly, published online on the website of the Holy Trinity-Saint Sergius Monastery.
Other editions: Gal'kovskij (1913: 68–72), Obolenskij (1844/1: 241–245), Petukhov (1887: 13–16)
References: Gal'kovskij (1913: 64–75), Kalajdovič-Stroev (1825: 597–604), Mansikka (1922: 194–200), Ryan (1999: 123–124, 158–159, 162, 222, 256).

284 Ms. NLR OR O.I.64, fs. 379–381v. (Collection 550), formerly belonging to the Count F.A. Tolstoy's collection (Section III, № 70; cf. Kalajdovič-Stroev 1825: 597–604).

4.23.1 Sermon of the Holy Father Cyril, Archbishop of Cyprus, on Evil Souls, *f. 232v.–233v*

This fragment comes at the beginning of the *Sermon*, where Christians who believe in omens and practice ornithomancy are compared to Greek pagans and the Manicheans.

Мно́зи погани҃и є҆л҇лини, манехи҃и, в б҃сы вѣро҆ю҃. дїаволомъ пре҆ще҃ны. а҆ мы со҆у́ще ре́кше и҆стинныа хр҃тїа́не, в тыаже б҃сы вѣрꙋ́е҆мь въ волхвы҆ і҆ в҇ ворожо҆у. и҆ на горшее́ са поо҆у́чае́мъ. вѣрꙋ́е҆мъ в потки и҆ в да́тла. и҆ в҇ во́роны и҆ в синици. коли гд҃ь хоще҃мь пои҆ти · котора҃а погра҃е҆ то станемъ послꙋ́шающе правда ли и҆ли лѣва҃. ли а҆ще ны погра҃е҆ть по нашеи мыслѣ, то мы к собѣ гл҃емь [fol. 233r.] добро ны потка, си добро ны кажеть. рк҃ще о҆каа҃нїи, чи не б҃ъ тои потк҃ъ о҆у҆казалъ добро на҃ повѣдати · е҆гда ли что ны на пою҆ти зло съ҆творитъ҃ · то о҆у҆чнемь дрꙋ́жинѣ своеи гл҃ати, по что не вратихо҃мъ҃. а҆ небезлѣпа ны потка не дадаше поити, а҆ мы е҆а не послꙋ́шахо҃. ѡ҆ зло҆е наше безꙋ́мїе, самохоть лиша҆е҆мсѧ г҃а, и҆ къ погано҃ы҃ прїлага҆е҆мсѧ. ѡ҆ни бо погани҃и не зна҃юще б҃а, ни е҆го са ѿ҃вергоша. а҆ мы с҃тмъ крещени҃е҃ познавше б҃а, а҆ дїа҃вола са ѿ҃верьгше, то толико са слово҃ е҆го ѿ҃верьгли · а҆ дѣла е҆го и҆ нына творимъ. а҆́ще ны гдѣ бꙋ́дет҃ь поити. то мы. течемь к҇ волъхво҃. то вѣроу҆е́мь, че́хоу, и҆ оу҆стра҃цю. а҆ коли ны бꙋ́дет҃ь поити на долъгыи ѡ҆нъ по҆у҃. како ны велать с҃тыа кънигы въ с҃тыхъ цр҃квахъ по вса дн҃и, с҃тыхъ пр҃рк҃ъ проповѣданїа, с҃тыхъ а҃пл҃ъ оу҆ченїа. с҃ты҃ ѡ҆ц҃ь наказанїа. самъ бг҃ъ и҆ пр҃чтаа оу҆ста с҃тое е҆ѵ҃а҃лїе. то мы не хоще҃мъ того послоу҆шатї прилѣжно, ведꙋ́ща ны въ ц҃рство нб҃ное, и҆ в райскꙋ́ю [fol. 233v.] пищю · но мы послу҆ша́е҆мь потк҃ъ по дьа҆волю оу҆чению.

Many Greek pagans and Manicheans believe in demons, having been seduced by the devil. And we, being as we say true Christians, believe in these same demons, as well as sorcerers and soothsayers, and we hold it in the highest esteem, by believing in birds, in woodpeckers, crows and magpies. When we want to go somewhere, if one should sing, we stand listening to see whether, in our opinion, it sings on our right or on our left. Then we say to ourselves [f. 233r.] that the bird is a good omen, and favours us in its blaspheming, for has not God shown good to the bird so that it can tell us? Or when something bad happens to us on the road, then we start saying to our *družina*:[285] Why didn't we turn round, otherwise the bird would not have let us go in vain and we did not listen to it? Oh, how evil is our madness, that we willingly deprive ourselves of God and join the pagans! For they, the pagans, since they do not know God, neither do they reject Him, but we have known God and renounced the devil, through

285 Personal guard that accompanied the princes in Kievan Rus'.

holy baptism. Therefore, we have only rejected him by word and now we are doing his work. If we have to go somewhere, we run to see the sorcerers, and we believe in sneezes and encounters.[286] And when we have to make that long journey, as ordained by the Holy Scriptures in the sacred churches every day, in the preaching of the holy prophets, the teachings of the holy apostles, the commandments of the holy fathers and God himself from his most pure lips in the sacred Gospel, we do not wish to listen to that attentively, for it guides us to the Kingdom of Heaven and the celestial [f. 233v.] feast, but we listen to the bird, as taught by the devil.

4.23.2 Sermon of the Holy Father Cyril, Archbishop of Cyprus, on Evil Souls, *f. 234r*

The second fragment condemns the worship of creatures instead of the Creator and is preceded by a list of the various "satanic acts", such as theft, fornication, drunkenness, etc., and by an exhortation to remain fearful of God in the church during prayer, and not to harbour evil in one's heart against one's neighbour or brother. A praise of the Holy Trinity follows this fragment, as a profession of faith and synthesis of the Creed.

[...] а҆ не нарицаите собѣ бг҃а на земли. ни в рѣкѣ̑, ни въ стоуденцѣ̑. ни въ птицѣ̑. ни на въздоусѣ, ни въ слн҃цї ни в лоунѣ, ни в каменїи · є҆дїнъ бо є҆сть бг҃ь а҆ и҆ного нѣ҆ разв҃ѣє є҆го ни на небесѣ ни на земли · то҆ є҆сть творець всѣ҆мъ тваре҆́, видимымъ҆ и҆ неви(ди)мымъ.

[...] And do not call god unto you on the earth, nor in the rivers, nor the springs, nor in birds, nor in the air, nor in the sun, nor in the moon, nor in stones. For there is but one God and there is no other but Him either in heaven or on earth. He is the Creator of all creatures, visible and invisible.

4.23.3 Sermon of the Holy Father Cyril, Archbishop of Cyprus, on Evil Souls, *f. 234r.–235r*

This third fragment appears after the condemnation of the worship of creatures instead of their Creator seen in the previous one, as well as a profession of faith in the Holy Trinity, as a summary of the Creed, which places special emphasis on the figures of the Father and Son.

тако бо гл҃а бг҃ъ в законѣ моисѣ҆ѡ҆вѣ · да не боудеть въ и҆ѕл҃и нї волъхва, ни чародѣа, ни потворника ни наоу҆ѕьника. да не вѣроую҆ть ни чхоу ни въстрачю ·

286 See text 4.1.14.

а̀ мы сѧ[fol. 234v.]ще ѝстин҃ныа хрїстїане, прелщены є̀смы сквє́рными бабами · то мно́зи гл҃ють дїаволомъ наꙋ̑чени, то сїи бабы чи не бг҃а призываю҃. а̀ о̀ны проклаты̀ ѝ сквер҃ны, ѝ злокозн҃ны; наꙋ̑зы много вѣр҃ныа прельщаютъ; начнетъ на дѣти наꙋ̑зы класти҃, смѣривати плюющие на землю, рекъше вѣса проклинае҃, а̀ о̀на є҃ болѣ призыває҃; творитса дѣти врачюющие. а̀ о̀ц҃а ѝ матерь в пропасть а̀дову҃ ведꙋ̑щие, ѝ дш҃а ѝ в мꙋ̑кꙋ̑ вѣчнꙋ̑ю шлющіе· ѡ҃ го́ре тѣ҃ ѝже тако творя҃т мнатса хр҃тїане, а̀ дѣла дїавола творатъ҃. но погани҃и бо бг҃а не знаютъ. ни закона є̀го прїа҃лъ. ни пр҃рчьскаго проповѣданїа · ни а̀постольскаго оу҃ченїа. ни о̀ц҃ьскаго наказанїа. тако свои о̀бычай держатъ. а̀ є̀го не престоупаютъ. ни въскр҃нїа собѣ не чаютъ. ни славы бо́жїа прїати҃. то когда ѝмъ кака любо казнь найдетъ, ѝли ѿ кназа погрàбленїе, ѝлї в домоу̀ пакость. ѝли болѣзнь, ѝли [fol. 235r.] скотꙋ̑ ѝ пагꙋ̑ба; то о̀ни текꙋ̑тъ къ волъхво҆́, в тѣ҃ бо собѣ помощи ѝщꙋ̑тъ.

Thus spoke God in the Law of Moses, let there not be in Israel either sorcerer, or magician, or enchanter, or wizards,[287] and do not believe in sneezes or encounters. And we, being [f. 234v.] true Christians, are deceived by repellent old women, whom many say are taught by the devil, while others say if anything, these women do not call on God, as they are cursed, impure and wrongdoers. They use knotted cords to deceive many of the faithful. (The woman) starts by tying children with knots,[288] measuring around all sides while spitting on the ground saying that she is cursing the devil, and that invokes him even more, (saying that) she is doing it to cure the children, but she is taking the father and mother to the abyss of hell, with their souls going into eternal torment. Mercy on those who act thus, believing themselves to be Christian, but carry out the work of the devil! For the pagans do not know God, nor receive his Law, nor the preaching of the prophets, nor the teachings of the apostles, nor the commandments of the fathers, but keep their customs without transgression, and do not hope for resurrection or to receive the Glory of God. When some punishment of any kind happens unexpectedly, or the prince seizes assets, or the house is damaged, or sickness, or [f. 235r.] the cattle die, then they run to the sorcerers, looking to them for succour.

287 Deut. 18:10–11.

288 We have translated the word наꙋ̑зъ as "knot" and "knotted cord", unlike Ryan (1999: 222), who prefers to use "amulet", despite acknowledging in a note (Ryan 1999: 256, n. 40) that it is the equivalent of the Latin term *ligatura*, a magical technique consisting in tying knots.

4.23.4 Sermon of the Holy Father Cyril, Archbishop of Cyprus, on Evil Souls, *f. 235v.–236r*

After describing the various tests to which, according to the Old Testament,[289] God subjected Job through the devil, and especially the wounds that he inflicted on his skin, which Job withstood stoically without visiting a doctor, in this section, contemporaries of the sermon are reprimanded for having recourse to witches when suffering the least hurt.

лежа нагъ на смѣтьи по сеи҃ лѣ, и не пр҃їзва врачевъ. ни зелїа приложи, ни ѡбазаа ѧзвы вса та тѣ́рпа хвалаше бг҃а. а҆ мы нына хота мало поболїм [fol. 236r.] или жена, или дѣта, то ѡставльше бг҃а врача дш҃амъ и мѣломъ, ищемъ проклаты҃ бабъ чародѣиць наоу҃зовъ и словъ прелестны҃ слы҃шаемъ. гл҃ть намъ навазы¬ваю҃чи наоу҃зы, ѡнакоую дїаволю прелесть. а҆бы чадо бѣса бѣсомъ и҆згонити. ѿ горе намъ прельщены҃ бѣсо҃, и скверна҃мї бабами. а҆же ѡставльше бг҃а помощь¬ника, и пр҃чты҃ю є҆го мт҃рь гжю҃ бц҃оу҃ и чт҃наго крт҃а гн҃а; и҆демь въ дъно а҆дово съ проклатыми бабами҃.

(Job) lay naked[290] for seven years in the same place, and did not call for the doctor or apply herbs or bandage the sores,[291] enduring all this while praising God. And now we, if we fall slightly ill, [f. 236r.] or our wives or children, we forget God, the doctor of the soul and the body, and seek the accursed witches, and listen to the deceitful words of their spells. They tell us of enchantments that bind, a deceit like that of the devil: using demons to expel the demon inside the child. Mercy on us that are deceived by the demons and by filthy old women! Forgetting God's helper, the most pure Mother of God, and the revered Cross of our Lord, we go to the bottom of hell with the damned old women.

4.24 *Sermon by the Holy Father Saint John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, on How the First Pagans Believed in Idols, Offered Sacrifices to Them and Called upon Them and Many Continue to Do So Now, for Even Though, Being Christians, They Do Not Know What Christianity Is*

As Mansikka (1922: 172–174) explains in detail, this sermon would be a compilation. The second part of the work is based on a Greek sermon attributed

289 Job 1–2.
290 Cf. Job 1:21.
291 Cf. Job 5:18.

to the Church Father mentioned in the title, in which false prophets are condemned, published by Migne in volume 59 of the PG (1886: cols. 553–563). The sermon condemns Christians who still follow pre-Christian practices, as the title indicates. In fact, the title is one of the indicators pointing to the work being a compilation, as it copies part of the heading of another sermon seen previously, also attributed to a different Church Father, and which was compiled in the oriental Slavic region for the same purpose. *Sermon by St Gregory, found in the comments, on how the ancient nations, when pagan, worshipped idols and offered sacrifices to them, and continue to do so now* (v. text 4.22.).

However, the title is not the only thing taken from the previous sermon, but also a large amount of material from its first part, and drank deeply from the fount of other sermons included in the compilation, such as the *Sermon of one who loves Christ and is a jealous defender of the righteous faith*, which will be analysed below (v. 4.26) and the *Sermon on fasting for the ignorant, on the Monday of the second week* (v. 4.29). In addition, the compiler of the Kievan Rus' would have added valuable comments and personal observations.

According to Gal'kovskij (1913: 55), the second part of the *Sermon by the Holy Father Saint John Chrysostom* coincides with the *Sermon by Saint John Chrysostom on Christianity* as seen in chapter 59 of manuscript No. 202 in the Holy Trinity-Saint Sergius Monastery,[292] that is, the second edition of the miscellany known as *Izmaragd* (Izm2), written in the 17th century. As for the first part of the work, there only remains one manuscript, which is in the library in the cathedral of Saint Sophia in Novgorod[293] dating from the 14th–15th centuries. The passages taken from the *Sermon by Saint Gregory, found in the comments*, would have been taken from the proven version in manuscript No. 270 in Chudov Monastery in Moscow[294] (16th century), which had in turn taken some interpolations from this *Sermon by the Holy Father Saint John Chrysostom*, although there are some differences, innovations and additions not found in the latter. As can be seen, the texts of these sermons are inter-related and influenced each other as the writings were disseminated. Finally, again according Gal'kovskij (1913: 56), the content of this sermon may go back to the 13th century.

292 Ms. SLR Coll. Tr. (Collection 304), No. 202, fs. 88r.–91v., accessible on-line at: http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/medium.php?col=1&manuscript=202.

293 Ms. NLR Coll. Soph. (Collection 728), No. 1262.

294 Ms. SHM Coll. Syn. (Collection 80370), No. 270. 221.

Edition used: Gal'kovskij (1913: 59–61).
Other editions: Ponomarev (1897/3: 237), Tikhonravov (1862/4: 107).
References: Aničkov (1914: 87–88), Gal'kovskij (1913: 55–56), Jakovlev (1893: 127–130), Mansikka (1922: 172–182).

4.24.1 Sermon by the Holy Father Saint John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, on How the First Pagans Believed in Idols

The section given below is framed by several direct and indirect references to Saint Paul censuring the bad practices of Christians, such as condemning men who do pleasurable things for them, working for their bellies and not God.[295]

Горе вамъ вожевѣ слѣпии. ни сами вѣходите но и хотѧщимъ внити не даете. чл҃вчи забывше страха ви҃а҃ небреженіемь и крщ҃нїа ѿвѣргошѧ҃. и приступиша къ идоломъ. и начаша жрети молнии и громъ. и сл҃нцю и лунѣ. А друзии перену. хоурсу. виламъ и мокоши. оупиремъ и берегынамъ. ихже нарицаютъ три ѳ. сестриниць. а инии въ сварожица вѣроуютъ. и въ артемиду. имже невеглаши чл҃вчи молатса. и куры им режютъ. W wубогаꙗ коурата. ѿже не на чт҃ь ст҃ымъ породиша҃. ни на чт҃ь вѣрнымъ чл҃вкомъ. No на жертву идоломъ режютьса. и то блоутивше сами ꙗдать. И инѣми въ вода҃ потаплаемы соуть. А друзии къ кладазѣмъ приходяще молат҃ь. и въ воду мечютъ велеару жертву приносяще. А друзии wгнѣви и каменію и рѣкамъ. источникомъ. и берегъінамъ. и въ дроба. не токможе преже в поганьствѣ. No мнози и нынѣ то твора҃. А крт҃ьꙗнъı са наричающе. мостъı. и просвѣты. и бдѣлникъı. и чересъ ѳгнь скачютъ мнащ҃е крт҃ьꙗнъı а поганьскаа дѣла творать. навѣмъ мовь творать. и попелъ посреде съıплютъ. и проповедающе ма҃ и молоко. и масла и ꙗица. и вса потребнаа бесомъ. и на пець и лъющи в бани. мытиса имъ вела҃. Чехолъ и оуброусъ вѣшюще въ молвици. Беси же злоумню ихъ смѣющеса. поропръщютса в попелу томь. и следъ твои показаютъ на пролщение имъ. Wниже видѣвше то ѿходать. поведающе другъ другоу. и то все проповѣданье сами адать и пиѭ. ихже не достоѭ ни пс҃ѡ ꙗсти. W злаꙗ диꙗвола прельсть. иже ни погании того не творать. А друзии вѣроуютъ въ стриба҃ дажьба҃. и переплоута. иже вѣртачеса ему пиютъ в розѣхъ. забывше ба҃ створившаго н҃ба и землю. мора и рекъı и источникъı. и тако веселащеса ѿ идолѣхъ своихъ.

Mercy on you who are blind to God, you will not enter (the Kingdom of God), even should you wish to enter, you will not be permitted! Men who have forgotten the fear of God from neglect by renouncing baptism, approach idols and start to make sacrifices to the thunder and lightning, the sun and moon, and

295 Cf. Philippians 3,19.

others, to Perun, Khors, the *Vily* and Mokoš,[296] to vampires and the *Beregyni*,[297] whom they call three times nine sisters. And others believe in Svarožic[298] and Artemid,[299] to whom ignorant men pray. They sacrifice cockerels to them. Have mercy on the poor fowl, which were not born to honour the saints nor the faithful, but to be sacrificed as an offering to idols, and having thus blasphemed, they eat them themselves! Others are immersed in water, and others go to pray to springs and throw offerings in the water that they bring to *Velear*.[300] And others to fire, stones, rivers and fountains, to the *Beregyni*, and the trees, not only before, in pagan times, but also now many continue doing so, while calling themselves Christians. And they make bridges, lights and vigils,[301] and jump through fire, believing themselves Christian, but committing pagan acts. And they make a bath for the spirits of the dead, casting ash into the air, and bringing meat and milk, butter and eggs, and all things needed by demons. They pour water on the stove for the bath and hang shirts and towels in the bath, ordering them to wash themselves. The demons mock them with evil intent, treading on the ash and leaving their footprints to deceive them. They, having seen these, go and tell each other, and shouting it loud, everyone eats and drinks what would not be fit for dogs to eat. Oh, perfidious devil's deceit, not even pagans would do it! And others believe in Stribog, Dažbog[302] and Pereplut, for whom they drink from horns while cavorting,[303] having forgotten God who created heaven and earth, the seas and rivers. And this way they rejoice in their idols.

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296 See text 4.22.

297 Ibid.

298 Ibid.

299 Ibid.

300 Belial.

301 "Bridges" would have been some kind of cakes made for worshipping the dead, v. text 4.22.1., n. 253; the "lights" and "vigils", according to Mansikka (1922: 180–181) were similarly related to the cult of the dead.

302 For Stribog and Dažbog, v. texts 4.1.8., 4.1.23., 4.3.3., 4.3.5. and 4.3.6.

303 Cf. Ms. SHM Coll. Syn. (Collection 80370), No. 270. 221 (Gal'kovskij 1913: 33–35): (…) вѣроу-ютъ оупирем. и мл҃нци знаменаютъ мр҃твы и берегенамъ их же нарицаютъ з҃ сестреницъ. а дроу'зии вѣроуютъ въ сварожитьца. и артемида и артемидию имже ч҃вчи невеглаши. молатса. и коу'ры имъ рѣжютъ и то блоу'тивше тоже сами ядатъ. ѡ оу'богыа кокоши. яже не на чт҃ь. с҃тмъ породистеса. не на чт҃ь вѣрнымъ ч҃вкомъ. ѡ оу'богыа коурата. яже на жертвоу идоломъ рѣжютса. инии въ вод҃ь потаплаемы сѫтъ. а инии къ кладеземъ прино-саще молатса. и в водоу мечютъ. велеахоу жертвоу приносаще. а дроу'зии под҃ъ швиномъ. и в пов҃тех҃ъ скотьа҃ молатса. аки погании. а инии требами мез҃ъми молатса блоу'тивше. а инии пьютъ коу'скы. и рос҃т҃ъкы лоу'ковыми. и и коу'тноу бу и вел҃ъ бгыни. и ѣдрѣю. и обилоу'хѣ и скотноу бгоу. и попоу'тникоу и л҃ѣсну бу. и спорынами и спѣхоу. аки безаконьнии елени. и хал-дѣи. многомъ бгомъ молатсѫ. они бо незнающии ба се творатъ. а си не токмо ба знающь. нъ и кр҃тьяне са нарицающе. а горши погань соу'ще дѣла творащe. да т҃мъ горше ихъ моу'коу

4.25 *Sermon by Saint John Chrysostom on Those Curing Sickness with Spells and Knotted Cords*

The same as with other works previously mentioned, this sermon is a compilation of various writings, mainly based on an adaptation of the sixth homily *Against the Jews* by Saint John Chrysostom. This is the basis for attributing of the

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приимоуть. а друзии wгневи и камению. и рѣкамъ. и источникомъ. не токмо же то въ погань-
ствѣ творахоу. но и мнози нн҃ѣ то творять крт҃ьяне сѧ нарицающе. а дѣла сотонина творать.
мостъı чинать по м҃ртвыхъ и просвѣты. и бдѣлникъ. и биричьемъ играють. и шахы. и лѣкы.
и тавлѣи. и чересъ wгнь скачють. коли громъ гримить. и водоу къ коутьи за оупо(ко?)йнѣй
и ставлають на столци. и сметье оу воротъ жгоуть в великои четвергъ. молвящ тако оу того
огна дша приходѧще огрѣваютсѧ мнаще сѧ крт҃ьяне. а поганьская дѣла творяще. и попе-
ломъ посрѣ҃ сыплють. проповѣдають. масо молоко. масло яица. и вса потребнаѧ бѣсомъ. на
печь льють. мытисѧ имъ велѧ҃. чехлы и оуброусъ оу мъвници вѣшають. мывшесѧ цѣлоують
переть и кланаютсѧ. бѣси же злоумью и҃ смѣющесѧ. поръпрютьсѧ въ попеле томъ. и слѣды
свои показають имъ. на прельщение имъ. ѿ нихже видѣвше то. ѿходать повѣдающе дроугъ
дроугу. и то все проповѣданое сами ядать пиють. ихже недостоить ни псомъ ясти. ѡ злаѧ
дьявола прелесть. иже ни погании того не творать. что крт҃ьяне творать. дружии вѣроують
въ стриба. и дажьба. и переплоута. иже вертачеса и пиють ему в розѣ инии вѣроують въ сны.
вь кошь вь оустрачю. въ оурокъı. въ ворожю. въ кобление. и наоузы носать. и на дѣти важ-
ють. и ногти wбрѣзавше кладоуть. и за надра мецють. а ножнии на головоу. и пиво варяще
соль сыплють в кадь. и оуголь мечють забывше ба створшаго нб҃о и землю. мора и рѣкы
источникъı. и тако весела҆ѥ҃ о дѣла҆ѥ҃ своихъ. (…) а се инаѧ злоба въ крт҃ьяне҃. ножемъ крт҃ать
хлѣбъ. а пиво крт҃ать чашею. и а инымъ чимъ. а се поганьскы творать. смокочють къ пиво.
или къ медоу. и се поганьскаѧ жертва. ѻже что прокынетсѧ. или прольеть. то wни припадше на
колѣне҃. аки пси. пиють или водоу. а се поганьскы творать. водать невѣстоу на водоу даюче
замоужь. и чашю пиють бѣсомъ. и кольца мечють в водоу и поясы. ѻ злое дѣло крт҃ьяномъ
се творити. "(…) They believe in vampires *and dedicate dead children*, and in the *Beregyni*, whom they call *seven* sisters. And others believe in Svarožic and Artemid, to whom ignorant men pray. They sacrifice cockerels to them, *and having thus blasphemed, they eat them themselves*. Have mercy on the poor *hens*, who were not born to honour the saints nor the faithful, *have mercy of the poor fowl* that are sacrificed as an offering to idols! Others are immersed in water, and others go to pray to springs and throw offerings in the water that they bring to *Veleakh*. *Others pray under the oven for drying grain and around cattle, like the pagans. And others pray having blasphemed with impure offerings. Others drink from fistulas and the stems of chives. And they pray to many gods like the impious Hellenes and Chaldeans, to the god of kut'ja* (v. 4.20.2.), *the goddess Vela* (?), *to Jadrej* (?), *to Abundance, to the god of cattle, and to gods of the road and forests, to opulence and prosperity. For they do this ignoring God. But they not only know God, but also call themselves Christians, and they are worse than the pagans when doing such things, for which they will receive worse torments than them*. And others to fire, stones, rivers and fountains, not only before, in pagan times, but also now many continue doing so, while calling themselves Christians. *And they commit satanic acts. They prepare* bridges *for the dead*, lights and vigils, *they play draughts, jacks and games of chance with servants*, and jump through fire *when the thunder rolls, and throw water on the kut'ja to bring rest and put it on the chair, and burn waste next to doors on*

authorship of this sermon to the said Church Father. Some parts from the same homily have been mentioned before in chapter 47 of the *Pandects* of Nikon of the Black Mountain (see text 8.8.). According to Gal'kovskij (1913: 118–119), the East Slavic compiler would have used both Saint John Chrysostom's original sermon, as well as his reflection of the Nikon's *Pandects* in the work. In addition, Gal'kovskij (1913: 118) states that the compiler could also have been inspired by the *Sermon on the consolation of sickness and doctors* from the miscellany known as *Zlatostruj*, many of whose passages coincide with chapter 47 of Nikon's *Pandects*.

Good proof that the work was a compilation is the fact that there are numerous versions reaching us and that they were included in the main miscellanies of collections of ecclesiastical texts in the East Slavic tradition, both in the two editions of the *Izmaragd* and the *Zlataja Cep'*. As Gal'kovskij (1913: 120) says, the oldest copy that has been preserved forms part of an *Izmaragd* within a 15th-century manuscript. This leads the author to conclude that the *Sermon by Saint John Chrysostom on those curing sickness with spells and knotted cords* would also have been composed in the 15th century. Nevertheless, there is a shorter version titled *Sermon of the Holy Fathers on spells*, or simply *Sermon on spells*, found in a copy of the *Zlataja Cep'* held in the Holy Trinity-Saint Sergius Monastery,[304] in manuscript No. 11, probably from the 14th century. This version

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Holy Thursday saying that this will bring the souls to warm by the fire, believing themselves Christians but committing pagan acts. And they cast ash into the air, and bring meat and milk, butter and eggs, and all things needed by demons. They pour water on the stove for the bath and hang shirts and towels in the bath, ordering them to wash themselves. *And having washed themselves, they kiss and worship the Enemy*. The demons mock them with evil intent, treading on the ash and leaving their footprints to deceive them. They, having seen these, go and tell each other, and shouting it loud, everyone eats and drinks what would not be fit for dogs to eat. Oh, perfidious devil's deceit, what not even pagans would do, *the Christians do*! And others believe in Stribog, Dažbog and Pereplut, for whom they drink from horns while cavorting. *Others believe in dreams. in chance, in meetings, horoscopes, enchantments and prophecies. And they wear knotted cords and put them on children. And having cut their finger nails, they throw them in their bellies, and their toenails on their heads. When making beer, they sprinkle salt in the barrel and put in coal*, having forgotten God who created heaven and earth, the seas, rivers and fountains, and thus rejoicing with their idols. (…) *And there is yet another evil in Christians: they use knives to cut crosses in bread, and with a cup in the beer and with other things. And the pagans do this: they grovel to beer or mead. And this is a pagan offering, for when it bursts out or is poured, they fall to their knees, like dogs drinking water, and this is what pagans do. They throw brides who are to be married in the water, and drink a cup to the devil, throwing rings and belts into the water. Oh what a bad act thus do Christians!"*

304 Ms. SLR Coll. Tr. (Collection 304), No. 11, fs. 5v.–6r., accessible on-line at: http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/medium.php?col=1&manuscript=011&pagefile=011-0013.

coincides exactly with the central part of the *Sermon by Saint John Chrysostom on those curing sickness with spells and knotted cords*, and Gal'kovskij (1913: 118) suggests that the shorter work might have existed independently before the *Sermon by Saint John Chrysostom*. Therefore, if this is so, the compiler of the latter would have used it as another of the sources on which he based his work. Perhaps an argument in favour of this is that, paradoxically, not a word of the "knotted cords" in the title is mentioned in the text of the sermon, unlike one of the other works that we have included in this compilation, such as the *Sermon by the holy father Cyril, archbishop of Cyprus, on evil souls* (see text 4.23.).

For our translation, we have followed the version of the sermon in chapter 10 of the second edition of the *Izmaragd*, preserved in manuscript No. 202 in the Holy Trinity-Saint Sergius Monastery,[305] and which was edited by Gal'kovskij (1913: 121–124).

Edition used: Gal'kovskij (1913: 121–124).
Other editions: Gal'kovskij (1913: 121–122).
References: Gal'kovskij (1913: 117–121), Mansikka (1922: 186–189).

4.25.1 Sermon by Saint John Chrysostom on Those Curing Sickness with Spells and Knotted Cords

This first section is the start of the sermon, which poses the question on sickness and how good Christians should bear it, without having recourse to magicians and sorcerers, which would lead irremediably to eternal punishment.

Житїа сего наводи́маа намъ скѡрбнаа имѣнїа лиш̀енїе. и҆лѝ болѣзни та҃ки то ѿ ѻ҆нѣхъ мⷭ҃къ ѡ҆слаⷭ҃бⷭ҃ намъ твори́тъ. е҆гда бо в недⷭ҃гъ лютъ впадеши и҆ мнози прїдⷭ҃тъ нⷭ҃дающе та, ѻ҆ви к чародѣемъ ѻ҆вїи къ волхомъ, ты же ѻ҆ бз҃ѣ ѹ҆повади́ и҆ терпи, се ти мⷭ҃ченїа вѣне́цъ принѹ́ситъ і҆ и҆збавленїе ѿ ѻ҆нехъ мⷭ҃къ и́же в болѣзни слежащи бл҃годарити бг҃а. чего бо ради хр҃тиане ся зовемъ да повинимся хр҃ту а҆ не́ и҆демъ ко врагѡ҃ бжїимъ к волхвомъ. волхвы́ бо и чародѣи, то́ врази сⷭ҃ть бжїи. лⷭ҃чше е҆сть ѹ҆мрети не́жели ко врагомъ бжїимъ поѝти. кѡ́е посѡ́бїе тѣло цѣли́ти а дш҃ⷭ҃ гⷭ҃би́ти. ка́али приѡ҆брѣтель здѣ принати мало ѹ҆тѣшение а҆ ѡ҆на́мо послаⷮ нымъ быти с҃ бѣси́ в вѣчны҃и ѻ҆гнь.

This life can lead us to the sorry loss of possessions, or serious illness, and such torments make us weak. For when you suffer a terrible illness and many need

305 Ms. SLR Coll. Tr. (Collection 304), No. 202, fs. 11v.–13v., accessible on-line at: http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/medium.php?col=1&manuscript=202.

it, some go to sorcerers and others to shamans, you trust in God and endure, then you will receive the martyr's crown and freedom from those torments that follow the illness, giving thanks to God, for whose cause we call ourselves Christians, to obey Christ and not go to the enemies of God, to shamans. For shamans and sorcerers are the enemies of God. And it is better to die than go to the enemies of God. Where is the help in curing the body and losing the soul? Which is the benefit, obtaining a little consolation or being sent to that place with the demons to eternal fire?

4.25.2 Sermon by Saint John Chrysostom on Those Curing Sickness with Spells and Knotted Cords

This second fragment follows the previous one, and gives the Old Testament king of Israel, Ahaziah,[306] as an example, but one that did not appear in any of the works used by the compiler of the sermon, according to Gal'kovskij (1913: 120). The beginning of this passage is also the start of the short version of the *Sermon on enchantments*, although the two versions have different introductory sentences.

Слышите бо ѩ҆перва бывшее. волѣ бо їѡ҆зиа. цр҃ь ѝ ѡ҆ста҆вивъ бжїю по́мощь посла къ волхвомъ. бг҃ъ бо наказоваше є҆го болѣзнїю давы воспоманѫ́лъ гр҃ѣхѝ своа. о҆нъ же бг҃а забывъ, и посла къ ви́лови болва́нѫ ѝ к жерцемъ є҆го҆ вопросити бѫ́дѫ ли жи́въ. ѡ҆ глѫбина зла҆ ѡ҆ разѫ́мъ бе҆зако҃нѣнъ, бг҃а вышнаго о҆ста́ва ѝ къ волхвомъ ѝти о҆ животѣ вопрошати. ср҃вте же ѝлиа́ слѫгѝ їѡ҆зіины ѝ рече ѝмъ, ше́дше рцыте цр҃ю своемѫ́, понеже бг҃а ѡ҆ста́ва ѝ зако́нъ є҆го҆ ѝ посла҆ к бѣсо́мъ о҆ животѣ вопрошати се́ ти цр҃ю ѿ бг҃а глю, о у҆мрети ѝмаши прежде времени поне́же ѡ҆ставивъбг҃а оу҆ бѣсо́вскѣ́ѝ слѫгъ о҆ животѣ вопрошаеши. Тако оу҆бо бра́тїе смерть бываетъ прежде времени ходившимъ къ волхвомъ. сті҃и а҃пли ѝ стїи ѿцы прокла́ша на седмомъ собо́ръ волхвованиа. ѝ ѿ покаа́нїа тѣ҆ ѿлѫ́чиша на́ вре́ма иже к волхво́мъ ходи́ли. ѝ заповѣ́даша ѝмъ заповѣ́ди тажки дабы гр҃ѣха того ѝзбыли. ѿбѣ́гнемъ любимїа бра́тїа прокла́таго волхвова́на да не бе́згода оу҆мремъ ѝ мѫ́кѫ́ вѣчнѫ́ю прїѧ́ме҆.

Listen then to what was, from the beginning, the will of King Ahaziah who,[307] having turned from God's help, sought out sorcerers. For God had punished him with an illness to make him remember his sins. He had forgotten God and

306 Ahaziah (871–852 BC.): eighth king of Israel, son and heir to Ahab; cf. 2 Kings 1:1–18.

307 Cf. Ms. SLR Coll. Tr. (Collection 304), No. 11, f. 5v. (Gal'kovskij 1913: 121): Волхво́в же чада моѧ блюдитеса. болашеть бо р҃ѣ wзиѧ рць (*sic* instead of цр҃ь) (…) "Save my children from sorcerers, for King Ahaziah said that (…)".

sent (messengers) to the idol, Vil,[308] and asked the priests if he was going to live. From the depths of evil, from impious reasoning, he had abandoned God the Most High, and had turned to sorcerers to ask about his life. Hear Elijah, Ahaziah's servant, who said unto them: "Go and tell your king that, since he has abandoned God and his law and has sent (messengers) to the demons to ask about his life, thus do I speak to you, king, from God, for you must die before your time because you have abandoned God by asking the devil's servants about your life."[309] So, brothers, death before your time lies in wait for those who go to the sorcerers. Because the Holy Apostles and the Holy Fathers in the Seventh Council (Ecumenical) condemned witchcraft, and because of the repentance by those who at that time forsook whoever went to sorcerers, they commanded them to free themselves from this grave sin. Let us flee, dear brethren, from accursed witchcraft so that we may not die young and receive eternal torment.

4.25.3 Sermon by Saint John Chrysostom on Those Curing Sickness with Spells and Knotted Cords

In this third fragment, which comes immediately after the previous one, figures from the Old Testament and New Testament are given as examples of endurance and resilience in the face of diseases and the sufferings of life: Job and Lazarus. As Gal'kovskij (1913: 120) states clearly, these examples are quoted in the sources used by the compiler of the sermon, mainly in the sixth homily *Against the Jews* by Saint John Chrysostom, and in Nikon's *Pandects*. The example of Job also appears in other homilies by the said Church Father, as in several of his homilies *On statues*. Similarly, the example of Job is also found in one of texts in the monograph: *Sermon of the Holy Father Cyril, archbishop of Cyprus, on evil souls*, in which, as seen above, he does talk about "knotted cords" (see text 4.23.4.).

но что гл҃еши. іа҆ко велми ѡ҆скорбае҆̀ та҆ тажкі недоугъ, то нѣси оу҆же прина҆̀ іако бл҃же́нныи и҆евъ. о҆нъ бо по ѿнатїи стадъ и волóвъ и҆ всего҆̀ і҆мѣнїа своего҆̀ лише́нъ. и҆ восхище́нъ бысть вѣсь ликъ дѣте́и его, и҆ рече҆̀ бл҃аженныи і҆wвъ, гд҃ь далъ гд҃ь и҆ ѿня́тъ. и҆ в болѣзни слежа҆̀, не потре́бова волхвованиемъ цѣлбы҆̀ но гла́ше, лу҆чши ми є҆сть оу҆мрети не́же благовѣрие преда́ти. та́коже. и҆ ли҃ . лѣ҃, в недоузѣ слежа, ни то́и҆ взыска҆̀ враче́въ не прїи́де к чародѣемъ но ѡ҆жидаше ѿ бг҃а по́мощи. та́кожде. и҆ ла́зарь гладенъ і҆ бо́ленъ вса лѣта живота҆̀ своего҆̀ во вра́тѣ҃ бога́таго лежа҆̀ше,

308 This may be a distortion of the name of the god Baal or Bel, probably confused with the name of the Slavic goddesses named the *Vily* (see text 4.22.1.).

309 Cf. 2 Kings 1:3–4.

неврегóмъ ѝ порꙋгаѣ̑ та́ко и̑дѣше а врачéвъ не взыска̀. а̀ мы же кꙋ̀ю ми́лость прїи-мемъ, ѻ̀ни бо толѝки болѣ́зни терпа́хꙋ. а̀ мы а҆ще и мало поболи́мъ то зелеѝники ѝ волхвы̀ в до́мы своа̀ привꙋ́димъ. ѡ̀ бра́тїе ꙗко же бо зла́то во wгнѝ ѡ̀чища́ется, тако ѝ чл҃къ болѣ́знию грѣ́хъ wчища́ется. воспоманѝ бо а҃пли ѝ мч҃ники каковы̀ прима́ша стра́сти. колико бо продолжа́ютъ бѣ́ды и̑лѝ болѣ́зни в вѣ́це се́мъ, то болша мзда̀ ц҃р҃твїи нб҃ѣ́немъ таковомꙋ̀ ѐсть. помысли ꙋ̀бо а҆ко неꙋ̑и́мꙋ́ти болѣ́зни чарóвници, но то́чию грѣ́хъ ѐсть великъ и лю҃ бг҃а бо wстава к бѣсомъ тече́ши, ѝ за то̀ каковꙋ̀ прїимеши ми́лость ѿ бг҃а ѝ ка́ко призовеши ѐго в моли́твахъ. почто дш҃ꙋ̀ си гꙋ̀би́ши ка́ко бг҃ꙋ ѿвѣща́еши ма́лы дѣ́ла болѣ́зни бг҃а ѡ̀тава́ ѝ волхвꙋ̑в и̑щеши. (…)

But however great your affliction from grave illness, you have not received what the blessed Job (suffered). For he, after his cattle and oxen had been taken, and he was deprived of all his possessions, and had all his children torn from him,[310] the blessed Job said: "God gave, and God took away".[311] And during his illness he lay prostrate, not in need of cures through spells, but saying that it was better to die than betray mercy.[312] And thus for thirty-eight years he lay ill, without asking for the doctor nor going to sorcerers, but expecting help from God. In the same way, Lazarus, also hungry and ill all the years of his life, lay at the gates of the rich man,[313] and we mocked unthinkingly, saying he would die there unless the doctor was called. Why do we receive Grace, when they have endured illness for so long? If we become slightly ill, we bring quack doctors and shamans to our houses. Oh, brother! As gold is purified in fire, man is also cleansed of his sins through illness! Remember how the apostles and martyrs accepted suffering. For the longer privations or illnesses last in this world, the greater is the reward in the Kingdom of Heaven. Think not that witches take away illness, but that the sin of abandoning God and running to demons is great and terrible. And just as you receive the Grace of God by calling on him in prayer, through this you lose your soul, depending on how you respond to God for the small effects of the illness, by abandoning God and seeking sorcerers. (…)

310 Cf. Job 1:13–19.

311 Cf. Job 1:21.

312 Cf. Job 2:7–10.

313 Parable about the pauper Lazarus and the rich man, only found in Saint Luke's gospel (Luke 16:19–31).

4.26 *Sermon by One Who Loves Christ and Is a Jealous Defender of the Righteous Faith*

This sermon has been both one of the most appreciated, but at the same time, disputed as a testimony to eastern Slavic pagan rites. Nothing is known of the author, who preferred to remain anonymous by using the pseudonym of "one who loves Christ", or of the date when it was written, although Aničkov thought that it was in Kiev between 1037 and 1054, by the same writer of other sermons also signed by "one who loves Christ". Despite the critic's tenuous argument, most textual critics agree on the age of the sermon, which they believe was written in pre-Mongol Rus' given its influence on later ones. Contrary to the most widely accepted opinion, Mansikka dates it to the 14th century.

The prototype of the text is not known, neither is there a critical edition comparing all the textual variations known so far, of which the oldest are in the *PS*,[314] in the *Troickij spisok* of the *ZC*, fol. 22r, both from the end of the 14th century, and in the manuscript of the Saint Sophia of Novgorod library (Ms NLR Coll. Soph., No. 1285, formerly 522 [henceforth *S*]), dated a century later, which has more interpolations. The first textual analyses of the sermon were made on the version in the *PS*, edited by Buslaev (1861) and Sreznevskij (1863). Once the sermon had been found in the *S* ms., both versions were published by Tikhonravov (1862). The content in the of *ZC*, edited by Sreznevskij (1863: col. 269–271) was added and used by Gal'kovskij (1913: 36–48) in his compilation, together with later variations of the text. However, Aničkov (1914) made the first attempt to establish a prototype of the text, based in the collatio of *P, ZC* and *S*, and found two redactions of the text; the first was shorter, without interpolations, and the second was extended with these. From this study, the critic put forward the hypothesis that the prototype of the text contained no direct references to paganism and only condemned worldly feasts. Interpolations were inserted later and highly valued by scholars of pre-Christian Slavic religion. Mansikka accepts that there are two redactions, one short (*ZC* and *PS*) and a later, extended one.

For possible sources used in composing the sermon, Mansikka (1922:152–153) proposed that the basic ones were the southern Slavic version of the apocryphal text *Vision of Saint Paul*, and a text from the *PVL*, from which the author extracted the list of pagan gods given in the text. In fact, the content of the sermon consists of an attack on idolaters[315] supported with commentated quotations from the letters of Saint Paul (1, 2 Corinthians; 1, 2 Timothy).

314 Sreznevskij (1851).

315 The primitive concept of "idolatry" differs from that assigned to the term by the author and exegete, who identified it with any pagan rite not belonging to Russian Orthodox doctrine.

The following fragments come from Buslaev's edition of *PS*. This is compared with *ZC* and *S*.

Edition used: Buslaev (1861: col. 519–525).
Other editions: Aničkov (1914: 369–379), Gal'kovskij (1913: 36–48), Ponomarev (1897: vol. 3: 224–231), Sreznevskij (1863: vol. 10: col. 692–697), Tikhonravov (1862: vol. 4: 89–96).
References: Aničkov (1914: 26–57), Kazačkova (1957, 1958), Łowmiański (1979: 134–151), Mansikka (1922: 147–160), Podskalsky (1982: 253–254).

4.26.1 Sermon by One Who Loves Christ and Is a Jealous Defender of the Righteous Faith

It starts with invective against idolaters with a quotation from the Old Testament.

ꙗко їлыꙗ фесвитꙗнинъ. заклавы їе҃рѣа жерца їдольскиа числомъ .т҃. и ре҃. ревноуꙗ поревновах. по г҃ѣ вседержители. тако̀ й сеї не мога терпѣти хр҃тыꙗнъ во двоевѣрно живоущий. ї вѣроують в пероуна ї в хорса. ї в мокошь. ї в сима. ї в рыгла. ї въ вилы. их же число҃м г҃. д҃. сестрѣниць. гла҃ть невѣгла҃. ї мна҃ бна҃ми. ї та покладывахоуть имъ теребы. ї коуры їмъ рѣжю҃ ї ѡ҃гневѣ. молать҃. зовоуще ёго сварожичемъ. ї чесновито҃. бг҃мъ же его твора҃. егда же оу кого боуде҃ пиръ. тогда же кладоу҃. въ вдра ї в чаши й пью҃ ѡ҃ їдолѣхъ своїхъ. веселящи не хоужьши соу҃ ёретиковъ ни жидовъ. їже в вѣре ї во кр҃щньї тако̀ твора҃. не токмо невѣжи. но ї вѣжи. попове ї книжници. аще̂ не твора҃ того вѣжи да пьють ї ꙗда҃ моленое то брашно. аще̂ не пьють ни ꙗда҃ да вида҃ дѣꙗниꙗ їхъ злаа. аще̂ не видать да слышать. ї не хотать йхъ пооучити. […]

As Elijah the Tishbite, having cut the throats of three hundred idolatrous prophets and priests,[316] said: "I burn with zeal for my Lord God Almighty",[317] so he, too[318] being unable to bear Christians who live a double faith and believe in Perun and Khors, Mokoš, Sim and Rgl[319] and in the *Vily*, who number thirty ninth sisters,[320]—so say ignorant people who consider them goddesses—and thus give them offerings and cut the throats of hens and pray to fire, calling

316 En *ZC* "fifty".
317 1Kings 19:10.
318 This refers to the sermon's author, who writes in the third person, as was common in the literary genre. In *ZC* и се ї кр҃тыанинъ "this Christian".
319 "in Simarglъ".
320 In *ZC, S* .л҃. "thirty".

it Svarožic; and offer garlic to the gods when someone holds a banquet in his house, then they throw it in buckets and drink a cup to their idols,[321] and in their joy they are no worse than the Jews and heretics[322] those who act thus having been baptised in the faith. And not only ignorant people, but also educated ones, priests and scholars; and if the educated ones do not do this, then they drink and eat the food with prayer; and if they neither drink nor eat, they watch others doing these evil acts; and if they do not watch, they listen to them and do not wish to teach them.

4.26.2 Sermon by One Who Loves Christ and Is a Jealous Defender of the Righteous Faith

The author bases himself on the letters of Saint Paul to launch his criticisms of priests and educated "shepherds" who do not teach and persuade the faithful correctly. If they do not wish to give evangelical teachings, let them at least be insistent in denouncing diabolical acts. A servant of God does not have to suffer the punishment of a servant of the devil.

коё причастье къ слоужащимъ бѣсомъ. ї оугодыа дыавола творащимъ. павелъ бо коренфѣмъ ре҃. бра҃ꙗ писахъ ва҃ в посланыа не примѣшаїте҃ [...] к рѣзоїмцемъ. ни грабителемъ. ни коруѣмитомъ. ї къ слоужащимъ коумиро҃. но долъжни ёсте ѿ мїра сего їзыти. рекше оумре҃. нынѣ же писахъ вамъ с таковымъ ни пити ни ꙗсти. но їзверзите такова҃. такові бо цр҃ства бі҃ꙗ не наслѣдаѭ҃. ѿкаменѣ бо сра҃це їхъ въ неїстово҃ пыанствѣ. ї быша слоуги коумиро҃. ꙗко҅ бо пиште҃ сѣдоша бо лю҃ё пити ꙗсти. не в законъ но в оупої быша пыани. ї восташа їгра҃ [...] й того дн҃и погибе їхъ .к҃. ї х҃. за своё неїстовоё пыаньство. того ра҃ не подобае҃ кр҃тыаномъ йгръ бѣсовьски҃ї їграти ёже ѣсть плѧсаньё. гоуденьё пѣсни мирьскаѧ. й жертвы йдольскиа. ёже молѧть҃ ѿгневъ по҃виномъ. ї мокоши. ї симоу. ї рыглоу. ї пероуноу. ї родоу. ї рожаницъ. ї всѣмъ тѣмъ иже соу҃ тѣмъ побии. се же оучєнїе намъ впи-
саса на конець вѣка. да не во лжю боудем҃ рекли крещающе҃ ѿрицаёмъ҃ сотоны ї всѣхъ дѣлъ ёго й всѣхъ анг҃лъ ёго. ї всего стоуда ёго. да ѿбѣщахомъ҃ хр҃ви. да аще са ѿбѣщахом хр҃ви. то ѵемоу ёмоу не слоужи҃. но бѣсомъ слоужи҃. ї вса оугодыа їмъ творимъ. на пагоубоу дш҃амъ своїмъ. не тако҅ зло твори҃ просто но ї

321 In *S*: и егда же оу кого ихъ боудеть бракъ и творать съ боубны и съ сопѣльми и съ многыми чюдесы бѣсовьскыми и иноже сего горѣе есть. оустроивьше срамотоу моужьскоую и въкладывающе въ вѣдра. и въ чацѣ и пьють. и вынемьше wсмокываютъ и wблизываю. и цѣлоують. And when one of them celebrates a wedding, they entertain themselves with drums and pipes and many other demonic devices; and another rite is even more inimical than this: after making a false male phallus, they insert it in buckets and drink from cups, and when drunk they smell and lick and kiss it.

322 In *S* и болгаръ "and Bulgarians" is added, which can be understood as Bogomils.

мѣшаемъ. нѣкии чистыа мл҃твы. со проклатымъ моленьемъ їдольски. їже ставᵀ лише коутьа. ины трапезы. законнаго обѣда. їже нарицаетс безаконнаꙗ тра-пеза. мѣнимаꙗ родоу ї рожаница. ї въ прогнѣваньє б҃оу сам во г҃ъ реⷮ не всакъ внеᴬ во цр҃твиё моё рекъ ми г҃и г҃и но твораї волю w҃ца моёго. […]

What communion is there between those who serve demons[323] and those who act to please the Devil? Paul said unto the Corinthians: "Brothers, I wrote to you in my letter: eschew (…) misers, thieves, tricksters and idolaters";[324] ⟨if you do not⟩ you will have to leave this world, which is to say, die. And now I write that "do not eat or drink with such people, but stay away from them",[325] "for these will not inherit the Kingdom of God".[326] For their hearts were turned to stone in unbridled depravity and they were the servants of idols, for thus he wrote: "The people sat down to eat and drink" and not by law, but from insobriety they became drunk, "and they rose to enjoy themselves (…) and in a single day, 23,000 people fell dead from their unbridled depravity".[327] Therefore, Christians must not hold demonic festivities,[328] meaning dancing, music and profane songs,[329] and offerings to the idols, who with fire under the fields of sheaves pray to the *Vily*, to Mokoš, and *Sim and Rgl*,[330] to Perun,[331] Rod, the Rožanicy and all the like.[332] This teaching was written for us at the beginning of time. And not for nothing were we baptised: we renounced Satan and all his acts, and all his angels and all his shame. And in the same way, we have committed

323 In *S*: идоломъ "idols".

324 In *S* there is an interpolation: коеже соуть идолослоужители. то соуть идолослоужители. иже ставѧть трапезоу рожаницамъ. коровади молать. виламъ. и w҃гневи, подъ w҃ваномъ и проуее ихъ проклатьство. […] "And who are the idolaters? These are the idolaters, those who lay the table for the Rožanicy, offer *korovaj* to the *Vily* and to the fire below the field of sheaves and other of their abominations, and defamers". It seems that the word "idolatry" needed explanation, and so a glossary was added to the text, from which it can be gathered that "idolatry" was understood to be any form of carrying out pagan rituals.

325 1 Cor 5:11.

326 1 Cor 6:9.

327 1 Cor 10:7.

328 *S* adds: аще ли то не бракъ нарицѣться. нъ идолослоужение "at banquets and weddings, and if this is the case, it is not called matrimony, but idolatry". It may be an indication of a new, more extended concept of the term "idolatry", relating to rituals not accepted by the official religion.

329 In *S*: пѣсни бѣсовьскыѧ и сопѣли. боубьни и вса жертва […] "demonic songs, pipes and drums and all kinds of offerings …".

330 "to Simarglъ".

331 In *zc* it adds: и волосоу скотью б҃оу "to Volos, god of cattle"; in *S*: и хърсоу "to Khors".

332 In *S*: проклатымъ бг҃омъ ихъ "cursed gods".

ourselves to Christ. And if we undertake to serve Christ then, why do we not serve him, but serve demons and give them every enticement to destroy our souls? And not only do we simply do evil, but we even mix certain pure prayers with the execrable supplications to idols,[333] those who also lay the table for the *kut'ja* and rightful food, which is called a false table when dedicated to Rod and the Rožanicy, to the wrath of God.[334] For the Lord God says: "Not all who say 'Lord, Lord' shall enter my kingdom, but he who does the will of my Father, who is in heaven".[335]

4.27 *Sermon Commented by the Wisdom of the Holy Apostles and Prophets and Fathers on the Creation and the Day Called Sunday*

The sermon first appears in the Finland Folios (12th–13th centuries)[336] as fragments, but in the *PS*, fol. 47v holds testimonials on pagan practices of the eastern Slavs.

Nothing is known of the writer of the sermon. It is a Russian compilation, rich in Biblical and patristic quotations, with comments attacking idolatry.

The following fragments come from *PS*.

Edition used: Gal'kovskij (1913: 76–83).
Other editions: Buslaev (1861: 530), Sreznevskij (1863: col. 697–703).
References: Mansikka (1922: 209–213), Sreznevskij (1851; 1867, II: 299–304).

4.27.1 Sermon Commented by the Wisdom of the Holy Apostles and Prophets and Fathers on the Creation and the Day Called Sunday

The first part of the sermon is subtitled with the following maxim: *Let not Christians worship Sunday* (*nedelja*) *nor kiss it because it is a creature*. It starts by quoting a piece from the letters of Saint Paul (Rom 1, 25) and accuses the ignorant who worship creatures more than God.

333 In *S*: съ идольскою трапезою трѣстыиа бц҃и. съ рожаницами. "to the Sainted Virgin Mary three times a Saint with the Rožanicy". This is a manifestation of Russian *mixta fides* that is not found in the earlier versions of the sermon.

334 In *PS* a clear difference is made between the table laid for the *kut'ja* and that for the *Rožanicy*. The former refers to the "rightful" Christian rite, and is identified with the altar. However, pagan sacrifices were made on the same altar.

335 Matt. 7:21.

336 Edited by Sreznevskij (1867, II: 31–32).

Первое Павелъ рече. послоужиша твари паче Творца. оузрю нб̃о дѣло прьстъ твоихъ ї лоуноу ї звѣзды. ѩже ты, w̃снова. вѣрнии же видѣвше тварь почютъ творчеі моудрости. ї творцю поклонѧтьсѧ а невѣрнии написавше свѣ болваномъ. ї клана-ютьсѧ ѣмоу. то таковиї творца хоулатъ: ї не мнаться хоулаще. но бг̃ъ вѣсть хоулоу їхъ. вѣрнии же людіе бѣгаютъ того. гд̃ь рече створимъ зара и сл̃нце. и свѣтъ проклѧсѧ. і свѣти всю вселеную. і не рече w̃ болванѣ. болванъ бо есть во їдолъ написанъ. w̃сѧженъ. а не прольѧсѧ ѩко свѣтъ ѣсть свѣтъ неw̃сѧжемъ. і неіс-повѣдимъ никимъ же. гдѣ сѧ водворае Моїсеї гл̃ть. бысть вечеръ. бысть оутро д̃нь ѣдинъ. ї вторый. г. ї. и wсмый. то же ѣсть. но w̃бращаетъ на 3 днии. а w̃динъ д̃нь свѣтъ бо есть. w̃динъ. а іма ѣмоу д̃нь рече б̃ъ да боудетъ свѣтъ и бысть свѣтъ. ї нарече б̃ъ свѣтъ дн̃мъ. а тмоу нарече ночью. Дв̃дъ гл̃ть боуде послѣднеі вѣкъ. д̃нь бесконечный. не митоушаѧсѧ с ночью. ї не меруѧ никто же бо можеть оуказати w̃браза свѣтоу. но токмо видимъ бываѣть. соломанъ гл̃ть. ни хто же бо можеть ізобрѣсти всеѧ твари твореныѧ. ни w̃браза оуказати свѣтоу. ѩко же бо во оутро бѣ ражаѣмо. не разоути.

Paul was the first who said: "They worshipped the creature more than the Creator". I see that the heavens and the moon and the stars are made by your hand, that You created. And believers, on seeing the creation, honour the wisdom of the Creator and worship the Creator, and the unbelievers, who carve the numen of idols, worship it. Thus, they offend against the Creator and do not consider that they blaspheme, but God knows their offence. And believers reject this. Said the Lord: I have created the dawn and the sun that casts light and illuminates all the universe, and he does not say this of the idol, for the idol is carved in the *bolvan'*,[337] [it can be] touched and does not spill forth like light, light cannot be touched or explained by anyone, wherever it is found. Moses said: "There was darkness, there was the morning of the first day and the second and the third and also the eighth, but it returns to the seventh day, for the first day was the first light and its name is day". God said: "Let there be light and there was light.[338] And God called the light day, and the darkness night".[339] David said: "The last era will be everlasting day, that does not change to night and never dies, and no one can portray the shape of light, for it only exists in as far as it is visible".[340] Solomon said: "No one can portray all creatures in

337 *Bolvanь, bьlvanь, blьvanь, blavanь, balьvaniь* are terms that may refer to the idol, but also to a column or pillar.

338 Gen. 1:3.

339 Gen. 1:5.

340 Commentary on Ps. 73:16–17.

creation nor show the shape of light, nor understand how it was engendered by the morning".[341]

4.27.2 Sermon Commented by the Wisdom of the Holy Apostles and Prophets and Fathers on the Creation and the Day Called Sunday

Gregory the Great encouraged teaching that only one light, the divine light, illuminates men and the rest of Creation. God created the days and the last one is Sunday. He developed the metaphor that just one day was the equivalent of a thousand years. Chaldean philosophers mistakenly ("in vain") studied and worshipped creatures more than God, but Christians who know God do not worship "creatures made in the image of man". Through preachers, God transmitted divine wisdom to men. The Jews demanded miracles to prove it, which was given in Moses's crook, but they still did not believe. Christ is wisdom.

а ѩзыци премоудрости їцѭть. премоудрость бо ѣсть хр҃ъ сн҃ъ би҃и. проповѣдаетъ҆ и его пропатье ї воскрньї. і покланаютьса ѣмоу. і тридневное его воскрньѣ славать. а не недѣлю не рече бъ҃ w болванѣ. но рече створимъ чл҃вка по wбразоу нашемоу. wле не прельщаіте҆ вѣрнии. їмоуци разоумъ бж҃твеннаго писанья. да не кланаітеса твари. но творцю всѣхъ вл҃дцѣ. да не wтвержени боудемъ вѣчныа жизни. аще ли хто рече҃ть. да чемоу се ѣсть писана недѣла. та предана намъ кланатиса ѣї. і ч҆тити ю.

And the gentiles seek wisdom, but wisdom is Christ, the Son of God, they preach the Crucifixion and Resurrection and worship Him and glorify his Resurrection after three days, but God does not call idols *nedelja*, but says: "I have created man in our image", thus do not allow yourselves to be corrupted, believers, who have knowledge of the Divine Scriptures, and do not worship creatures but the Creator, who possesses all things and will not deny you eternal life, and if anyone asks why the *nedelja* has been carved, it has been given to us to worship and honour.

4.27.3 Sermon Commented by the Wisdom of the Holy Apostles and Prophets and Fathers on the Creation and the Day Called Sunday

In the teachings of the prophets, it is clear that God wished to distance the Jews from idolatry.[342] The author criticises the laziness of Christians in going to church on Sunday.

341 Paraphrasis on Wisdom of Solomon 7:26.

342 Quotations of Jer. 7:22, Ps. 33:19, Ps. 49:23.

тако ти ї мы не можемъ са w҃стати норова того. поустошнаго. ѣже кланати҆ твари. того дѣла дано їмъ недѣла да на томъ познаютъ х҃во воскр҃нье. но тъ дн҃ь наученуть. Ни кое же зла не творити. сиротамъ наученуть покои дѣати. аще ли во иныа дни что зло творать. да w҃ дн҃ь приходяще въ цр҃квь. Помолатьса w гресѣхъ своїх. чающе w҃ г҃а проценїа. ї кланающиса воскр҃нью х҃воу. а не дни недѣли. но сице хвоу воскр҃нью кланающе҆. не престаемъ. тотъ бо сп҃слъ ны есть. w҃ беззаконии нашихъ с҃тый г҃ь. того дне было преже воскр҃нья. х҃ва недѣ҆ toа. еї былъ дн҃ь тъ. но ни нарицалъса недѣла. но по воскр҃ньи сам бо рече г҃ь. азъ ѣсмь воскр҃нье ї животь всемоу мироу. ходаї по мнѣ не їмать ходити во тмѣ. ї придѣ҆ вси вѣрнии поклонимъ҆ воскр҃нью хв҃оу се бо при҆ х҃а ра҆ радость. а не недѣ҆ ра҆. то ти х҃а ради праздновати. во тъ дн҃ь кр҃томъ смрть разроуши. а не недѣлю. кр҃тъ бо нарицаетъ҆ воскр҃ньѣ х҃во.

Павелъ бо рече цѣною коуплени ѣсмы w҃ работы вражьа. во свободоу хвоу. свобода бо ѣсть хв҃а вѣра правда. дѣла благоугестивыа. а дыавола работа грѣси. паче бо согрѣшенья идолослоуженье. прикоупъ коуремноӥ. наклады рѣзавныа. пыаньство. ѣже ѣсть всего горѣе. ставленье трапезы рожаницамъ. ї проуаа вса слоуженьа дыавола. требы кладомыа вилам҃ъ и поклонанье твари. ти же вси тако творащимь. не їмоуть причастьа во цр҃твиі би. но з бѣсы моукоу приимоуть. аще са не wстаноу҆ того ни са лишать. ни w҃чистать҆ w҃питемыами. аще лишать҆ того всего. зла творити. то не токмо боудоуть того процени. но ї жизни вѣчныа причастници боудоуть со всѣми праведными. аще ли не тако. ї грѣшници бо наученуть моучитиса во w҃радньїша҆ моукахъ. а їдолослоужебници с бѣсы моучити҆ имоуть. на преже гл҃наа взидемъ. да не в забытье положимъ первыа бесѣды.

Thus, neither can we continue with these customs; worshipping creatures is futile, which is why you were given Sunday (*nedelja*),[343] so that on that day you may remember Christ's Resurrection and make an effort to do no evil on this day, try to help orphans, and if you do harm on the other days, then when you come to church on (this) day, pray for your sins and hope for God's pardon, and worship Christ's Resurrection and not the day of *nedelja*, so that we do not cease worshipping Christ's Resurrection, for He is the Saviour of our injustices, Holy Lord; that day was before the Resurrection, the *nedelja* of Christ was the one for which the day was created, but it was not called *nedelja*, only after the Resurrection the Lord said: "I am the resurrection and life for the whole world, the one who follows me will not walk in darkness";[344] come

343 This means Sunday, and has the same name as the object of idolatry.

344 John 8:12; 11:25.

all believers, let us worship the Resurrection of Christ, for here is the joy in Christ and not in the *nedelja*. Be joyful for Christ on the day that he overcame death with the Cross and not *nedelja*, for the Cross is called the Resurrection of Christ.

Paul said: "We have been bought from slavery of corruption at a (great) price through the freedom of Christ",[345] for freedom is the true faith in Christ, charitable works, and the slavery of the devil are sins, and the greater sin is idolatry, more than gaining profits, insobriety in the tavern, which is the most bitter of all, setting the table for the *Rožanicy* and all the rest of services to the devil, the victims offered to the *Vily* and the worship of creatures. And those who do this must not take communion in God's churches, but will suffer torments with the demons if they do not start to eschew it and do not purify themselves through penitence. If they renounce all this, on doing evil acts, not only will they be pardoned, but they will even be able to take part in eternal life together with the righteous. If not, while sinners suffer lighter punishments, idolaters will have to suffer in the company of demons. We will return to what was said above, in order not to forget the first discourse by delving deeply into the holy word.

4.27.4 Sermon Commented by the Wisdom of the Holy Apostles and Prophets and Fathers on the Creation and the Day Called Sunday

Instructions on how to sanctify the holy day (of Sunday—*nedelja*) according to Christian precepts.

Рече бо Ерємѣа. Гд҃и крѣпости моа. и прибѣжище моё. и помощь моа в дн҃ь зла моёго. и х тобѣ прибѣжать вси ѣзыци ѿ краї земла. и рекоуть. ѣко во лжю створиша ѿци наши. їдоломъ кланахоуть҃с. во ѿбразъ оувъ и послоужиша твари тѣ. и нѣсть ползь. ѿ нихъ. но в боудоущемъ вѣце про нѣ моукоу приїмоу҃т. [...] но ѿбаче мнози са лѣна҃т. и злѣ живоуть. ѣко же їманъ не вѣдати утомыхъ книгъ. то же и срамѣють҃ст҃вмъ. и не содрогноуть҃с. но слабѣ живоуть. и не слоушаа бж҃твенныхъ словесъ. но аще плаци. їли гоудци. їли инъ хто їгрець. позоветь. на їгрище. їли на какоёе зборище їдольскоёе. то вси тамо текоу҃т радоуѣса. а в вѣки моучими боудоуть. і весь днь тъ пре҆стоѣатъ позорьствоующе тамо. а бг҃оу аплы и пр҃роки [...] а мы [...] и чешемъ҃с. и протагаемъ҃с. дрѣмлемъ. и речемъ дождь. їли стоудено. їли лѣсно ино. да все то си споноу творимъ. а на позорищѣхъ. ни кровоу. соущю. ни затишью. но многаждъі дождю. и вѣтромъ дышюцю. или въѣлици.

345 1Cor. 6:20.

то все приёмлемъ радоуѣса. позоры дѣꙗ на пагоубоу дш҃амъ. а въ цр҃кви покро-
воу соущю. ї завѣтрию дивноу. ї не хотать прити на поученьё. лѣнать҆с. то же
бы имъ было на великоую пользоу. ї на сп҃сенье дш҃амъ. да не вѣмъ. како ны
боудѣ мл҃ть wбрѣсти ѿ бг҃а. не послоушаеще стыхъ писаний. аще ли слышать.
да не разоумѣють. ни даныа їщють. тако жидове. ї ересници. многи книги поучи-
тавше. а разоума добра не їмѣша. да тѣмъ не ѣша вѣры хр҃оу. ї погибоша. гь҃
рече. пытайте писанья. ꙗко в тѣхъ їмате wбрѣсти жизнь вѣчноую. тѣ бо ѡ мнѣ
свидѣтельствоують. рече бо їwанъ. се быхъ хотѣлъ часто бесѣдовати к вамъ.
но боюса ѣгда в поустошь боу҃ бесѣдова҆с к вамъ. ни wбрѣсти боудет҃ ничто же
оу васъ добра. вижю бо гнѣваꙗса ї роющюща. но ваше робстанье҆ на васъ й гнѣвъ.
wбратить҆с. понеже не на насъ робчете. но на стго дх҃а. повелѣвшаго намъ та сло-
веса гл҃ти. а хто рече хоулоу на снъ чл҃вчь. ѡставитьса ѣмоу. а їже рече на стый
дх҃ъ не ѡставить҆с ѣмоу. ни в сиї вѣкъ. ни в боудоущїї. да ї намъ ноужда ѣсть оучити
ва҆с. рече бъ к нам се вы нам се вы ѣсмы далъ врема покаꙗнью. почто сеї хитрости
навыкли ѣсте. рече к намъ почто жизнь свою їжисте в невидѣньи. не ходяще часто
к покаꙗнью. ни слоушающе моїхъ словесъ. но зависти їсполнистеса. ї нем҃рдыа.
ї всакоꙗ ѣреси. аше са не покаёте. ни зитрости оученьа послоушаете. слышите ли
что гл҃ть пр҃ркъ. придѣте ча҆ страхоу гн҃ю наоучю вы. бл҃жнъ чл҃вкъ ѣго же ты
накажеши гн҃и. ѿ закона твоёго наоучиши а. да їзбоудоуть ѿ дни лютаго. пр҃ркъ
рече. наоучитеса. да разоумѣїте. ꙗко азъ ѣсмь бг҃ъ хотящимъ насытитиса стго
оученьа. ї хитрости. w хт҃ѣ їст҃ѣ гѣ нашемъ. ѣмоу же слава со ѡцмъ и ст҃мъ дхомъ
всегда и нынѣ и присно.

Thus spoke the prophet Jeremiah: "Lord, my strength and refuge and support on the day of tribulation, nations will come to You from the ends of the earth and will say that our fathers (only) had lies":[346] they worshipped idols made in the image of man and served these creatures and there is no profit in them, but they will receive punishment for this in the future (…). However, many are slothful and live in sin, also those who should do not know the gospels and are ashamed of this, but they are not concerned and live in idleness, although they listen to the divine words; but if dancers or pipers or some other minstrel calls them to dance or a meeting with idols, they run there to enjoy themselves, and they will be eternally damned, and all day long they will be there looking, and the apostles of God and prophets (…); and we (…) scratch ourselves and stretch, we doze and say that it is raining or cold or other lies, and invent obstacles, all of this, but (to go) as spectators, although it is not indoors or good weather, but

346 Jer. 16:19.

pouring with rain and wind blowing or a snowstorm, then we will put up with anything to enjoy ourselves; behold, that for the destruction of their souls, even in church, where there is a roof and a wonderful place to take refuge, they are slothful, they do not want to hear the sermon, which would greatly benefit the salvation of their souls. And I do not know how we are going to find the grace of God without listening to the Holy Scriptures. If they hear them, they do not understand them and do not see reward, such as the Jews and heretics who, although they have read many books, have little discernment and, therefore, do not acknowledge faith in Christ, and die. The Lord said: "Study the Scriptures well, because your hope for eternal life lies within them, for they bear witness to Me".[347] John said: "That is why I wanted to speak with you often and nothing good is to be found in you; I see that you get angry and grumble, but your grumbling and wrath turn against you, because you do not grumble about us, but about the Holy Spirit, who has ordered us to speak these words. And the person who curses the Son of man, abandons him (he moves away from Him), and he who speaks to the Holy Spirit does not go away from Him, not in these days, nor in the future, and we need to teach you". God has told us: "That is why I have given you time for confession, and thus you have learned of this possibility." He told us: "Since you have lived your lives in blindness, without going to confession often, and without hearing my words, but have become full of envy and lack of kindness and all kinds of heresy, because you do not confess or listen to the teaching". The prophet spoke thus: "Come, children, I will teach you to fear of God, listen".[348] "Happy is the man you teach, Lord, whom you instruct in your law to give him calm on troubled days"[349] The prophet said: "Learn and understand that I am God of those who wish to fill themselves of the holy doctrine and learning",[350] Jesus Christ, our Lord who is in heaven with the Father and Holy Spirit, now and forever.

4.28 *Sermon on Peter and Philip's Great Fast*

This sermon—as with several others (*Slovo k nevežam* o *Slovo svjatykh otec o poste ustava cerkovnago*)—teaches Christians to comply with fasting and abstinence stipulated by the Church, and criticises the worldly customs they

347 John 5:39.
348 Ps. 33:12.
349 Ps. 93:12–13.
350 Jer. 9:24.

followed at the time. Although the title speaks of fasts by Peter[351] and Philip,[352] the sermon only specifically mentions the Great Fast (of Easter).[353]

The structure of the text is relatively complex. It begins with an exordium, followed by the first thematic unit stating a Christian's duty to keep fasts, and proposing several saints who fasted as models (David, the prophet Daniel, the three youths of Babylon, Moses, Jesus (Joshua) of Navi, Elijah, Elisha, Arkhip the Sacristan[354]), and giving the reasons for the Holy Fathers to urge Christians to fast, and point out those who fast incorrectly. The sermon pays particular attention to the Christians' lapses committed during the period of the Great Fast.[355] In the second thematic unit of the sermon, there is a recurrent description of the Creation by God, made available to man, and the divine punishment for those who do not abide by the precepts, but carry out activities reminiscent of pre-Christian paganism, among others. The text ends with a final exhortation to the Christians.

The earliest and longest form of the sermon is found in the *Troickij spisok* in *ZC*. This variation, according to the most common opinion among critics, is of Russian origin and its precursor cannot have dated from before the seventh decade of the 13th century; although the compilations of ZC-type fixed

351 The Fast of Peter or the Apostle's Fast was made in memory of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, who fasted to prepare themselves for the apostolate (Acts 13:3). It starts one week before the day of the Holy Trinity (Pentecost). It can last from eight days to six weeks. It ends of the day of Saint Peter and Saint Paul (29 June / 12 July). Fish can be eaten on Saturdays and Sundays. Monday, Tuesday and Thursday: only if they fall on a feast day. Wednesday and Friday: only on feast days with a vigil and festival in the church. If the day of Saint Peter and Saint Paul falls on a Wednesday or Friday, the fast is maintained (no eggs, meat or dairy products, but fish and oil are allowed).

352 Also known as the Christmas Fast (Fast for the Birth of Christ), it has a number of fixed days; it starts on the 15th (new calendar) / 28th (old calendar) of November and finishes on 24th December / 6th January.

353 This is the longest and strictest period of fasting (also called Quadragesima because of Christ's forty-day fast in the desert). It lasts for six weeks and is followed by Holy Week. Only fruit and vegetables may be eaten on all fast days, but on the feast of the Annunciation (25 March / 7 April) and Palm Sunday, fish may be eaten. On Lazarus Saturday (before Palm Sunday), caviar can be eaten. Sometimes Christians eat nothing until 3pm on Wednesdays and Fridays during the Great Fast. It is essential to fast during the first and last weeks of the fast (Holy Week) and Good Friday (a day when nothing is eaten until dusk). On the Saturdays and Sundays of fasting (except Holy Saturday) oil and wine were allowed. Preparation for the Great Fast begins 5 Sundays before the start (i.e 4 weeks earlier).

354 Character in the tales of the miracles of the Archangel Michael.

355 They keep it only in the Week of Theodore Tyron (first week of fasting) and do not adhere to it strictly on Holy Saturday, probably motivated by the Studite Typikon.

content are rooted in the Byzantine tradition (the *catenae*, Gr. σειραί), of which only the name is still extant in Slavic tradition, where primitive commentaries on the Holy Scriptures were simplified into selections of didactic articles with insertions of fragments of chronicles, *paterika*, rules from councils, etc. The sermon is also found in later compilations, especially from the 16th century, such as *Izm2*, fol. 192v.

These fragments are from the *Troickij spisok* (fol. 96r) of the *ZC*.

Edition used: Gal'kovskij (1913, 2: 224–247).
Other editions: PS (1853, 3: 445), Tikhonravov (1862, 1: 95).
References: Arsenij (1878, 1: 15–18), Ponomarev (1916: tom).

4.28.1 Sermon on Peter and Philip's Great Fast

The Lord God himself fasted in the desert for forty days. Thus it was established and his disciples, the apostles, taught Christians to believe in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, in Baptism, in repentance, fasting, respect, in alms giving, in tolerance, love of one's brothers and all other good deeds. And fasting was ordained, one by Christ and two by the apostles Peter and Paul, in order to inherit the Kingdom of Heaven.

тако бо творать истинии крⷭтыане не того бо дѣла х҃ъ въскрⷭлъ да быхомса wбыадали и оупивали и рѣками іако лвове но х҃ъ въскрⷭлъ и подасть всемоу мироу радость и въскрⷭньемь своимь просвѣтить весь миръ. и всакъ вѣрнии въскрнье х҃во празноуеть. весело всю тоу неᴬ. а не пыаньствомъ играниемь и плаканиемь. и пѣⷭми бѣсовьскими. и плотьскыми похотьми. и вѣрных бо цр҃квы приимаеть чⷭто входацихⷭ не приемлете же сквернацихъ своя делеса блоудомь. и ли шнимь питьемь. еже бес памати оупиватиⷭ

For true Christians act thus, since Christ did not rise so that they should fill themselves with food and drink and roar like lions, but Christ rose and gave the world joy, and with his Resurrection brought light to all the world. And all believers celebrate the Resurrection of Christ with joy throughout Sunday, not with inebriation, feasting, dancing and demonic songs and carnal desires. Receive believers in the churches when they enter in a pure state, do not receive those who have profaned their bodies with fornication and drink, and who become drunk in commemoration of the devil (…).

4.28.2 Sermon on Peter and Philip's Great Fast

Christians do not know how to respond with sufficient gratitude to God, who made heaven and earth for man. They devote themselves to flouting Christian precepts, for which they will be punished.

Се же соуть злаꙗ и скверная дѣла йже нъ велить хс̃ъ сты̑и ѿстоупити. и. соут велими пагоубна и гмь̑ ненавидима сты̑ми проклата ꙗже соуть сиꙗ. лжа сваръ величанье. гордость немилосердье. брат̃ ненавидѣньемь зависть злоба. wбида котора. гнѣвъ. възвышенье. лицемѣрье. непокоренье. преслоушанье мьздоимьство. хоуба wсоуженье пыꙗньство. wбыꙗденье. прелюбодѣиство. грабленье насилье. непослоушанье бжс̃твеныхъ писании престоупленье би̑йхъ заповѣдии. разбои ꙋародѣиство волхоⷭование. наоузъношение. коцюны. бѣсовьскыꙗ пѣс̃. плꙗсанье. боубны сопѣли гоусли пискове играныꙗ неподобныꙗ. роусалыꙗ. да то слышавше брат̃е и сн̑ве и дщери подвигнемсѧ на добра дѣла. а злыхъ wстанемь и ѿбѣгнемь и пс̃ныꙗ дни радостью дх̃овною проводимъ съ ꙋс̃тотою. и страхъ би̑и имѣюще въ срд̃цихъ ваши̑х̃. заповѣди биꙗ съблюдающе со всакимь смѣрениемь. и млт̃вми і с покореньемъ. и со всею д. дѣтелью да достойно оупасени боумь преити постныꙗ дни. ꙋс̃тными ерѣи пооучаеми ꙋс̃тии непороⷱии боум̃ь приꙗти кровь х̃воу и тѣло его ꙋс̃тное. на wщенье дш̃амъ и тѣломъ наши м̃. на wцѣщенье грѣховъ. да боудемь цркви бо̑ живаго. а не пыꙗньствомь wбоураеми. бо̑у наше м̃.

And these are the evil and detestable acts that Christ ordered the saints to eschew and which are harmful to man, and hated by the Lord, and cursed by the saints; they are these: lies, confrontations, haughtiness, pride, lack of pity, hating one's brothers, envy, malice, insulting, arguing, wrath, arrogance, hypocrisy, unruliness, being prone to chaos, blasphemy, reproof, insobriety, over-eating, adultery, thieving, assault, lack of deference to the Holy Scriptures, breaking the Lord's commandments, banditry, spells and witchcraft, the use of talismans, profanity, demonic songs, dancing, rattles, pipes, screeching *gusli*, improper festivities, Rusalia.

And having heard this, brothers and sons and daughters, let us turn to good deeds, abandon the bad ones and avoid them, and spend fast days in spiritual joy and purity, God in our hearts, obeying the holy commandments in all humility and with prayer and reverence, and all type of good deeds which we are ready to do with grace on fast days, taught by honourable priests, [so that] we are purified to receive Christ's blood and his holy body with honour for the sanctification of our souls and bodies, for forgiveness of sins, so that we are temples to the living God, and are not deranged by drunkenness against service to our God.

4.29 *On Fasting for the Ignorant, on the Monday of the Second Week*[356]

The anonymous discourse, the product of a compilation of several sermons on remembering the need to follow the rules for the Great Fast, is one of the most valuable in studies on East Slavic pre-Christian paganism, due to the testimony it provides on the rite in honour of the dead, which took place on Holy Thursday. The sermon's invective is particularly directed against those who flout ecclesiastical rules on fasting and abstinence for Holy Thursday and Holy Saturday and prepare food, drink and baths in honour of the dead on Holy Thursday; on the Saturday of the same week they partook of milk and butter, and on Easter Sunday, ate the food prepared on Thursday.

The prototype of the text is not known, although, according to Gal'kovskij (1913: 2–5), it would date from the 13th century, when the *Jerusalem Typikon*—stricter in fixing fasting in the Easter cycle that its Studite predecessor—was introduced in Rus', but the *Studite Typikon* was still in use among the most ignorant levels of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Thus, the reading of *nevěglasi popove velętь*—which always causes difficulty[357]—"the ignorant priests" may refer to those who still followed Theodore the Studite's rules or, according to Sedel'nikov (1934), in this, together with other sermons of the same kind, it also refers to certain lay preachers who often acted in ecclesiastical circles where an episcopal hierarchy had not yet been institutionalized, such as the case in Pskov before the 14th century.

The fact that the sermon is a compilation can be deduced from its internal structure, which consists of an introduction listing typical theological arguments (God gave man the abilities that make him lord of Creation; in exchange for the divine gifts, he must be just; the reward for a just life is eternal Paradise, for which man must diligently prepare himself, as life of earth passes by and no one knows the hour of their death); the second part tackles the main theme: an attack on those who do not keep the fast of Holy Saturday and Holy Thursday,[358] followed by the interpolation. Afterwards, the sermon resumes by describing how to fast on those days in order to celebrate the Resurrection, with a parallel text to other sermons, such as: *Sermon on Peter and Philip's Great Fast*,

356 On the Monday of the second week of Easter, which is the Monday of Saint Thomas, popularly known in Rus' as *Radunica*, a traditional feast day commemorating the dead in the season of the year when nature is returning to life.

357 In Ms *SPL* (*NLR*) Coll. Bogdanov N° 78 there is *popóvelętь*, which may be an error caused by haplography: *popove velętь* or, on the other hand, by repeating the prefix to the verb, *po-*: *povelętь*.

358 This subject is also discussed in the discourse of the *Sermon on Peter and Philip's Great Fast*.

and the *Sermon by the Holy Fathers on fasting in the Church canon*, which makes it necessary to presuppose a common source.

The fragment follows Galkovskij's edition of the manuscript *SPL* (*NLR*) Bogdanov Coll., N° 78, fol. 6–7, (Russian semi-uncial 16th century).

Edition used: Galkovskij (1913, 2: 14–16).
References: Mansikka (1922: 182–186), Sedel'nikov (1934), Zubov (1998).

4.29.1 On Fasting for the Ignorant, on the Monday of the Second Week

In the attack on those who do not keep the fasts of Holy Saturday and Holy Thursday, the author digresses by entering an interpolation with an exhaustive description of pagan tradition on Holy Thursday.[359]

[...] бл҃жнь потр҃блаа злыа мысли ѿ ср҃ца своего. сеи є҆͡с разбиваа младенца своа ш камень. мнози же ѿ ук҃сь погоублаютъ мздоу свою. еже нарицаютсѧ нев҃гла͡с. егда бо сѧ нареуе великаа сѫбота въ пост҃ъ. в ню же было проводити весь постъ. въ тоу же сѫботоу нев҃гласи поповелатъ взимати молоко и масло. по жидовскоу и по прѣвѣмоу законоу. проклат҃ствоу. мншзи же ѿ ук҃сь се творатъ по злоумию своемоу. въ ст҃ый великии четвертокъ пов҃дают҃ мр҃твымъ мѧса и млеко и ѧица. и мылница топа҃т. и на печь лют҃ъ. и попе҆͡х посредѣ сыплю҃т слада ради и гл҆ю҃т мыитесѧ. и чехли в҃шаю҃т и оуброуси. и велат сѧ терти. в҃си же смию҃тсѧ злоумию и҃х. и въл҃зте мыютсѧ и порплютсѧ в попели тш҃м. ꙗко м коури сл҃д҃ свой показаю҃т на попел҃ъ на прелщен҃ие имь. и троутсѧ чехлы и оубрѫсы т҃ми. и проходѧ҃т топившеи мовници. и гладаютъ на попел҃ъ сл҃да. и ег҃а видатъ на попели сл҃д и гл҃ют҃ приходили. к намь навьѧ мытсѧ. ег҃а то слышатъ б҃си и смиютсѧ имь. и гл҃ют҃ сїи ук҃ци наши десѧчене сѫ҃т. и всю нашю вълю творатъ и оугонаа наша съврѣшаютъ. съ сими ук҃сы намъ пожити. по что ны ины҃х искати мимо си҃х. оу си҃х бо є҆͡с всего досыти. и пити и асти. и зд҃ъ же сыри. зд҃ъ же масло и ѧица. и добраа плоутки и короваи. и велїа мосты. и просв҃ты великїа. и чаши ме҃вены҃а, и пивны҃а. и иною все добра. не мени имь иже приповѣдают҃. да како на҃м҃ сего добра шстати. или си҃х людии забыти и лишитисѧ. еже си намь ѿ хр҃тіанъ показоу҃т сїю честь. сѫть бо оу на҆͡с ин҃ѣхъ дроуговъ много. но не ако сїа дроузи добрыа. иже таковы намь всака оузороучїа добраа досп҃ваютъ. мы же походили по болгаромь. мы же по половцемь. мы же по чюди. мы же по ватичемь. мы же по слов҃но҃м. мы же по иным҃ъ земламъ. ни сакиx людїи могли есмы наити к семоу доброу и х҆͡ти. и послоушан҃ію. ѫко сїи ук҃ци. симъ бо укомь. что мы р҃ч҃мь. и то творѧ҃т. не се

359 The custom of preparing baths for the dead is also described in other texts, such as *Slovo Sv. Otca Našego Ioanna Zlatoustago o tom', kako pervoe pogani verovali v" idoly*.

ли зло еже таковоу ч͡сть творать бѣсомь на погибенїе собѣ. но се паки про͡клатїе творать. еже та маса приповѣдаютъ мртвы͏ᴹ, въ четвертокъ. и паки скверное то приповѣданїе, въ воскр̄сенїе гн̄е ѣдать сами. и͏ᵡ же не достаѧло и псомь ѣсти. ш злаа вѣра. ш нечистое дѣло. и не боуди послѣдовати шкаанны͏ᴹ жидомъ. но послѣдоуимь бг̄оносны͏ᴹ ѿцемь, иже сѫть написали намь. рекоуще да са постать вѣрніи ѿ пица и ѿ пїтїа тоу оубо сѫботоу приложиша к постны͏ᴹ днемь единоу тоу. того ради зане х̄а въ гробѣ сѫщоу. а бᴬца съ ап̄лы и съ всѣми вѣрными бъ той д̄нь въ печали бахѫ. гл̄ахѫ бо жидове, се оубихомь мы наслѣдника нашего х̄а. то оуже наслѣдїе н̄ше е͡ и того ради радоуще͡ идахѫ ѣсти и пити. заоутра же х̄а въскресшоу. и слышавше же жидове шбрѣте бо са и хоудаа та радо͡ на великоую печалъ и скорбь. а б̄ца малаа печаль и скрѣбь на великоую радо͡, не имоущоу конца съ всѣми вѣрными. ѿ соубботы же Лазоревы не несоутса просдоуры ни коутїа за оупокой но все въ честь въскрсенїю хв̄оу. аще ли сего не творите, то съ жиды шсѫде͡ бѫдеть. […]

Blessed is he who eradicates evil thoughts from his heart, which make him equal with one who sacrifices his own son on a stone; many men destroy thus their reward—they are those called the ignorant, because when Holy Saturday was ordained,[360] complete fasting must be held on that day. And on this Saturday, ignorant priests order milk and butter to be consumed, following the first Jewish law: an abomination. And many men do this because of their own poor judgement and on Holy Thursday[361] offer meat and milk and eggs to the dead, and heat baths and pour water on the cauldron and scatter ash around to imitate footprints and say: "wash yourselves". And they hang up shirts and towels and urge them to scrub themselves. And the demons mock the poor judgement of such people. And entering there, they pretend to wash, and cover themselves with the ash and leave their footprints, the same as those of hens, in the ash to deceive them, and they scrub themselves with the shirts and towels and then get out of the hot bath and look at the footprints in the ash and, on seeing them, say: "The dead have come to our house to wash themselves". When the demons[362] hear this, they mock them and say: "These men of ours are only a tenth part and fulfil all our wishes and do whatever pleases us; let us live with these men, for why should we seek out others near these? For these have everything to eat and drink to our fill, and even prepare meat and cheese and eggs and butter for us, and good ducks and loaves of bread and great bis-

360 Literally "Great Saturday".
361 Literally "Great Thursday".
362 Identifying the dead (*навьѧ*) with demons.

cuits[363] and cups of mead and beer, and offer us no less of their other goods. How are we to leave this bounty, forget these people and deprive ourselves of all this? For among Christians, these are the ones who give us such privileges. For we have many other friends, but not as good as these, who will provide us with all types of luxury. We travel among the Bulgarians and also the Polovtsians, and the Chudos and Viatich, and among the Slovenes, and in other lands,[364] and we have not been able to find any man willing to grant us such favours and honour and docility as these. Why do these men do what we tell them to?" Perhaps they do not perform this evil, which is to say, such honour for the demons leading them to their own deaths, but they do carry out this abomination, meaning they prepare meat for the dead on Thursday. And again they eat this abominable offering on the Lord's Day, a thing that not even dogs should eat. O, evil faith! O, impure act! And you must not follow the accursed Jews, but we must follow the Theophoric Fathers who have written to us saying that believers fast and refrain from food and drink only on the Saturday[365] which the added to the fast days because Christ was in the tomb, and the Virgin Mary, together with the apostles and believers, grieved on that day, and the Jews said: "Behold, we have put our heir Christ to death, thus his inheritance is now ours", and, rejoicing for this, the went to eat and drink. And in the morning, Christ rose again, and on hearing it, the Jews were distressed. Change this small joy into great regret and distress, and, as the Virgin Mary together with all believers, change a small regret and distress into infinite joy. And from Lazarus Saturday[366] do not take ritual bread or *kut'ja* to the dead, but do everything in honour of the Resurrection of Christ. If you do not do this, you will be condemned with the Jews.

363 In medieval Rus' this fare could be deemed festive: *mosty i prosvěty* are biscuits in various shapes baked for certain rituals.

364 It can be deduced that these dead-demons were nomads, which identifies them with minstrels (*skomorokhi*), who travelled through eastern Slav lands and were in contact with nations neighbouring the Russians.

365 Holy Saturday.

366 Lazarus Saturday is the sixth Saturday in the period leading up to Easter Sunday. The resurrection of Lazarus is commemorated. It falls on the first Saturday after Lent Sunday (*Svjataja Četyredesjatnica*), when the Great Fast begins (*Velikij Post*) and therefore, it is not permitted to hold feasts in honour of the dead during this time.

4.30 *Sermon by Saint Dionysius on Those Who Suffer*

This sermon is traditionally attributed to Saint Dionysius (of Alexandria) based solely on the reference (in the third person) at the start of the text: "Being seated in his retreat, the Holy Father, Dionysius the Great, Christ's Archbishop". Most of the authors think the text is an East Slavic creation, but in any case, written by a scribe who knew the stylistic devices of patristic Byzantine literature. In fact, the sermon is a composition in the erotapocritic style found frequently in this type of writings.

According to Gal'kovskij (1913: 164–167), the sermon is known in two redactions: one extended and the other abbreviated, with the extended one being a transitional text which would be edited and given as what is known as the abbreviated text.

The text is included in the *Troickij spisok* in ZC (fol. 26r) and in PS (fol. 35r) in the extended redaction, as well as in Izm2 (fol. 123v) in the abbreviated form.

The passage chosen is from the Gal'kovskij (revised) edition on the *Troickij spisok*.

Edition used: Gal'kovskij (1913, 2: 164–175).
References: Mansikka (1922: 204–209); Rybakov (1981).

4.30.1 Sermon by Saint Dionysius on Those Who Suffer

A group approaches the saint and asks him on the meaning of suffering before death.

[…] и начаша въпрошати стго рькоуще. въпрашаемъ тобе чтный шӥче о семь есть ли ѿшедшимъ ѿселъ дшамъ. тамо каꙗ полза ѿ желѣниꙗ. и сдѣ желѣють по ниⷯ со многымь плачемь и рыданиемь горкымь. носящимъ скверная роубища на головахъ своихъ. а моужи шбростивше волосы главы своеꙗ. тоже за многы дни тако творать. […]

And they started to question the saint, saying: "We would ask you, reverend father, if, when souls leave this world, what need is there to suffer, since we suffer here for them with an abundance of tears and bitter lament, with men and women wearing filthy rags on their head, the men leaving the hair on their head to grow long, and this is repeated over many days".

4.30.2 Sermon by Saint Dionysius on Those Who Suffer

The saint warns the questioners not to be like the Sadducees, who do not believe in the resurrection, and therefore bewailed before death.

[...] вы же бра^те не пооучаитеса нравомь садукейскымъ. ихъ же дыаволъ оучинь желѣнию томоу. а дроугыа по мртвѣмь рѣзатиса. и давиви͡ и топити͡ в водъ. [...]

And you, brothers [and sisters], do not follow the customs of the Sadducees, whom the devil has taught to lament, and others who scourge themselves for the dead and suffocate and drown themselves in water.[367]

4.31 *Saint John Chrysostom's Commentary on the Gospel of Saint Matthew*

As the title indicates, this work belongs to the same genre of questions and answers (or *erotapokriseis*) as the *Conversation of the Three Saints* (text 4.21), and as with this, the content is attributed apocryphally to several saints. In this case, it is Saint John Chrysostom (c. 347–407), who also appeared in the same text, who addresses the questions to Saint Matthew. The anachronism is obvious, except that the interview is made through a miraculous apparition.

This small work forms part of a 16th-century *Sbornik*[368] kept in the Holy Trinity—Saint Segius monastery.[369] In this manuscript, it is preceded by another work of questions and answers: the *Saint Ephrem's*[370] *commentary on questions to Saint Basil on all the rules*.[371] Both have been published by Tikhonravov (1863, reprint. 1970: 448–454, 454–457), who edits them in the same section, and therefore believes them to be a single work. Nachtigall (1902: 332–340) did something similar in reconstructing the second edition of the tale *How many parts made up Adam?* However, the two works have different content. If the *Saint Ephrem Commentary* starts with the well-known apocryphal composition on the creation of Adam, including a set of questions on other Old Testament characters, the *Saint John Chrysostom's Commentary* starts by enquiring what the Earth is like, and continues with questions about various heavenly bodies and natural phenomena. Thus, it could be said that the latter is of a cosmological nature.

367 On self-immolation as a form of grieving, *v. Strategikon* attributed to Emperor Maurice (text 1.4).

368 Compilation of texts that, generally, are of the same type.

369 Manuscript No. 794, fs. 341r.–344v.

370 Saint Ephrem the Syrian (c. 306–373). Ordained deacon by Saint Basil the Great, he rejected the bishopric offered to him and withdrew as a hermit. He was one of the most prolific Church Fathers.

371 *Vospro(s) s(vę)t(a)go Efrěma o s(vę)te(m) Vasilii o vse(m) ispravlenii.*

As with the *Conversation of the three saints*, the work in question seems to have assimilated elements belonging to the oral tradition, in an amalgam of pagan, Christian and Bogomil beliefs. Not surprisingly, like the former, it would have a South Slavic source, something which Nachtigall (1901: 9, 89) had pointed out when confirming the similarity of the Russian *Sbornik* with a Croatian Glagolitic manuscript from 1468, the *Sbornik Petrisov*,[372] edited by Jagić (1868: 40–44, 1873: 69–74). The latter was, in turn, based on an older text (Miltenova 2004: 224). The same fragment reproduced below is from a parallel passage of this manuscript (Nachtigall 1901: 94, 1902: 337). For this volume, we have followed the above-mentioned publication by Tikhonravov (1863, reprint. 1970: 455) from the Russian *Sbornik*, and comparing it with the on-line publication of the manuscript.[373]

Edition used: Tikhonravov (1863, reprint 1970: 454–457).
Other editions: Jagić (1868: 40–44; 1873: 69–74), Miltenova (2004: 450–496), Nachtigall (1902: 332–340).
References: Kagan (1989: 153–155), Miltenova (2004: 221–225), Nachtigall (1901, 1902, 1904).

4.31.1 Saint John Chrysostom's Commentary on the Gospel of Saint Matthew, MS *794 f. 342r.10–21*

The preceding questions are directed at the heavenly bodies. They refer to sunrise and sunset, their movement across the sky,[374] the size of the sun and moon, the number of stars, etc.

Воспр҃ѡ что҃ сѫ́ть гр҃ѡ́ и что сѫ́ть молнии блистающїа҃ ѿвѣ҃ громъ ѥ́сть ѡ҃рѫ́жиѥ а҃нгл҃ское҆ а҃нгл҃ъ гн҃ь дыа҃вола гонит а҃ мѡ҃нии҆а҃ соу҆ть ѡ҃дежда а҃хра҃нгла на҆фанаи҆ла и ѥ́гда дождь҆ ид҃ѣ҃ тогда дыа҃волъ станетъ пр҃ѣ҃ дождемъ да не гра҃детъ на зе҃млю҃ того ра҃ а҃нгл҃ъ гн҃ь гони҃ того҆ Воспр҃ѡ что҃ такѡ мѡ҃нии҆а҃ сѣкѫ́тца҃ ѿвѣ҃ то бо есть тогда҃ а҃рха҃нгл҃и со гн҃ѣвѡ҃ зр҃итъ на дыа҃вола

Question: What is thunder, and what is the lightning that shines? Answer: Thunder is the weapon of the angels (when) the Angel of the Lord pursues the Devil, and lightning is the robes of the Archangel Nathaniel. When it rains, the

372 MS. No. R 4001 Zagreb University Library.
373 http://www.stsl.ru/manuscripts/medium.php?col=1&manuscript=794&pagefile=794-0359.
374 According to this work, the angels guided the sun as it travelled across the sky mounted on the throne of God.

Devil stays in front of the rain and does not come to Earth. Thus, the Angel of the Lord pursues him. Question: Why does lightning cut in such a way? Answer: This is when the Archangel casts an angry look at the Devil.

4.32 *Sermon on the Vision of the Apostle Saint Paul*[375]

Together with the *Virgin Mary's journey through the torments* (text 4.17), this work is one of the oldest apocryphal narratives in Russian Orthodox literature. This work was already known in in Russia in the 14th century (Mil'kov 1999: 529), and there are earlier records of it being disseminated among the South Slavs (Tikhonravov 1898: 204, n. 14). There are several versions of the apocryphal tale: Latin, Greek, Syriac, Serbian, Russian, etc. It had a high impact in western Europe, and was one of Dante's main sources in writing the *Divine Comedy*. The original of all these versions came from the Greek, probably around the 4th century (Tikhonravov 1898: 204, n. 14). Although the ancient Russian version basically matches the Greek,[376] there are some differences. For example, the ancient Russian work has no introduction relating the miraculous discovery of a certain manuscript containing the narrative by a virtuous man of Tarsus. On the other hand, the Greek text does not have the passage on the Earth's complaint about the sins of man (Tischendorf 1866: 37), which is reproduced below. Although the Syriac version does contain this, it is not clear the relationship between Syriac and Old Russian versions (Mil'kov 1999: 528). This apocryphal tale has many aspects in common with the *Virgin Mary's journey through the torments*, in that it also belongs to the genre of visions of the saints, with some eschatological content. Similarly, it is mostly written in the form of questions and answers.

The content relates the supposed vision of the apostle Saint Paul[377] of the Other World, both Heaven and Hell. In addition, the work has a definite moralizing nature, emphasised by several cautionary tales. First, various elements (sun, moon and stars, water and land) complain to God of man's sins, and at the end, we are told that all creatures obey God, and only men fall into sinful

375 In Church Slavonic Слово о видѣнии с(вѧ)т(а)го ап(о)с(то)ла Павла.

376 Known as the *Apocalypse of Paul*.

377 Saint Paul enjoyed huge popularity among the various Slavic peoples following his conversion to Christianity, as his nickname of the "apostle of the Gentiles" made them perceive him as closer to themselves. Likewise, his writings in the New Testament exerted a decisive influence on the development of literature in Church Slavonic throughout the Middle Ages. Therefore, it is not surprising that this apocryphal tale was also greatly popular.

ways. Next, we are told how the angels inform God of all our actions twice a day, which serves to remind the reader that God knows everything we do. From then on, the main character starts to speak in the first person, and this starts his journey into the Beyond, guided by an un-named angel.[378] Saint Paul particularly wishes to find out what happens to the souls of the righteous and sinners after death. It gives a detailed description of souls' journey in the Other World, from when they leave the body until reaching their destination in Heaven or Hell. In both cases, they are guided by angels, although these are beautiful angels for the righteous and terrifying ones for the sinners. First, Saint Paul visits Paradise and New Jerusalem. He is then taken to Hell, which is on the other side of the ocean surrounding the Universe. There, he witnesses the various torments suffered by sinners' souls. Strangely, there are no demons in this Hell, but angels torture the damned. This part is very similar to the *Virgin Mary's journey through the torments*. Running parallel to the events of this narrative, Saint Paul's compassion for the suffering of the sinners and his supplication to God (together with more from the Archangel Michael and his angels) gains a temporary reprieve from the tortures, although it is much less than that obtained by the Virgin Mary in the other tale:[379] the pardon only lasts for one day and one night during Holy Week.

The three fragments given here are taken from the edition by Mil'kov (1999: 530–532, 550, 555) of a 16th-century manuscript. Although the edition by Tikhonravov (1863, reprint. 1970: 40–58) is based on a 15th-century manuscript, both texts match fully, but Mil'kov's is more rigorous.

Edition used: Mil'kov (1999: 530–560).
Other editions: Mil'kov (1999: 561–576), Pypin (1862, reprint 1970: 129–131, 132–133). Tikhonravov (1863, reprint 1970: 40–58), Tischendorf (1866: 34–69).
References: Ivanov (1903: 166), Mil'kov (1999: 369–371, 528–529, 577–581), Tikhonravov (1898: 204–206), Tvorogov (1987: 55).

4.32.1 Sermon on the Vision of the Apostle Saint Paul, *f. 229v.11–21–f. 230v.1–13*

At the start of the work, several personified forces of Nature complain to God about the sins of men. The cautionary tale explains that all creatures obey God except humans, who are the only ones to fall into sin. This implies that men's sins are the direct cause of natural disasters, such as drought and famine. The personification of natural elements fits in perfectly with Slavic paganism's wor-

378 This time there is no archangel Michael as in the *Virgin Mary's journey*.
379 This went from Holy Thursday to Pentecost.

ship of natural forces, which would have lived on in popular Russian religion for the centuries following Christianization in 988. Moreover, some pagan customs are found among the sins listed by the Earth in its complaint to God.

fol. 229v.11–21 (…) сл҃нце велїкое свѣтлое молашеса бг҃ж гл҃а. г҃и бж҃е сведръжителю.[380] доколѣ призираю на безаконъіа, и неправдъі ѵл҃ѵкиа. повели оубо да творю по моеи силе на н҃и да разоумѣю҃ тъі еси бг҃ъ единъ. и паки бъі гл҃а к немоу г҃ла свѣдѣ си вса. іако око мое вид҃и. и оухо мое слъіши҃. ѵл҃колюбие мое wжидае҃, с҃и. донде҃ wбрата҃ са и покаюса. аще ли не придоу҃ къ мнѣ и аз имъ сжжю, многаждъі и (fol. 230r.1–25) и лоуна и звѣ҃здъі въпрашахоу бг҃а. и рѣша г҃и бе҃ вседръжителю, на҃ е҃ пода҃ wбласти ноши. доколе позри҃ блоу҃ство. и кровьпрольание, ја҃ твора҃ сн҃ове ѵл҃ѵтии. и повели на҃ и сътвори҃ на н҃и по силѣ нашеи. и да позна҃ю іако тъі еси еди҃ бг҃ъ. и бъі гла҃ к ни҃ г҃ла и ре, аз свѣдъі вса си ја҃ око мое вид҃и. и оухо мое слъіши҃, но длъготръпѣние мое wжида҃е на н҃и. доньде҃ wбрататса и покаютса. аще ли не придоу҃ къ мнѣ и аз и҃ соужю. многаж҃ъі водъі въпрашахѫ҃ на сн҃ъі ѵл҃ѵкиа и рѣша. г҃и бже сн҃ве ѵл҃ѵкии. wскверниша с҃тое твое има в на҃. и и бъі гла҃. и ре азъ свѣдѣ всачъскаа пр҃е бъіа и҃. дѡде҃ wбрата҃ са аз имъ соужю. многаждъі же и зе҃ла вопи҃е къ бг҃оу въпрашающю, на сн҃ъі ѵл҃ѵкїа. и ре г҃и вседръжителю. аз па всеа твари wсоужена есмь. не могоуци тръпѣтї блоуда, и раз боиства, и та҃бъі, и кла҃бъі. и волхвованиа. и wбаженъіи ѵл҃ѵкъ. и всѣ҃ sѡ҃ ја҃ твора҃ іако ѿц҃ю востати на сн҃а. и сн҃оу на ѿца. и бра҃ на брата, и страномоу на странаго. и wскверниша женоу блн҃аго своего. и ѿц҃ю влѣсти (fol. 230v.1–13) на ложе сн҃овнѣ. и сн҃оу тако҃ влѣсти на постелю ѿца своего. и всѝ wскверьнише мѣсто, с҃тое твое принесѫ҃ще жертвъі. имени твоемоу т҃ѣ же wсѫ҃жена есмь па всеа твари. ибо не хотацѫ҃ подающи крѣпость свою плодъі сн҃ом ѵл҃ѵкѝ. но повели ми, и не пода҃ крѣпостию мое плодовъ. и бъі гла҃ гн҃ь и ре азъ видѣ вса. и нѣ҃ то҃г оукрыетса грѣ҃ своихъ ѿ мене и безаконьа. аз видѣ моа бла҃ть wжида҃е ихъ, донде҃ wбрататса къ мнѣ. аще ли не приидоу҃ къ мнѣ аз и҃ соужю.

The great and brilliant sun prayed to God, saying: "Lord God Almighty, how much longer must I gaze on iniquitous and unjust humans? Order it so I can use my power to make them understand that You are the Only God". Again a voice arose that said: "Even though I know it all, for my eyes see and my ears hear, my love for human beings will wait for them until they come back and repent. If they do not return to Me, I shall judge them". The moon and stars often questioned God, saying to him: "Lord God Almighty, you gave us power over the

380 Mistake of the scribe. The correct form is вседръжителю, as it appears several times in the same passage.

night. How much longer must we gaze on the fornication and spilling of blood committed by the sons of men? Order us to use our power to let them know that You are the Only God." And a voice was heard saying to them: "I know all this, for my eyes see and my ears hear, but my infinite patience will wait until they come back and repent. If they do not return to Me, I shall judge them". Many times the waters asked about the sons of men, saying: "Lord God, the sons of men have sullied your holy name in us". And a voice was heard saying: "I knew everything, even before you existed. (But I will wait for them) until they come back (and repent. If they do not return to Me,)[381] I shall judge them". Likewise, the Earth cried out to God many times, asking about the sons of men. And it said: "Lord God Almighty, I am the most wretched of all creatures. I cannot tolerate the fornication, attacks and robberies, perjuries, witchcraft, the calumny of men and all the evil they do. (I cannot tolerate) the father who fights against his son, nor the son (who fights) against his father, nor brother against brother, nor stranger against stranger, nor he who defiles his neighbour's wife, not the father who lies in the bed of his son, nor the son who likewise lies in his father's bed, nor those who profane your holy place by bringing sacrifices in your name. That is why I am the most wretched of all creatures. Since I do not wish to give strength to my fruits for the sons of men, order me not to, and I will not give strength to my fruits". And the voice of God was heard saying: "I see everything and not one of their sins can be hidden from me. I also see the iniquitous ones. (But) my grace waits for them until they return to Me. If they do not return to Me, I shall judge them".

4.32.2 Sermon on the Vision of the Apostle Saint Paul, *f. 243r.22–25–f. 243v*

In his journey through hell, Saint Paul also described the punishment reserved for wizards or sorcerers who, in life, gave potions and spells to the gullible who believed in them.

fol. 243r.22–25 (…) и вид҃ѣ мужа и женъı. погроужены до оустнy, въпраша҆ кто си сy҃ потворници, и҃ даѧхж҃ мужемъ (fol. 243v.1–2) и жена҆ м҃ потворъı, и бо҆шбъı. и не даѧше м҃ покоа донде҆ҁ҃ изомроша.

And I saw men and women who were immersed up to their lips, and asked: "Lord, who are these?". And he said: "These are sorcerers who gave men and women potions and spells, and gave them no peace until they died".

381 This sentence appears to have been shortened to avoid repetitions.

4.32.3 Sermon on the Vision of the Apostle Saint Paul, *fol. 246v. 25—fol. 247r*

The passage this fragment comes from tells how, as the Archangel Michael and his host of angels crossed the heavens, the sinners in hell saw him and begged for mercy. In reply to the sinners' supplication, Saint Michael is at first inflexible, saying that he has spent his whole existence in praying for humans and praying to God for them, while in life the sinners gave themselves to impiety and sin, and did not repent for it. Therefore, now they must suffer the torments until God takes pity on them. Then the sinners cried out in unison, imploring the Son of God for mercy. Saint Paul, the Archangel Michael and his angels joined in their pleas. The clamouring was heard and the Son of God granted the temporary reprieve. Within the deeds listed by Saint Michael in his work interceding for men, there is the one of giving rain to the Earth so that it could make the fruits grow. This gives the Archangel the function of a pagan god providing rain, which for the Slavs was the god Perun. Thus it is should be a case of religious syncretism after their conversion to Christianity.[382] In the parallel passage in the Greek version, (Tischendorf 1866: 62) the Archangel Gabriel, not Saint Michael, addresses the sinners, but there is no mention of his supposed powers as a provider of rain. The same happens in the Syriac version, although the Archangel Michael does appear in it. Therefore, the reference to rain could be a purely Slavic innovation.

fol. 246v.25 (…) и ѿвѣщавъ анг҃лъ (fol. 247r.1–11) и ре. слъıшите сущии в мукѣ̀, михаила гл҃ющта. (…) аꙁ же молѝсѧ до дн҃еи до нн҃ѣ. донд҃е̑ послѣть дождь на ꙁемлѧ прозабн҃е̑, плодъı своими, (…)

And in answer, the angel said: "Hear this, you who are in hell, Michael is speaking to you. (…) I have prayed up to this day, until (God) sent rain to Earth, until the Earth made its fruits grow (…)".

382 But note the aforementioned reinterpretation of the concept "Double Belief" by Rock (2007).

4.33 *Sermon by the Prophet Isaiah, Commented by Saint John Chrysostom, on Those Who Set a Second Table for Rod and the Roženicy*

Attributed to Saint John Chrysostom for no other reason than the prestige bestowed on exegetic texts by his pen, the sermon consists of the commentary—very likely of Russian origin—to the fragment from the OT (Isa. 65:8–16). The Old Testament text of Isaiah was already included in the Slavic *paremejnik*; however, the date when the sermon was written is not known, although Golubinskij (1880, I: 827–828) maintains that it must date from the post-Mongol period and Gal'kovskij deems that it must have existed in the 15th century. In any case, the sermon seemed to be widespread in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The oldest known version of the text was published partially by Sreznevskij (1885), on the Ms NLR Q, otd. 1, nº 18 [henceforth *S*]; Gal'jkovskij (1913: 85) includes the text in other versions which, he states, were not known to Sreznevskij when he published his work in 1885.

The sermon repeatedly contains the formula with the name of Rod and the Rožanicy (Roženicy), used in substituting or adding "demons" to the original, to whom the impious offered sacrifices.

In this work, the sources used in the base text come from Ms SLR Coll. Volok. nº 113 (453) (16th century), titled *Sermon by the Prophet Isaiah, commented by Saint John Chrysostom, on those who set a second table*[383] *for Rod and the Roženicy*, according to the Gal'kovskij edition, which includes Sreznevskij's (1885) versions.

Edition used: Gal'kovskij (1913, 2: 84–95).
Other editions: Sreznevskij (1885).
References: Afanas'ev (1885), Mansikka (1922: 142–149), Šepping (1851).

4.33.1 Sermon by the Prophet Isaiah, Commented by Saint John Chrysostom, on Those Who Set a Second Table for Rod and the Roženicy

Commentary on Is 65, 8–9, according to which the believer is a bunch of grapes, and his good works the juice. If the bunch has no juice, then it is cut down—

383 On the "second table" *vid. Sermon commented by the wisdom of the Holy Apostles* (text 4.27.1.).

meaning death—and thrown on the eternal fire. The interpretation continues in the genre of the just human beings "of Jacob and Judah", who will inherit Mt. Zion, meaning the church where God shows himself, blesses and teaches us.

реүе гъ наслѣдать городу стоую мою избранніи мои люе соу҃ть то. иже слоужт бгоу҃ и волю его творать. а не родоу҃ ни роженицамъ, коумиромъ соуетны. то соу҃ть слоу҃гы бжїа йже приносать жрътвоу҃ стоу живмоу бгоу, во кротости сръца своего с разоумомъ добраго оу҃чѧнїа црквнаго, и боудоут в лоузѣ ѡградѣ ѡвца. лоугъ нарицаетсѧ рай. а ѡградъ мѣста райскаѧ. а ѡвцы вѣрнїи людие. йже работаю҃ть бгоу, а не роженицамъ. и дебрь шхорьскаѧ вышнаго їерлима пажить, а волове кротцїи епископи и попове йже ходѧт по церквномоу оу҃чнїю. и инѣхъ добрѣ оучаше, вы же шставльшеи мѧ и забывающе городу стою҃ мою҃. и готоваю҃ще трапезоу҃ родѧ и роженицамъ, наполнающе чръпанїа бѣсомъ, ѧзъ прѣдѧ вы на шроужїе. и вси заколенїемь падете. то заколенїе ес смрть. а шроужїе моука вѣчнаѧ, и возваx не ѡзвастеса. и глахъ не слышасте. и творите злое прео моё. йх же не хощю то вы избраете.

сего радо таго глть гь. се работаю҃щий ми ѧсти наоуноут. вы же вжажете. питїе пье҃те йже исплъниваете чръпанїа бѣсомъ, се работаю҃щий ми возвеселатсѧ. вы же постыдитеса, со игра҃ющими возрадуютсѧ в веселїе сръца, вы же работаю҃ще бѣсомъ, и слоужаще йдоломъ, и ставѧще трапезѫ родоу҃ и роденицамъ. и взопите в болѣзни срца своего. и ѡ сокроушенїа срца восплачетсѧ, томоу же сѧ збыти не здѣ. но во шномъ вѣцѣ, шстависте бо оу҃тѣшенїе ваше. и покой боудѫщаго вѣка. избранны моимъ рабомъ, вас же оу҃бьеть гъ бь. а работаю҃щии ми возвеселатсѧ, поюще бѫ истййномоу. а вы поете пѣс бѣсовскоую. йдолоу҃ родоу҃ и роженицамъ. и в великоу҃ пагоубоу҃ вводите извѣствїе книжное. и велико зло҃ еже не разоумѣти поучита҃маго. и велико зло҃ ѣже не слоушати разоумѣйша себѣ. или разоу҃мѣваѧ не творити вола бжїа. по писаномоу законоу. се же слышавше шстаните брате того поустошнаго тваренїа, и слоу҃бы сотонины. и ставленїа трапезы коумирьскаѧ, родоу и роженицамъ. и творите братїе волю бжїю. йже оучат ны книгы пршрусскыми, и апльскыѧ. и шучскыѧ, да прїимете шставленїе грѣховъ, и полоу҃чи жизнь вѣчнѫю, w҃ хсѣ їсѣ гѣ нашем.

God says: *My chosen ones will inherit my holy mountain*. These are the ones who serve God and do his bidding, and not serve Rod or the Roženicy or empty idols. These are the servants of God, who bring victims to the blessed God living in the meekness of their heart with the discernment of the Church's good teachings.

And they will be in a meadow with flocks of sheep. The meadow is called Paradise and the flock, the places in Paradise, and the sheep are people who believe,

and work for God and not the Roženicy. *And the valley of Achor, a pasture for cattle*. Here, the valley of Achor is a pasture in high Jerusalem, and the cows are bishops and ordinary priests who follow ecclesiastical teachings and preach better than others.

But for you who abandoned me and forgot my holy mountain and prepared a table for Rod and the Roženicy,[384] *you filled cups for the demons,*[385] *I send you to take arms and you will all die in the slaughter*. This slaughter is death and the arms are eternal punishments. *Because I called to you and you did not answer, I spoke and you did not listen to me, you did what displeases me and chose what is not acceptable to me*.

For this reason, God spoke thus: "Here my servants will eat and you will be thirsty. [Eat your fill from the table you set for the *Rožanicy*], drink the drink, you who fill the cups for the demons. *And those who serve me will be joyful and you will be ashamed, they will be singing their joy with happiness in their heart*. And you, who serve the demons and worship idols and set the table for *Rod* and the *Roženicy will groan from the pain in your heart*, and this will come to pass, not here, but in another time, for you left your solace and rest in the future life to my chosen servants, and for you *the Lord God will make you die, but my servants will be rewarded*, singing to the true God, and you sing a a demonic song to the idol Rod and the Roženicy, and not knowing the scriptures leads to great destruction and it is a great evil not to understand what is read and a great evil not to listen to those who have a better understanding than you or, even if they are understood, God's will is not fulfilled according to the written law. And, brothers, you spurn what you have heard for that empty creature and to serve Satan and to set the table for the idols, Rod and the Roženicy. Brothers, obey the will of God, as taught in the books of the prophets and apostles and fathers, and receive pardon for your sins and we will receive eternal life in Jesus Christ Our Lord".

4.34 *Sermon and Revelation by the Holy Apostles*

This is an erotapocritical text common among the revelations or apocryphal apocalypses, in which the apostles Peter, Andrew, James, Thomas and Bartho-

384 Translates as "for Gad", the Aramaic god of fortune. In *Septuaginta* Isa. 65:11: ἑτοιμάζοντες τῷ δαίμονι τράπεζαν (…).

385 Translates as "For Mení", an unknown god, perhaps a deity of fate. In *Septuaginta* Isa. 65:11: καὶ πληροῦντες τῇ τύχῃ κέρασμα (…).

lomew, in a meeting in the Valley of Josaphat, ask questions about human nature, man's sins and their remission, and Christ, appearing as an angel, answers them.

The text has been known in southern Slavonic since the 14th century in two redactions of Serbian origin—one edited by Sokolov (1888) and another by Speranskij (1907)—which are very different from the Russian version. According to Gal'kovskij (1913: 50–51), this may be due to a new eastern Slavic translation from the original Greek, possibly between the 15th and 16th centuries. In any case, the interpolation containing the reasons relating to the Slavic pre-Christian pantheon is not in the southern text but does appear in the eastern Slavic one, similar to other Russian variations of apocryphal texts, in which interpolations are entered with fragmented lists of the Slavic pagan pantheon. This occurs with the *Conversation of the three saints* and the *Virgin Mary's journey through the torments*.

The names and descriptions of the ancient gods given in the interpolation may be due to the author's knowledge of sources from Byzantine chronicles, translated into Slavonic, such as the Chronicle of George Hamartolos[386] and that of John Malalas.[387]

This fragment is taken from Tikhonravov's edition (1861) of the eastern Slavic version, following the 16th-century manuscript N° 62 from Count F.A. Tolstoj's Collection (now in the NLR, F. 1,4, fol. 266r).

Edition used: Tikhonravov (1861).
Other editions: Gal'kovskij (1913, 2: 49–54), Sokolov (1888).
References: Afanas'ev (1994, 2: 642), Mansikka (1922: 200–204).

4.34.1 Sermon and Revelation by the Holy Apostles

Jesus Christ and his disciples met to contemplate polytheism.

Г҃и бл҃ви ѡ҃т҃е.

По днехъ въшеша г҃у нашемоу і҃сҫу х҃ҫу ѿ горы єлеѡньвкыа прїдоша оу҃ченици его. въ оу҃доль ⷭсафатовь. помышлѣѫще ш҃ родѣ неверѣмъ ѵлу҃тѣ. єже съгрѣшаѫ т. и да рⷭзоумѣѫть оу҃ченїе ш҃ц҃а своего. и да быша рⷭзоумѣли многїи ѵл҃ци. и въ прѣлъсть великоу не внидѫ мнаще богы. многы пероуна и хорса дыа, и троана, и йніи мнози. йбо ꙗко то҃ ѵлци были сѫ старѣишины пероунь въ єлинѣх. а хорсь въ Киѥ҃рѣ. Троань баше ц҃рь в римѣ. а дроузїи дроуаге. иж добрый мѫжи

386 Istrin (1920–1930).
387 Franklin (1990).

бѫхѫ [...] дроуꙁїи разбоиницы. таковыѧ богы призваша мнози ѵлцы и тако имъ наѵаша трѣбы покладати. и тако прѣлъсть вниде въ ѵлкы. и до сдго днѣ єс въ поганыѭ. глаѧт бо ѡво сѫт бози небєсніи. а дроуꙁіи земнїи. а дроуꙁїи польстїи. а дроуꙁїи воанїи. тѡ не безоумна лй ѥсте погыноули ѥже тако вѣроваете. бъ лй єс комоу, еже всеѫ тварьѭ не шбладаѣть. кто лй єс тварь дѣлиль на ѵасти [...] и тъ єс истиный бъ. йже всеѫ тварїѭ владѣеть. видимаа и невидимаа. [...]

Holy Father, bless us.
In [those] days after Our Lord Jesus Christ came down from the Mount of Olives, his disciples came to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, meditating on impious humans, meaning those who sin, so that they would understand the teachings of His Father and for many men to understand and not fall into highly corrupt ways due to believing in many gods, in *Perun, Khors, Dyj, Trojan and many others. For they had been men in earlier times, Perun among the Greeks, and Khors in Cyprus,—Trajan was emperor of Rome—*, and others elsewhere, who nonetheless were good men (...) but others [were] bandits. These many men were looked on as gods, and so they started to make offerings to them and thus corruption entered into man, and remains to this day among the pagans, for they say that some gods are of the heavens and others of earth, and others of the fields and others of water. So how have you have knowingly destroyed what you believed in? Perhaps for some, God is not the one who rules over all creation? Perhaps there is someone who divided creation into parts? (...) And this is the true God, the one who rules over all creation, the visible and the invisible.

4.35 Photius, Metropolitan of Kiev, *Epistles*

Of Greek origin, born in Monemvasia, Photius (d. 1431) was Metropolitan of Kiev and all Rus' from 1408. During his mandate, he tackled bringing order to ecclesiastical and political matters in Rus', for which he turned to literature: he wrote 35 epistles and sermons, in which Photius wanted to teach the Russian people, particularly priests and monks, and when necessary, did not shy from recriminating against Russian princes.

Thus, there are a great many pastoral epistles sent to various monasteries and cities in Russia, among which is a series of letters addressed to the clergy in Novgorod and Pskov. In these letters, Photius dealt with several concerns on divine service, discipline and Church rules, also against the heresy of the *strigol'niki*, a subject that ran through all his writings, more so in his later works.

Photius's Epistle to Novgorod on observing Church rules and the *Epistle to Pskov on licit and illicit matrimony, and on marriage and on baptising children and on the priest nestavlennyj and on drinking before the midday meal* have almost exactly the same content: the metropolitan points to those who abuse alcohol and feasting, he reminds that fasts must be kept and teaches priests how to administer the sacraments correctly, and the need to steer acolytes away from customs contrary to the Church's teachings. In the epistle to Pskov, he also adds that those who have been baptised by a lay person must be re-baptised by a priest. This might have been Photius's first reaction to the activities of the *strigol'niki*. Indeed, while the letter to Novgorod was dated 29 August 1410 (when John was the city's archbishop), the second dates from 22 June 1410 to 1417.

Both letters contain exactly the same fragment in which Photius, among other warnings to the priests, calls them to teach their spiritual children, and stay away from story-tellers and evil women.

Edition used: Pavlov (1908²: col. 274; 283).
Other editions: *AAÈ* (vol. I: Nº 369).
References: Goldfrank (1998), Kazakova-Lur'e (1955), Mansikka (1922: 221–222), Prokhorov (1989: 475–484).

4.35.1 Photius's Epistle to Novgorod

Both in the 1410 epistle to Novgorod and the one addressed to Pskov, which has almost identical content, Photius calls on the clergy to instruct their spiritual children to lead righteous lives, not dishonour their parents and not to take part in improper acts.

[…] такожь оучите ихъ, чтобы басней не слоушали, лихихъ бабъ не приимали, ни оузловъ, ни примольвленіа, ни зелья, ни вороженьа, и елика такова, занеже съ того гнѣвъ Божій приходить. И гдѣ таковые лихые бабы находятся, оучите ихъ, чтобы престали и каяли бы са, а не имоутъ слоушати, не благословляйте ихъ и крестьаномъ заказывайте, чтобы ихъ не дръжали межю собя нигдѣ, гонили бы ихъ отъ собя, а сами бы отъ нихъ бѣгали, аки отъ нечистоты. А кто не иметъ васъ слоушати, и вы тѣхъ такоже отъ церкви отлоучайте […]

He also warns them not to listen to tales, or receive evil women, or amulets, evil spells, potions, enchantments, or anything of that kind, as this leads to divine wrath. And where these evil women may be, teach them so they may give up their ways and do penance, and if they do not take note, do not bless them and advise Christians not to have them anywhere near them and to throw them

out of their houses, and they themselves must flee from them like they would from filth. And whoever pays you no attention, expel them forthwith from the Church.

4.36 *Three Sanctifying Instructions for the Clergy and Lay Persons on Various Matters of Ecclesiastical Discipline*

This text has only been edited in Pavlov (1908) on *VMČ* August (Synodal redaction, fol. 788–792). The author is not known, but it is very close to Photius's epistles to the Novgorod and Pskov clergy in 1410.

Edition used: Pavlov (1908[2]: col. 918–926).

4.36.1 Three Sanctifying Instructions for the Clergy and Lay Persons on Various Matters of Ecclesiastical Discipline

Among the recommendations to the priests who have to oversee their parishioners' behaviour, harmful acts relating to superstition and paganism are highlighted.

Блоудникъ, обавникъ, мятежникъ, чародѣй, скоморохъ, оузолникъ, смывая человѣкы, во птичь грай вѣроуяй, баснемъ сказатель, во стрѣчю вѣроуя, во птици и гады загадывая, таковїи на лѣта отлоучастся отъ причастия, аще покаются; аще не покаются, ино такыхъ священникомъ въ церковь не поускати, ни приноса отъ нихъ не имати, ни въ домъ къ нимъ не ходить.

The fornicator, quack doctor, rebel, sorcerer, minstrel, holy man,[388] those who cure people with water, who believe in birdsong, the story-teller, he who believes in meetings, makes prophecies from birds and reptiles, those who take communion, if they repent, but if they do not repent, then priests must not allow them to enter church, or accept their offerings, nor go to their houses.

4.37 Zosimus, Metropolitan of All Russia, *List of Apocryphal Books*

Metropolitan of all Rus' (1490–1494), he led a council in Moscow (1491) against the Novgorod millenarianist heresy of the Judaizers, and created a network of

388 *Uzolnik* is the holy man or quack doctor who makes amulets from knots.

Russian clergy trained to re-draft the paschal tables to go beyond the year 7000. He himself wrote a treatise with this aim (*Report by the Metropolitan Zosimus on Easter for the eighth millennium*). He was forced to resign from the post of metropolitan and return to Simonov Monastery (where he had been before being made metropolitan) when he declared his sympathy with the Judaizer sect on starting a dispute with Joseph of Volokolamsk.

In his fight against heresies and veering from the righteous faith, his writing also took in a literary genre know as an "index of apocryphal books", consisting of a list of literary books and compositions (sometimes heretical activities are also included), which the Church had prohibited to be read for various reasons. These compositions were inherited from Byzantium and, over the years, the list of prohibited texts (considered "apocryphal") changed. In the Slavic tradition, the first lists translated from Byzantine sources were included in the *Izbornik of Svjatoslav of 1073* and in the *Tacticon* by Nikon Černogorec (11th century), since in Slavic soil, the first known index of apocryphal texts is found in the *Pogodin Nomocanon* from the 14th century (SLR Pogod. Coll., Nº 31) and later recorded fairly frequently in miscellaneous manuscripts under different titles.

The attribution of authorship of an index of apocryphal books to Metropolitan Zosimus is due to the epigraph of the manuscript Coll. Syn. Nº 853, fol. 5r–7r (16th century), the only one where his name is given explicitly: *Tale of Zosimus, Metropolitan of Russia on apocryphal books*. It is very possible that in the rest of the copies of the text (e.g. *Čudovskij Sbornik*, Nº 269, fol. 509–510, end of the 15th century) the author's name does not appear because of the disgrace he suffered in the years following the accusation that he belonged to the Judaizer sect. However, the list of Zosimus's prohibited books, not only includes those containing apocryphal texts, related to magic and astrology, but also those on the Judaizer sect.

Edition used: Pavlov (1908², col. 790–796).
Other editions: Makarij (Bulgakov) (1862).
References: Goldfrank (1998), Kobjak (1984).

4.37.1 List of Apocryphal Books

In the list of books of predictions considered heretical includes the practice of divinations.

[...] Богоотменыа и ненавидимыа книги: громовникъ, колядникъ, мартологъ, цареве сносоудцы, воронограй, птичъ, мышепискъ, стѣнотроускъ. Се суть имена имъ: астрономїа, сирѣчь звѣздосказанїе, окомигъ, мысленикъ, естественикъ, метанїа.

And they are heretical and execrable books: the *gromovnik*,[389] the *koljadnik*,[390] *martolog*,[391] the *snosudcy*[392] of the Czar, the *voronograj*,[393] [prophecies according to] birds,[394] the *myšepisk*,[395] the creaking of walls. These are their names: astronomy, meaning, *zvězdoskazanie,*[396] *okomig,*[397] *myslennik, estestvenik*,[398] *metania*.[399]

4.37.2 List of Apocryphal Books

Not only were books condemned, but also heretical practices carried out by priests against ecclesiastical rules.

[...] или носять масленоую ядь и молоуьноую, и яицы съ просдирами вх церковъ, или съ коутею, а то все вмѣстѣ попове покажаютъ и свящаютъ: таковая дѣйствоуя попъ, да извержется сана своего: развѣе достойно коутїю чистоу и каноунъ вносити въ церковъ и свящати, и то во олтарь не носити, а брашно на потребоу ницимъ, а не свящати съ коутье. [...]

Or they take food with butter and milk and eggs with the ritual bread to the church or with the *kut'ja*, and the priests display and consecrate all this together: let the priest who acts in this way be deprived of his ministry. However, pure *kut'ja* [should be] taken to the church and consecrated, and *kanun*,[400] which is not taken to the altar but [given] as food to the poor and needy, and not consecrated with the *kut'ja*.

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389 *Brontologion*. Book of predictions from thunder. The Slavic version traditionally related to a text attributed to the emperor Heraclius (7th century). In Russia, they have been known as *gromovniki* or *gromniki* since the 14th–15th centuries, in Bulgaria since the 13th century, and one century later in Serbia.

390 *Kalandologion*. A book containing predictions on the days of the week of Christmas and New Year; it reached the southern and eastern Slavs through Byzantine and Jewish intermediaries. The first copies known in Bulgaria date from the 13th century; in Serbia from the 14th century; in Russia from the 15th century.

391 *Hamartologion*. Book of astrology. Also *martoloj*.

392 Books on interpreting dreams.

393 Book of predictions based on the cawing of crows.

394 This may refer to the previous book of the following type of prediction, i.e. prophecies made from the song or sound of birds.

395 Predictions based on the sounds of mice.

396 Literal translation of "astrology" also *zvezdoslovie*.

397 Literally "wink". It refers to a prohibited book.

398 This refers to the *Physiologist*.

399 Probably *metnoslovie* (Gr. *rhiktologion*). Predictions from the psalter or quotes from religious texts.

400 Like *kut'ja*, it is a type of food prepared to commemorate the dead.

4.38 *Life of Saint Abraham of Rostov*[401]

This hagiographic work tells of the life of the legendary founder of if the Monastery of the Epiphany in Rostov,[402] Saint Abraham, whose feast day is held on 29 October in the Russian Orthodox Church. This is the only reference we have to the life of the saint, who is not mentioned in any of the Russian chronicles. The first mention of the Monastery of the Epiphany in Rostov is found in the *Chronicle of Vladímir-Suzdal'*, at the beginning of the 14th century, in the entry corresponding to 1261 (Karskij 1926–1927, reprint. 1962: 476; 5). Therefore, there is no reliable information on the person in question. Scholars do not even agree on where to place him chronologically. Although some think he must have lived during the early decades of Christianization of Kievan Rus',[403] others move it back to around 1070, or the end of the 11th century and start of the 12th (Bulanina 1988: 237). One version of the *Life* tells us that the relics of the saint were found on 27 October 1175, which could serve as a *terminus ante quem*. However, as we have said, the historical accuracy of a hagiography cannot be relied on. The numerous discrepancies and contradictions contained in the various versions of the *Life* have led researchers to identify three main texts. The first could date from the 15th century at the earliest, while the second and third go back to the 16th, and 17th–18th centuries, respectively. The main difference among them lies in the fact that the first is shorter than the other two, and has almost no references to the saint's childhood and youth. In the opinion of Ključevskij (1871, reprint. 2003), more than one *Life* would probably be a clumsy assembly of a general outline of separate stories: the one on the destruction of the idol, Veles, and another on the saint's struggle against the intrigues of the demon, *Zefeus*. These tales may come from the oral tradition, which would accentuate the legendary nature of the narrative and the main character. The first of these events is contained in the fragment given below, and taken from the edition by Kostomarov (1860, reprint. 1970: 221) of a 17th-century manuscript.[404]

Edition used: Kostomarov (1860, reprint 1970: 221–225).
Other editions: Tikhomirov (1982: 130–134).

401 The original title in Church Slavonic is: Памать праведнаго отца нашего Аврамна аръхимандрита Богоавленьскаго Ростовскаго "Legend of our venerable father Abraham, archimandrite (of the monastery) of the Epiphany in Rostov".

402 Russian city to the south-west of Moscow, on the banks of the river Don and near the Sea of Azov.

403 After the baptism of Prince Vladimir in 988.

404 MS. Nº 434 in the collection of the former Rumjancov Museum.

References: Bulanina (1988), Golubinskij (1903: 82–83), (1904, reprint 1969: 763–775), Ključevskij (1871, reprint 2003), Mansikka (1922: 290–293).

4.38.1 Life of Saint Abraham of Rostov

The passage below comes from very near the beginning of the work, following an extremely short summary of the saint's childhood and youth. Therefore it relates his first miracle. It tells of how he managed to destroy the idol of the god, Veles, which was worshipped by the local people, thanks to a miraculous intervention by Saint John the Evangelist.[405] One fine day, Saint Abraham decided to put an end to the Rostovians' idolatry, and prayed to God to help him fulfil his mission. According to the story, after an initial attempt failed because of a spell cast by the demon living in the idol, the saint sat defeated at the side of the road next to where the evil statue stood. Success arrived with an ancient traveller, who said he came from Constantinople. On taking an interest in Saint Abraham's problem, the old man advised him that if he wished to achieve his aim he had to go to Constantinople to the house of Saint John the Evangelist and pray before his image.[406] Saint Abraham of Rostov left for the city without further ado, with no thought for the distance. A short while later on crossing a river, he met a mysterious person who asked him where he was going. On answering that he was heading for Constantinople and the house of Saint John the Evangelist, the stranger told him to take his pen[407] and strike the idol of Veles with it, in the name of Saint John the Evangelist, when the statue would immediately be reduced to dust. And upon saying this, the stranger disappeared. Saint Abraham realised that it was Saint John himself who had appeared to him. Without losing time, he returned to Rostov and did what the saint had told him, with the predicted result. The story ends by saying that Saint Abraham ordered a church to be built in the place where he saw Saint John the Evangelist and consecrated to him, while a small church dedicated to Our Saviour's Epiphany was raised, later becoming the monastery.

Видѣвъ же преподобный прелесть идольскую соущу, не оубо бѣ еще пріяша свѧтое крещеніе, но чюдескый конецъ поклоняшеся идолу камену; омрачени бо суть сердца ихъ, бѣсу злу живущу, яко близъ его никому же не смѣяти ходити путему тѣмъ, и мечьты творяще мечеть бо христіаньскы творяше страшилища злымъ

405 This is to say that the apostle, Saint John or Saint John the Evangelist, also called the "Theologian" for the depth of the Gospel attributed to him.

406 It is understood that the old man is referring to the church of Saint John.

407 Reed used as a writing tool.

омраченіемъ.[408] Преподобный же Аврамій помолися Богу, глаголя: Господи Боже вышный! призри с высоты своея на раба твоего и даждь ми силу и благодать Святаго твоего Духа разозити сего многокозненаго идола. И невъзможе. Не даяше бо ни близъ себе окаяный приити злымъ влъшествомъ своимъ. (…) И глагола ему старець: азъ есмь, отче, Цяряграда родому, пришлець есмь на земли вашей странный; рци же ми, отче, что ради скорбя сѣдиши близъ страстнаго сего идола Велеса? Глагола блаженый Аврамій к старцу: тщуся и молюся Господу Богу разорити многострастнаго сего идола Велеса, и невозможно ми: презрѣ Богу моление мое; и се скорбя сѣдохъ!

The venerable (Abraham) beheld the deceit of idolatry in which (the inhabitants of Rostov) indulged, for they had not yet received holy baptism, but in a place of miracles[409] worshipped a stone idol in which an evil demon lived, for their hearts were shrouded in darkness. When they passed by him on that road, no one laughed, as that created spectres and ghosts for Christians through its malign darkness. The venerable Abraham prayed to God, saying: "Lord God, the Most High! Look down on your servant from on high and give me the strength and grace of your Holy Spirit to destroy this devious idol".[410] But it was impossible for him. The cursed creature was not able even to come near with its spell (…). And the old man said: "Father, I am a native of Constantinople, recently arrived in your strange land. Tell me, Father, why are you sitting with such a heavy heart near this miserable idol of Veles?" Blessed Abraham answered the old man, saying: "I have prayed to the Lord God and he has charged me with smiting this idol of Veles into many pieces, and I could not do it. God has ignored by prayers, and I am sitting here full of despair".

4.39 *Sermon of the Holy Fathers on Fasting in the Ecclesiastical Canon*

Although the first copies of the sermon appear in a manuscript from the 16th century, the critics believe that the text dates back to the early centuries of Christian Rus' (Jakovlev 1893; Ponomarev 1897; Gal'kovskij 1913). The text that has come down to us is a compilation, much changed as it was transmitted

408 Variant in the Ms. No. 156 belonging to Museum Rumjancov: Бѣ же во идолѣ бѣсу злу живущу и мечты творящу христіаномъ и страшилиця злымъ своимъ омраченіемъ "There was an evil demon who lived in the idol, and that created spectres and ghosts for Christians through its malign darkness" (Kostomarov 1860 [repr. 1970]: 224, n. 4).

409 Literally "in a miraculous corner", meaning in a lonely place where miracles happen.

410 Literally "of much trickery".

over the years, whose first part is very close to the *Tale of Peter the Unworthy on fasting*. This led Petukhov (1904) to think that the *Tale* was the basis for composing the *Sermon of the Holy Fathers*, which also has great similarities with the *Sermon of the Great Fast* (fragments from the *Melissa*), and with the *Sermon on fasting for the ignorant*. It also contains a textual unit with the traditional legend—attributed to Saint John Chrysostom and widespread across Ancient Rus' in writings on Easter—on the Sun halted journey during the seven days of Christ's Crucifixion.

The fragment of the sermon is taken from *Izm1*, fol. 252r–259v, although it is also found in other manuscripts from the same era. This provides information on the pagan customs of Russians in medieval times, through a list of sins condemned by the Church, as frequently appears in patristic Slavic literature.

Edition used: Gal'kovskij (1913, 2: 141–163).
Other editions: Ponomarev (1897: 57–64), PS (1858, 1: 141–167), Tikhonravov (1859: 74).
References: Jakovlev (1893), Petukhov (1904).

4.39.1 Sermon of the Holy Fathers on Fasting in the Church Canon

An interpretation is made on the meaning of the prophet Haggai's command to "go up to the mountains":[411] do good and do not act with evil intent, for which he adds a list of wrong actions.

[…] Сеже суть драгыѣ мѣры. жизни сиѧ. злаа дѣла. и скверная ѿ бга ѿстоупа. ихъ же ны велитъ хс̃ъ бг̃ъ ѿстоупити и взийти на гороу. ѣже ѣреи велитъ ихъ бѣгати. иже суть велми пагоубна. и бг̃омъ ненавидема. а ст̃ыми проклата. еже ѣсть сваръ. бои. свада. величаниѣ. гордость. величаниѣ. не мр̃диѣ. зависть. братонелюбье. прозwрѣство. злоба ѿбида. дменье. возвышениѣ. лицемѣрьѣ. непокорениѣмъ. мздоимѣниѣ. ѿсоуженьѣ хоуленииѣ. пыаньство. ѿбыаденьѣ. несытость. граблениѣ. населиѣ неслоушанье. божїихъ заповедей. оубїйство разбои. дш̃егоубьство чародѣйство. наоузъ ношениѣ. коцюоуны идолослоужение. моленьа колодѣзнаа. и рѣунаа. пѣсни бѣсовъскыа. плаcаниа. боубнѣ сопѣли. козицѣ. играниа бѣсовъскаа. и вса злаа дѣла. сихъ бо дѣлъ велатъ намъ ѿци ходити по правиломъ. и по заповедемъ ст̃ыхъ ап̃лъ и бг̃оносныхъ ѿць. хwдити на горы рекше въстоупати в добраа дѣла. ѿ злыхъ же оуклонатиⷭ не въсхыщенꙋ боудемъ звѣремъ реꙗ̀ше диаволомъ. да не снесени боудемъ звѣремъ рекше диаволоⷨ. да не снесени боудемъ во дно ад̂во. и въ тмоу̂ кромѣшноую. […]

411 Hag. 1:8.

And these are the good precepts in this life, while evil and sacrilegious acts are repudiated by God. The same ones that Our Lord Jesus Christ ordered us to repudiate and go to the mountain, as the priests order us to flee from them, for they are very destructive and hated by God and cursed by the saints, they are argument, confrontation, altercation, boasting, pride, [boasting], lack of pity, envy, lack of love for one's brothers, conceit, wicked insults, arrogance, haughtiness, hypocrisy, insubordination, extortion, gossip, blasphemy, inebriation, eating to excess, greed, theft, reach of the law, disobeying the divine commandments, killing, banditry, murder, witchcraft, wearing amulets, tales, idolatry, worship of springs and rivers, demonic songs, dancing, drums and pipes, goats, demonic amusements and all wrong actions. For in these actions the Fathers order us to follow the rules and commandments of the Holy Apostles and the Theophoric Fathers. *Going to the mountains* means doing good deeds and eschewing bad ones, and thus we will not be devoured by the best, that is to say, the devil, and we will not be snatched away by the monster, meaning the devil, and we will not be dragged to the depths of Hades and profound darkness.

4.40 *The Trans-Doniad Tale*, or *Zadonščina*

The Trans-Doniad Tale, better known by its Russian title *Zadonščina*, is the first of the texts which make up what is known as the Kulikovo Cycle.

On 8th September 1380 an army commanded by the Prince of Moscow, Dmitri Ivánovič, defeated the Tartar troops of the so-called Golden Horde, under the orders of Khan Mamai. The battle has great symbolic significance in the history of medieval Russia because it was immediately considered the starting point for liberation from Tartar domination and the beginning of the hegemony of Moscow over the other principalities of the Rus'. This symbolic and patriotic nature of the historical event gave rise to several major literary works which make up the above-mentioned Cycle, specifically, *The Trans-Doniad Tale*, *The Chronicle Story of the Battle of the Don* and *Tale of the Battle against Mamai*.

The date of composition of *The Trans-Doniad Tale* is a matter of much debate, because the text itself provides a number of indications which could suggest a date of composition between 1383 and 1393, i.e. almost contemporary to the events it narrates. The same controversy surrounds the authorship, as some copies attribute the text to Sophonius of Ryazan. However, Dmitreva (1979) postulates that Sophonius is in fact the author of the archetype on which the final composition was based.

Zadonščina has reached us in two redactions: the abridged redaction, preserved in a manuscript conserved in the Kirillo-Belozersky Monastery copied by the monk Efrosin, which does not include the second part of the battle and which dates back to the end of the 15th century; and the extended redaction, best represented by the so-called Undolskij copy, which, however, contains many errors that are the product of poor comprehension on the part of the copyists. The first edition of *Zadonščina*, based on the Undolskij copy, was published in 1852. The more modern editions, which reconstruct the text, attach greater importance to the shorter composition.

The relationship between *The Trans-Doniad Tale* and *The Tale of the Igor's Campaign* (text 4.2.) proves to be evident based on a comparative reading of both texts. In a manner of speaking, the first proves to be the specular version of the second. While *The Trans-Doniad Tale* narrates a victory, *The Tale of the Igor's Campaign* commemorates a defeat. But the underlying ideology is the same: if the defeat is the fruit of the disunity of the Rus' princes, the victory is the result of union. Furthermore, *The Trans-Doniad Tale* reflects a certain desire to imitate in literary form the oral tone employed in *The Tale of the Igor's Campaign*, albeit only in a contrived manner. Indeed, the link between both texts is the justification used by those who consider *The Tale of the Igor's Campaign* to be an 18th-century forgery.

Specifically, the references to aspects of paganism are limited to three citations of the supposed theonym Div, which appear to be the result of a faulty comprehension of the citations which appear in *The Tale of the Igor's Campaign*. However, in spite of this poor comprehension, his role as a prophetic element is highlighted by the strategic position in which he appears, underscoring the three key moments of the battle.

Edition used: Jakobson-Worth (1963).
Other editions: Adrianova-Peretz (1947), Moya (2000), Vaillant (1967).
References: Blankoff (1960).

4.40.1 The Trans-Doniad Tale *5.7.17–18*

The battle begins and there are disastrous omens for the tartars. The reference to Div is the exact mirror image of the disastrous omen for the Russians contained in 4.3.2.

возмутиша ся реки и езера, кликнуло Диво в Руской
земли, велит послушати розъным̃ъ землям.

The rivers and the lakes rose, cried Div in the Russian land, he orders that he be heeded in the different lands.

4.40.2 The Trans-Doniad Tale *6.5.22–23*

After the wailing of the Russian women, a replica of the wailing of Jaroslavna in the *The Tale of the Igor's Campaign*, there is a new reference to the sinister Div.

а уже Диво кличеть подъ саблями Татарьскими, а тѣмъ рускымъ богатырем подъ ранами. туто цюрове рано въспѣли

Now Div shrieks beneath the Tartar sabres, while under the Russian Bogatyrs the wounds cry out.

4.40.3 The Trans-Doniad Tale *8.3.10*

The victory of the Russian troops is sung at last. The passage cited is a literal copy of the content of 4.2.8., but here Div is understood to be a symbol of Tartar oppression, while in the other text he is a symbol of the defeat which looms over the Russian land.

уже веръженo диво на землю

And Div has been cast down to the ground.

4.41 *Epistle of Pamphilus of Yelizarov Monastery*

Details about the life of Pamphilus are taken from the *Hagiography of Euphrosynus of Pskov*, written during the time when Pamphilus was Abbot of Yelizarov Monastery in Pskov. The exact dates in which he held the post are not known, but it appears clear that he already did so in 1497 and that in this time he wrote an epistle sent to the governor of the Great Prince in Pskov, in which he scolded him about the need to eradicate pagan customs on the feast day of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist (24th June).

The data regarding the sender of the missive throw light on the dating of the text. Nowadays, the year 1504 is accepted as *terminus ante quem*, bearing in mind the inclusion of the epistle in the *First Chronicle of Pskov* (*sub anno 1505*), in which the sender is the governor Dmitrij Vladimirovič of Rostov, who lived in Pskov from 1504 to 1507. In the same way, Pamphilus refers to the governor as *gosudarej velikikh knjazej namestnik* (governor of the great sovereign princes), which leads us to conclude that the letter must have been written at a time when there was a co-regency, and this occurred in the latter years of the life of Grand Prince Ivan III (1502–1505), when he shared the throne with his son Vasilij III Ivanovič.

There are two redactions of the epistle, one abridged and another more extensive one, which is embedded in the *First Chronicle of Pskov*. The abridged composition is found under miscellaneous (*sborniki*) in manuscripts NLR Coll. Pogod. № 1572; SPL (NLR) Q.XVII.50. The extensive redaction, as well as in the chronicle referred to above, can be found in miscellaneous manuscripts, e.g. NLR Coll. Pogod. № 1571. The two compositions are considered to have been written by Pamphilus, the first being the abridged redaction which must have failed to fulfil its mission, as the governors of Pskov did not take any measures against the remnants of paganism in the city. Thus, the same author was obliged to write a second, extended epistle (it contains examples and biblical quotes which lend more weight to Pamphilus' words). In both redactions, the only detailed description in medieval Russian literature of Kupalo customs coincides almost literally.

Edition used: Malinin (1901: Pril. 1–6).

Other editions: AI (1846, tom. 1: № 22); Čtenija OIDR (1846: № 4: 59–62); Nasonov (1941: 90–91), *PSRL* (1848: 4: 278–281), *Rukovodstvo dlja sel'skikh pastyrej* (1860: 17: 439–443).

References: Kalinskij (1990²: 136–137), Likhačëv (1945, t. 2/ 1: 409), Manssika (1922: 223–225), Okhotnikova (1989: 162–163), Serebrjanskij (1908: 485–486).

4.41.1 Epistle of Pamphilus of Yelizarov Monastery

Pamphilus entreats the authorities to eradicate pagan customs in the festival of the day of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist while providing a description of those activities.

[...] Єгда приходитъ великій праздникъ день Рожества Предотечя, то и еще прежде того великого праздника исходятъ обавницы мужіе и жены чаровницы по лугомъ и по болотомъ и въ пустыни и въ дубравы, ищуци смертныя травы и привѣточрева отравнаго зелія на пагубу человѣкомъ и скотомъ, ту же и дивія коренія копаютъ на потвореніе мужемъ своимъ, сія вся творятъ дѣйствомъ діяволимъ въ день Предотечевъ съ приговоры сатаниискими. Єгда бо пріидетъ самый праздникъ Рожество Предотечево, тогда во святую ту ночь мало не весь градъ возмятется, и въ селѣхъ возбѣсятся въ бубны и въ сопѣли и гудѣніемъ струннымъ и всякими неподобными играньми сатаниискими, плесканіемъ и плясаніемъ, женамъ же и дѣвамъ и главами киваніемъ и устнами ихъ непріязненъ кличь, вся скверныя бѣсовскіе пѣсни, и хребтомъ ихъ вихляніе. и ногамъ ихъ скаканіе и топтаніе, ту же есть мужемъ и отрокомъ великое паденіе, ту же есть на женское и дѣвичье шатаніе блудное имъ поздрѣніе, такоже есть и женамъ мужатымъ осквернение и дѣвамъ растлѣніе. Что же бысть во градѣхъ и въ селѣхъ

въ годину ту Сатана красуется, кумирское празднованіе, родость и веселіе сатанинское , въ немже есть ликованіе и величаніе діяволе и красованіе бѣсомъ его въ людехъ ... яко суцiи древніе идолослужителіе бѣсовскій праздникъ сей празднуютъ. Сице бо на всяко лѣто кумиромъ служебнымъ обычаемъ сатана призываетъ, и тому яко жертва приносится всяка скверна и беззаконіе, богомерзкое приношеніе, а не яко день Рожества Предотечи великого празднуютъ, по своимъ древнимъ обымаемъ.

When the feast day of the Nativity of the Forerunner[412] arrives, and even before that [day], healers, men and women, witches in the meadows and the swamps and in the desert places and in the forests join together in search of deadly and poisonous[413] plants to kill men and animals, all gather and in that very place they seek wild roots to bewitch their husbands; all of this they prepare with devilish actions on the day of the Forerunner with satanic conjurations. For when the feast day of the Nativity of Forerunner itself arrives, then on this holy night nearly the entire city runs riot and in the villages they are possessed by drums and flutes and by the strings of the guitars and by every type of unsuitable satanic music, with the clapping of hands and dances, and with the women and the maidens and with the movements of the heads and with the terrible cry from their mouths: all of those songs are devilish and obscene, and curving their backs and leaping and jumping up and down with their legs; and right there do men and youths suffer great temptation, right there do they leer lasciviously in the face of the insolence of the women and the maidens, and there even occurs depravation for married women and perversion for the maidens. And what is it that happens in the cities and in the villages at that time? Satan is extolled, the festivity of the idols, pleasure and satanic delight, where there is celebration and aggrandizement of the Devil and exaltation of his demons among the peoples ... for those who are former idolaters hold this devilish party. For behold that each year Satan summons them for the ritual which serves the idol and they bring him as a victim all kind of corruption and immorality, loathsome sacrifice, and they do not celebrate as the day of the Nativity of the Great Forerunner, but rather they follow their old rituals.

412 24th June.

413 The original text reads: *privětočreva* (*privěta črevootravnago zelię*). It is a term of doubtful interpretation as it is a *hapax legomenon*.

4.42 *Stoglav or Book of One Hundred Chapters*

In the year 1551 a council was held in Moscow, promoted by Tsar Ivan IV and Macarius, Metropolitan of the city, with the participation of the most outstanding members of the Russian ecclesiastical hierarchy. The acts of the council were recorded in one hundred chapters, which laid out the reforms that would define the bases of the Muscovite autocratic State in every aspect of sociopolitical and spiritual life.

From the moment it appeared, the text of the *Stoglav* was widely disseminated. Approximately 180 copies were made between the 16th and 19th centuries, while quotes and fragments from the work appeared frequently in other texts. Indeed, it was used in public instruction during the 16th century not only for the lay members of the Orthodox Church in Muscovy but also for the clergy. It has been repeatedly edited (though most of the editions are not critical) and translated and there are a wealth of monographs which analyse it from a range of perspectives. Historiography focuses on the canonical nature of the text, on its interpretation as a model of Church-State rapprochement, as a source of knowledge about the various religious tendencies in 16th century Russia (movements of the dispossessed, Josephists, Old Believers, pro-Western or Slavophile priests), about the feudal possessions of the Church and deviations from the proper rituals to be followed in ecclesiastical worship, about the bad habits which existed in Russian society, or about cultural forms, such as teaching in seminaries, the production of books and iconography, etc. The sources employed in the composition of the text, the possibility that certain manuscripts constituted annotations prior to the council and were later used for the final drafting of the acts, the authorship of those annotations, and the independent texts (letters, orders and regulations) by which the specific decisions of the council were made public, and which were embedded in the transmission of the text, are matters which have been addressed by critics since the 19th century.

From a textological point of view, there are three redactions: the extended redaction, the abbreviated redaction and a third redaction, a variation on the extended redaction, but with a different order, known by the name of *Makar'evskij Stoglavnik*. Of these, the greatest subject of textual research is the extended redaction, which forms the basis for Stefanovič's[414] works (1909),

414 He compared 96 copies of the extended redaction from the 16th to 19th centuries and divided them into two textual groups: one Muscovite and another Novgorodian, which would have derived from the former.

the first attempt at a critical analysis of the *Stoglav*, and those of Ëmčenko[415] (2000), who considers that Ms SLR Coll. Rum., Nº 425 (mid-16th century) (hereafter, *Rm*) is the original of the extended redaction.

The text of the *Stoglav*, the present name of which appears for the first time in Ms GIM Coll. Uvar. Nº 696 (end of 16th century), was also known as *uloženie*, and is arranged in one hundred chapters, each made up of a series of questions composed in an erotapocritical format, including questions for the Tsar, for the ecclesiastical authorities and explanatory appendices to the questions, which resort to quotes from apostolic and biblical texts, from other ecumenical councils, or epistles written by patriarchs and Constantinopolitan emperors.

Each chapter addresses different topics,[416] and in chapters 41, 92 and 93 we can find references to the customs deriving from the situation of *mixta fides* which the Russian Church sought to combat in the 16th century.

The fragments in question are presented according to the edition of the manuscript Rm by Ëmčenko (2000), respecting his criteria of edition of the text (Ëmčenko 2000: 231–232).

Edition used: Ëmčenko (2000).

Other editions: Dobrotvorskij (1862, 1887^2, 1911^3), Gončarenko (1860, 1997^2), Gorskij (1985), Kalačov (1863), Kožančikov (1863, 1971^2), *Makar'evskij Stoglavnik* (1912), *Stoglav* (1913), Subbotin (1890).

References: Beljaev (1858), Bushkovitch (1992: 22–26), Dobrotvorskij (1865), Duchesne (1920), Gromoglasov (1905), Gumilëvskij (1845), Kollmann (1978), Ostrowski (2006), Rock (2006: 253), Ryan (1999: 18–21), Stefanovič (1909), Tikhonravov (1863).

415 Of the 180 known copies, he analysed those datable to the 16th and 17th centuries and divided them into three textual groups: one Muscovite, another Novgorodian and a third group which was Muscovite-Novgorodian.

416 For example, the form of making the sign of the cross with two or three fingers (Chapters 31, 32), the question of the double or triple Alleluia (Chapter 42), the valid liturgical canons and the way of performing liturgy (Chapters 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 34, …), the sacraments (Chapters 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, …), the statute governing priests, form of recruitment and training of candidates for priesthood (Chapters 15, 16, 25, 29, 30), on priests or deacons who become widowed (Chapter 81), the abuses of the clergy in economic matters (Chapter 76), eremitical life or community life in monasteries (Chapters 49, 50, 68, 86) or how monks' beards should be cut (Chapter 40). In addition, decisions are taken on such matters as education and culture (Chapters 26, 27, 28 and 36), on the legal history of Bizantium and Rus' (from Chapter 53 to Chapter 64) and on civil issues (Chapters 71, 72, 73, …), *et alia*.

4.42.1 Book of One Hundred Chapters, *Chapter 41*

Chapter 41 sets out the 32 questions put to the Tsar under the title: On the thirty-two questions for the Tsar and the answers of the council in chapters. In the council itself thirty-two questions are put to the Tsar (Fol. 97r).

Fol. 104r–105v

Вопрос 16. В мирских свад(ь)бах играют глумотворци и органники, и смехотворцы, и гусел(ь)ники и бесовскые пѣсни поют. И как к ц(е)ркви венчатися поѣдут , с(вя)щенник со кр(е)стом ѣдет, а перед ним со всѣми тѣми играми бесовскыми рыщут, а с(вя)щенницы имъ о том не возбраняют. И с(вя)щенникомъ о том достоит запрещати.

И о том отвѣт. К венчанию к с(вя)тым ц(е)рквам скоморохом и глумцом перед свад(ь)бою не ходити, и о том с(вя)щенником таким запрещати с великим запрещением, чтоб(ы) таковое безчиние никогда ж(е) не именовалос(я).

Вопрос 17. Да в н(а)шем же православии тяжутся нѣции же непрямо, тяжутца и, поклепав, кр(е)стъ целует или образы с(вя)тых, на поле биютца и кров(ь) проливают, и в тѣ поры волхвы и чародѣйники от бесовских научений пособ(и)е им творят: кудесы биютъ и во Аристотелевы врата и в Рафли смотрят, и по звѣздам и по планитам глядают и смотрят дней и ч(а)сов. И тѣми діяволскыми дѣйствы мир прелщают и от Б(о)га отлучают, и на тѣ чарован(и)я надѣяс(я), поклепца и ябедник не миритца и кр(е)стъ целуетъ, и на поле биютца и, поклепав, убивает.

И о том отвѣт. Бл(а)гочестивому ц(а)рю в ц(а)рствующем градѣ Москвѣ и по всѣм градом своя ц(а)рская заповед(ь) чинити, чтоб(ы) таковы волхвы и чародѣи, и кудесники, и смотряцим в Рафли и в Аристотелевы врата, и по звездам, и по планитамъ смотря дней и ч(а)сов, и тѣми доявол(ь)скыми дѣйствы мир прелщают и от Б(о)га отлучают, и прочая еллинская бесования творят—и такова вся богомерская прелесть и с(вя)тыми отцы отречена быть. И отн(ы)нѣ бы и вперед тѣ ереси попрана бы была до конца в твое хр(и)столюбивое ц(а)рство. Аще ли кто впред(ь) от православных хр(и)стиан учнетъ таковыми чародействы в нарядѣ или по домом, или у пол(ь) прелщати, и потом обличени будут, и таковым от ц(а)ря в великой опале быти, а тѣм православным хр(и)стианом, которые учнут от них тое еллинскои и бесовское чарование приимати, всячески от ц(е)ркви отверженым быти по св(я)щенным правилом.

Fol. 106r

Вопрос 19. Да по дал(ь)ным странам ходят скоморохи, совокупяс(я) ватагами многими да штидесят(и) и до седмидесят(и), и до ста ч(е)л(овѣ)къ, и по д(е)р(е)-

внѧм у кр(є)стиян силно ѣдят и пиют, и из клетей животы грабят , и по дорогам людей разбивают.

И о том отвѣт. Бл(а)гоучестивому ц(а)рю своя ц(а)рская заповѣд(ь) учинити, яко ж(е) сам вѣсть, чтоб(ы) от них впред(ь) такова насил(ь)ство и безчиние не было нигдѣ же никогда ж(е).

Fol. 108r

Въспрос 22. О злых ересѣх.

Злыя ереси, кто знает их и держитца: Рафли, Шестокрыл, Вороноград, Остромий, Зодѣй, Алманах, Звездочети, Аристотел, Аристотелева врата и ныя составы и мудрости еретическые, и коби бесовские, которые прелести от Б(о)га отлучают—и в тѣ прелести вѣрующи, многих людей от Б(о)га отлучают и погибаютъ.

Fol. 109r–111v

Вопрос 23. В Троецкую суботу по селом и по погостомъ сходятца мужи и жены на жалниках и плачутца по гробом с великим кричанием. И егда начнут играти скоморохи, гудцы и пригудницы, они ж(е), от плача преставше, начнут скакати и плясати, и в долони бити, и пѣсни сотонинские пѣти—на тѣх же жалниках обманщики и мошенники.

И о том отвѣт. Всѣм с(вя)щенником по всѣм градом и по селом, чтоб(ы) дѣтей своих д(у)ховных наказывали и поучали: в кои времяна родителей своих поминают, и они б(ы) нищих поили и кормили по своей силе, а скоморохом и гудцом, и всяким глумцомъ запрещали и возбраняли, чтоб(ы) в тѣ времена, коли родителей поминают, православных хр(и)стиян не смущали и не прелщали тѣми бесовскыми своими играми.

Въпрос 24. Русал(ь)и о Иване дни и в навечерии Р(о)ж(е)ства Х(ри)с(то)ва, и Кр(е)щения сходятца мужи и жены, и д(ѣ)в(и)ци на нощное плещование и на безчинный говор, и на бесовскые пѣсни, и на плясание, и на скакание, и на б(о)гомерские дѣла. И бывает отроком осквернение и д(ѣ)вам растлѣние. И егда нощь мимо ходят, тогда отходят к рѣцѣ с великим кричанием, аки бесни, и умываютца водою. И егда начнут заутренюю звонити, тогда отходят в домы своя и падают, аки м(е)ртви, от великог(о) клопотания.

И о том отвѣт. По ц(а)рской заповѣди всiим с(вя)тителем, коемуждо в своем предѣле, по всiим градом и по селом розослати к попомъ свои грамоты с поученим и с великим запрещением, чтоб(ы) однолично о Иване дни и в навечерии Р(о)ж(е)ства Х(ри)с(то)ва, и Кр(е)щения Х(ри)с(то)ва мужие и жены, и д(ѣ)в(и)ци на нощное плещование и на безчинный говор, и на бесовскые пѣсни, и на плясание,

и на скакание, и на многая богомерская дѣла не сходилис(я), и таковых бы древ¬них бесований еллинскых не творили, и вконец престали , занеж(е) с(вя)т(ы)ми отцы тѣ всѣ еллинскые прелести по с(вя)щенным правилом отречены быс(ть), и православным хр(и)стианом не подобаетъ таковая творити. Но б(о)ж(е)ственыя праздники и с(вя)тых почитати и празновати в сл(а)ву Б(о)жию.

Вопрос 25 . А о Белице дни оклички на Радуницы, въюнец и всякое в них бесо¬вание.

И о том отвѣт. Чтоб(ы) о Белице дни и оклички на Радуницы не творили и сквѣрными реч(ь)ми не упрекалис(я), и о том с(вя)щенником дѣтем своим д(у)х(о)вным запрещати, чтоб(ы) вперед таковая не творили.

Вопрос 26. И в Великий четвергъ порану соломy палят и кличут м(е)ртвых; нѣкоторыи ж(е) невѣгласи попы в Великий четвергъ сол(ь) под пр(е)ст(о)лъ кла¬дут и до седмаго четверга по Белице дни там держат, и ту сол(ь) дают на врачевание людем и скотом.

И о том отвѣт. Заповѣдати, в Великий бы четвергъ порану соломы не палили и м(е)ртвых не кликали, и соли бы попы под престол в Великий четвергъ не клали и до седмаго бы четверга по Велицѣ дни не держали, понеже такова прелесть еллинская и хула еритическая . И который попъ таковая сотворит, и тому быти по с(вя)щенным правилом во отлучении и в конечном извержении.

Вопрос 27. В первый пон(е)д(ѣ)ликъ Петрова поста в рощи ходят и в наливки бесовские потѣхи дѣяти.

И о том отвѣт. Чтоб(ы) православные хрес(ть)яне в понедѣлник Петрова поста в рощи не ходили и в наливках бы бесовскыхъ потѣх не творили, и от того бы вконець престали, понеж(е) то все еллинское бесование и прелесть бесовская. И того ради православным хр(и)стияном не подобает таковая творити.

Question 16. At lay weddings, the puppeteers and organists and jesters and *gusli* players act and sing devilish songs. And when they are going to the church to get married, the priest goes with the Cross and they weave in and out in front of him with all these devilish games, and the priests do not reproach them for it. And the priests should prohibit this.

Answer to this: bards and puppeteers cannot go to wedding ceremonies in holy churches before the wedding and the priests must prohibit this with great severity in order that such unruliness does not take place.

Question 17. And in our orthodoxy some behave incorrectly, and damn themselves, after committing sacrilege by kissing the Cross or the images of the saints, and [afterwards] on the outskirts they fight and spill blood[417] and, at

417 A method widespread throughout medieval Europe for resolving matters of justice by means of hand-to-hand fighting (the so-called *iudicium pugnae*).

the same time, wizards and sorcerers give them notions of the devilish teachings:[418] they cast spells,[419] and consult the *Gates of Aristotle* and the *Rafli*,[420] and contemplate the stars and the planets and observe the days and the hours. And with these diabolic actions they seduce the people and distance them from God, and placing their hope in these spells, the slanderer vilifies and is not at peace and kisses the Cross and they fight in the fields and, with insults, they kill.

Answer to this: let the honourable Tsar who reigns in the city of Moscow and in all the cities enforce his royal mandate so that such wizards and sorcerers and casters of spells and those who consult the *Rafli* and the *Gates of Aristotle* and according to the stars and the planets observe the days and the hours, and with such diabolic actions seduce the people and distance them from God, and perform other Hellenic devilish works[421] and all this intrigue contrary to God which has already been condemned by the holy fathers. And from henceforth this heresy must be rooted out in your kingdom which loves Christ. And should any orthodox Christian knowingly attempt in future to persuade with such witchcraft either in the houses or in the country, they shall be convicted and fall into great disgrace before the Tsar, and those orthodox Christians who receive this Hellenic and devilish witchcraft, let them all be expelled from the Church in accordance with the holy rules.

Question 19. And the bards wander in distant countries, gathering together in troupes of up to sixty and up to seventy, or even a hundred people, and travel from village to village eating and drinking a great amount in the houses of the peasants and stealing the animals from their pens and robbing people along the tracks.

Answer to this: let the honourable Tsar enforce his royal mandate, as he himself knows how, so that henceforth these people shall not commit such a violation and unruliness at any time or in any place.

Question 22. On the evil heretics.

They are evil heretics who have knowledge of and uphold the *Rafli* and the *Six Wings*,[422] and the *Voronograj*,[423] astronomy, the zodiac, the *Alma-*

418 Texts on divination provide advice on how combatants can participate in these settlings of scores assured of victory. Seers and wizards participated in these processes.

419 This is a set phrase *kudesъ* (*kudesy*) *biti*, literally "to hit vessels whose purpose is to make magic and enchantments".

420 Texts on divination by geomancy, see Turilov—Černecov (1985), Ryan (1999: 340–356).

421 "Hellenic" refers to anything considered demonic and tempting, as in "Greek pagan".

422 A treatise written in around 1356 by Immanuel ben Jacob (Bonfils of Tarascon), translated into Russian from Hebrew, which set out a series of six lunar tables, according to which the phases of the moon and eclipses could be calculated with precision. It was the priest Naum himself, acolyte of the Judaizer sect, who disseminated it and attempted to calculate the Russian paskhalija (or computus for date of Easter) on the basis of the ben Jacob's treatise, according to the system of Jewish calculation using 19-year cycles.

nak,[424] astrology, Aristotle,[425] the *Gates of Aristotle* and other heretical compositions and wisdoms, and devilish divinations, ploys which lead [one] far from God, and those that believe in these ploys lead many people far from God and destroy them.

Question 23. On Trinity Saturday,[426] in the villages and on the estates, men and women gather in the cemeteries and cry among the tombs with great wailing. And when the bards and the *gudki*[427] musicians begin to play, they themselves, putting their lamenting aside, begin to jump and dance and clap and sing satanic songs in these very cemeteries, the frivolous rogues.

Answer to this: let all the priests in all the cities and villages punish and train their spiritual children: when they remember their ancestors, let them feed the poor to the extent of their ability, and veto and censure the bards and musicians and all puppeteers, so that in the time when they are commemorating their ancestors, they are not unruly and do not seduce Orthodox Christians with these devilish games of theirs.

Question 24. In the *Rusal'i* before the day of John[428] and on the vigil of the Nativity of Christ and on Epiphany,[429] men and women and maidens assemble for nocturnal games and for riotous commotion and for devilish songs and to dance and leap and do things which offend God. And there tends to be corruption of adolescents and perversion of maidens. And when the night falls, then they retire to the river with great shrieks, like demons, and they wash with

423 A book for divining the future based on the cry of the crow.

424 The *Almanak*, a treatise on chronology and prediction, written by Johannes Stöffler in 1520, was translated into Russian by Nicholas Bulev (Bülow or Luev), also known as Nikolaj Nemčin (the German) or Ljubčanin (from Lübeck), whom encountered great opposition among the circle of Maximus the Greek and Philotheus of Pskov due to his pro-Western and unionist tendencies. See Svjatskij (1929).

425 This may be a reference to the book of divination *Secreta Secretorum*, traditionally attributed to Aristotle, the translation of which was widely disseminated in Russia in the 15th and 16th centuries.

426 The Saturday before Trinity Sunday dedicated to the deceased. It forms part of the *Semik* cycle, which begins on the Thursday of the seventh week after Easter, i.e. the Week of the Holy Fathers of the First Ecumenical Council, popularly known as *Rusal'naja nedelja*.

427 An old Russian stringed instrument, similar to the violin.

428 24th June is the day of commemoration of the birth of Saint John the Baptist. In Russia it is popularly known as *Ivan Kupala* or *Ivanov den'*.

429 In this passage, the *Rusalii* are identified with pagan celebrations in honour of the Sun held on the two solstices: the winter solstice, which coincides with despotic festivities relating to Christmas and Epiphany (these also mark the beginning and end of the 12-day cycle called *svjatki*), and the summer solstice which coincides with the commemoration of Saint John, the night of Ivan Kupala. In other texts we have seen that they are dated immediately after Pentecost.

water. And when matins begins to sound, then each of them runs to their house and they fall, like the dead, due to the great unruliness.

Answer to this: by mandate of the Tsar, all the clergymen, each in his own parish, throughout all the cities and all the villages, must send missives to the priests with the instruction and grand veto, so that men and women and maidens do not personally gather before the day of John and on the vigil of the Nativity of Christ and on the Epiphany of Christ for nocturnal games and for riotous commotion and for devilish songs and to dance and leap and do things which offend God, and in order that they not commit Hellenic devilish ancestral actions and finally cease to engage in them, for all these Hellenic ploys have already been condemned by the holy fathers according to the sacred rules and Orthodox Christians must not do such things but rather keep the divine feast days and those of the saints and celebrate for the Glory of God.

Question 25. And after the Great Day,[430] the *okličkí*[431] on the *Radunicy*,[432] the *v'junec*[433] and all devilish acts performed therein.

Answer to this: that after the Great Day let them not hold the *okličkí* on the *Radunicy* nor blaspheme, and the priests must prohibit their children from doing this so that henceforth they do not do such things.

Question 26. And on the morning of Easter Thursday they burn straw and summon the dead; and on Easter Thursday some ignorant priests place salt under the altar and keep it there until the seventh Thursday after the Great Day, and they give this salt to heal men and beasts.

Answer to this: it is hereby ordered that on the morning of Easter Thursday they do not burn straw and do not summon the dead, and that the priests do not put salt under the altar on Easter Thursday and do not keep it there until the seventh Thursday after the Great Day, for this is a Hellenic ploy and a heretical denigration. And the priest who performs such an action, shall be expelled on account of the sacred rules and permanently excommunicated.

Question 27. The first Monday of Saint Peter's Fast[434] they go to the forest and engage in devilish games in the springs.

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430 Easter Sunday.

431 A popular pagan tradition which consists of honouring the deceased by lamenting or crying next to the tomb.

432 The popular name of the feastday of the Monday of the Week of Saint Thomas (the week after Easter), in which the deceased are remembered.

433 Ceremony with choirs and singing in which newly weds are congratulated in the first spring after their wedding.

434 Saint Peter's Fast encompasses the period from All Saints' Sunday until the feast day of Saint Peter and Saint Paul (29th June), and can last from one and a half weeks to six weeks

Answer to this: let Orthodox Christians not go to the forest on Saint Peter's Fast and not engage in devilish games in the springs and let them finally cease to do this, for these are all Hellenic devilish acts and devilish ploys. And thus, Orthodox Christians must not do this.

4.42.2 Book of One Hundred Chapters, *Chapter 92*

In Chapter 92, entitled *Answer about the games of Hellenic devilry*, a comment is made on Rules 50 and 51 of the 4th Ecumenical Council, which lays out a series of immoral customs in society which should be vetoed but which, however, continue to exist in Russia.

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Ѥще ж(є) мнози от неразумиа простаа чадь православныхъ христианъ въ градѣхъ и в селех творят еллиньское бесование, различныа игры и плескание противъ праз-ника Р(о)ж(є)ства великаго Иоанна Пр(є)д(о)т(є)чи: и в ночи на самый празник в вес(ь) д(є)нь и до ночи мужи и жены, и дѣти в домѣх, и по улицам обходя, и по водам глумы творят всякими играми и всякими скомраш(є)ствы и пѣсньми сотониньскыми, и плясанми, и гусльми, и иными многыми виды, и скаредными образовании, еще же и пианьством. Подобна же сему творят во днех и в наве-черии Р(о)ж(є)ства Х(ри)с(то)ва, и в навечерии Василиа Великаго, и в навече-рии Б(о)гоявлениа. А инде иным образомъ таковыя неподобныа дѣла творят въ Тро(и)цкую суботу. И заговѣ въ Петрова поста в первой п(о)нед(ѣ)ликъ ходят по селом и по погостом, и по рекамъ на игрища. Тая же наподобнаа еллинъскаа бесованиа творять и тѣм Б(о)га прогнѣвають. Вневидыи, съгрѣшают простаа чадь, никим же возбраняеми ни обличаеми, ни запрещаеми, ни от с(вя)щен-никъ наказуеми, ни от судей устрашаеми, таковая творять неподобнаа дѣла, с(вя)тыми отцы отреченнаа. Вмѣсто ж(є) сего бесованиа отнынѣ и впред(ь) подо-баеть православным хр(и)стианом на таковыа с(вя)тыя и ч(є)стныя празникы и посты къ ц(є)ркvам Б(о)жиимъ на м(о)л(и)твy упражнятися и пѣсньми б(о)ж(є)-ствеными услажатися, и с(вя)т(а)го почитаниа б(о)ж(є)ственыхъ литоргиахъ съ страхом предстояти, и потомъ брашномъ и питиемъ в домѣхъ своих учрежда-тися вкупѣ, о Б(о)зѣ ликоствyюще с(вя)щенническым чином и съ други своими и маломощных питающе, и веселящися въ славy Б(о)жию, а не въ пианство, яко

depending on the annual Easter cycle. The feast day of Saint Peter and Saint Paul coincides with the highest point of the sun's force, which means the period of Saint Peter's Fast is considered to be related to ancestral pagan festivals in honour of the Sun and the first Monday of the cycle is known as the feast day on which *the Sun plays*; see Kalinskij (1990^2: 141–142).

же и в прочие Г(о)с(по)дьские праздники. И того ради по с(вя)щеннымъ правилъмъ и по заповѣди с(вя)тыхъ от(е)цъ отн(ы)нѣ и впред(ь) всѣмъ православнымъ хр(и)стианом на таковая древняя еллинскаа бесованиа не исходити ни въ градѣх, ни по селом, ни по рекамъ. И о томъ бл(а)гочестивому ц(а)рю по всѣмъ градом и по селом своя ц(а)рьскаа заповѣдь учинити, чтобы православныя хр(и)стиане на таковое бесование еллиньское впред(ь) не исходили и чтобы то еллиньское бесование отн(ы)нѣ и впред(ь) Б(о)жиею бл(а)г(о)д(а)тию и в твое хр(и)столюбивое ц(а)рство попрано было до конца.

И о томъ о всемъ еллиньскомъ бесовании, играниии свидѣтельство от с(вя)щенных правилъ сице написахомъ. С(вя)таго вселеньскаго Шестаг(о) собора правило 50 и 51 запрещаеть всяко играние.

Chapter 92. Answer about the games of Hellenic devilry.
And furthermore many of the children of Orthodox Christians, out of simple ignorance, engage in Hellenic devilish practices, a variety of games and clapping of hands in the cities and in the villages against the festivities of the Nativity of the Great John Prodome; and on the night of that same feast day and for the whole day until night-time, men and women and children in the houses and spread throughout the streets make a ruckus in the water with all types of games and much revelry and with satanic singing and dancing and *gusli* and in many other unseemly manners and ways, and even in a state of drunkenness. And similar things to this they do on the days and on the eves of the Nativity of Christ and on the eves of Basil the Great[435] and on the eves of Theophany. And elsewhere and in a different way they do such things unworthy of Trinity Saturday. And on the eves of Saint Peter's Fast on the first Monday they go through the villages and estates and along the rivers for fun. They engage in devilish acts similar to the Greeks and therewith arouse the wrath of God. Without knowing, the simple children sin, and are not taught or instructed by anybody, nor vetoed nor punished by the priests, nor frightened by the judges, and commit such unseemly acts, condemned by the holy fathers. And in place of these devilish acts henceforth it is necessary for Orthodox Christians on such holy and honourable feast days and during fasts to practise prayer in the churches of God and enrapture themselves with divine song and face with fear the holy devotion to the Divine Liturgies and afterwards, once more assembled in their houses, to follow the rules for eating and drinking, celebrating God according to the sacerdotal prescriptions and feeding those in need with their charity and rejoicing

435 1st January, popularly known as *Vasil'ev večer*.

in the Glory of God and not in drunkenness, and also on the other feast days which must be observed. And thus, according to the sacred rules and by the mandate of the holy fathers henceforth all Orthodox Christians must refrain from attending such Hellenic devilish ancestral acts either in the cities or the villages or along the rivers. And on this matter let the honourable Tsar enforce his mandate in all the cities and all the villages of his kingdom so that Orthodox Christians do not attend such Hellenic devilish acts and that henceforth, by the Grace of God, these Hellenic devilish activities completely disappear from your kingdom which loves Christ.

On this matter, in particular Hellenic devilish activities, testimony of the games, I have written this in accordance with the sacred rules. Rules 50 and 51 of the Holy Sixth Ecumenical Council[436] prohibit all types of games.

4.42.3 Book of One Hundred Chapters, *Chapter 93*

Chapter 93, entitled *Answer about the same games of Hellenic devilry and magic and witchcraft*, comments on Rules 61 and 62 of the Holy 6th Ecumenical Council, which condemn sins related to magic and superstition. It also lists other rules from other ecumenical councils which provide for offences of the same nature (including Rule 65 of the 6th Ecumenical Council) and comments on related biblical texts, such as 2 Kings 21, 5–6.

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Правило 61 и 62 с(вя)таго Шестаго събора с(вя)тых от(є)цъ возбраняетъ к волхвомъ ходити и запрещаетъ православным хр(и)стианомъ поганских и еллинъских скверных обычаевъ и игръ, и плесаниа, и плесканиа, и над делвами, сирѣчь над бочками, и над корчагами квась призывающе и грохочюще , и прочихъ наподобных дѣлъ творити.

И о всемъ о томъ тол(к) 61 правила. Иже послѣдуютъ поганьскым обычаем и к волъхвомъ или ко обавником ходят, или в домы своя тѣх призывають, хотящеи увидети от них нѣкаа неизреченнаа, тако ж(є) и кормящии и храняще медвѣди или иная нѣкая животнаа на глумление и на прелщение простѣйших у(є)л(овѣ)къ, и иже в полуаи вѣруютъ и в родословие, рекше в рожданица, и во обаяника и иже гл(агол)ются облаки гоняще—таковая творящимъ повелѣ с(вя)тый соборъ 6 лѣтъ запрещение даяти. Яко ж(є) за 4 лѣта—да стоять с припадающими. Друзии же два лѣта—да стоять с вѣрными. И тако да сподобятся

436 Held in Constantinople in the years 680–681. Also known as the Council in Trullo. The Roman Church no longer recognised it as an Ecumenical Council.

б(о)ж(е)ственыхъ даровъ. Аще же неисправлении будуть и по запрещении еллинскихъ сихъ хитростей не останутся—от ц(е)ркви всячески всюду да изъженутся.

О волъсвѣхъ же и обавницахъ рѣша б(о)госнии отцы и ц(е)рковнии учителие.

[...]

О том же еллиньском бесовании. Того ж(е) правила 62. Каланды и вота, и врумалиа еллиньскы и по греческым языком гл(агол)ется, еже есть первии дние коегождо м(е)с(я)ца. Наипаче ж(е) марта м(е)с(я)ца празнование велие торжествено сътворяюще и играниа многаа съдевашес(я) по елиньскому обычаю. Се же съборъ всѣх сихъ и подобных симъ играниа творящим отметаетъ и запрещает.

[...] Тако ж(е) и сиа, иже марта м(е)с(я)ца и в прочая новыя м(е)с(я)цы волъхованиа сотворяющая или в Великий четвергъ трудъ полагають въ древо, и то древо, иже имать въ обоих концах трудъ, концы полагают в два древа, и трыют дондеж(е) огнь изыдет, и тои огнь вжызають во вратѣх или пред враты домовъ своих, или пред торговици своими сюду и сюду. И тако сквозѣ огнь проходяще з женами своими и с чады своими, по древнему обычаю влъхвующе, яко же писано есть в Четвертом ц(а)рьствии о Манасии ц(а)ри, иже сквозѣ огнь проведе чада своя, вражаше и волхвуяше, и разгневи Б(о)га. Всякое бо волхвование отречено есть Б(о)гомъ, яко бесовское служение есть. Сего ради соборъ сей отн(ы)нѣ таковаа творити не повелѣ есть и запрещает причетникомъ—извержениемъ, простым же—отлученіемъ.

Rules 61 and 62 of the Holy Sixth Council of the holy fathers vetoes the resorting to wizards and prohibits Orthodox Christians from performing pagan and Hellenic sacrilegious customs and games and dances and clapping and invoking over barrels, i.e. over kegs, and over jars of *kvas* and noisily performing other unworthy acts.

And commentary to Rule 61 on all of this matter.[437] Those who follow the pagan customs and resort to wizards or healers or invite them into their own homes, wishing to know through them the unspeakable, and also those who feed and keep bears and certain other animals for the agitation and corruption of the simpler people, and those who believe in destiny and in genealogy,[438] i.e. in the *Rožd*a*nica*,[439] and in the enchanter, and in those who call themselves cloud chasers,[440] on those who do these things the Holy Council ruled to

437 Cf. *Pandects of Nikon*, text 8.8.2.

438 Understood as a prediction of the future according to the moment of birth.

439 This is an interpolation, from which we can deduce that the Slavic term in the 16th century had an equivalent meaning to the Greek μοῖρα or the Latin *parca*.

440 In Greek νεφοδιώκτης, in Latin *nubium persecutor*.

impose six years of veto: for four years let them be with the prostrated[441] and for a further two years let them be with the believers. And thus shall they become worthy of God's gifts. And if, after the veto, they do not correct their ways and do not abandon these Hellenic tricks, let them in any case be expelled from the Church.

The Theophoric Fathers and the Masters of the Church also ruled on wizards and healers (…).

On the same Hellenic devilish acts. From the same Rule 62.[442] The Hellenic *calendas*[443] and the *vota*[444] and the *brumalia*,[445] as they are called in the Greek language, which are the first days of each month. And they also pompously hold a big party in the month of march and engage in many games according to the Hellenic custom. And behold that this Council condemns and vetoes those who participate in these games and others similar to them. (…)

And thus too in the month of March and in the other new months they practise magic or on Easter Thursday they place a fungus from a birch tree on a stick and they place the ends of this stick, which has a fungus at both ends, on two sticks, and then they rub until a flame appears, and they use this flame to light a fire in the doorway or in front of the doorway of their houses or in front of their markets here and there. And thus, passing through the fire with their wives and their children, practising magic according to the old custom, as is also written in the Fourth Kingdom about King Manasseh,[446] who sacrificed his son to the fire, practising divination and magic, and incurred the wrath of God. For any

441 A reference to the third degree in the process of confession and Orthodox epitimy, when the penitent must leave the church together with the unbaptised and those excluded from communion at the point in the liturgy when the priest announces it.

442 Cf. *Pandects of Nikon*, text 8.8.3.

443 Although in its Roman origin this was the name given to the first days of each month (Latin *calendae*), in the Byzantine era it referred to the festivities of the first day of the year on January 1st: cf. Koukoulès (1948–1957: 13–19).

444 The Roman *uota publica*, in which offerings were made and prayers were said on the first day of January. This name was used in Byzantium to refer to the athletic games held in the Hippodrome and the banquets held on the first days of January, Koukoulès (1948–1957: 24–25).

445 This was the name which the Romans gave to the shortest day of the year (Latin *bruma*), the day of the winter solstice, and also to the period between 24th November and the day of the solstice (24th or 25th December), i.e. *brumales dies*, when homage was paid to Demeter and Dyonisus. In the Christian era, the Eastern Roman Empire used this name to designate the period of 24 days from 24th November to 17th December, Koukoulès (1948–1957: 25–29).

446 2 Kings 21:6.

magic practice is rejected by God for it is a devilish service. That is why henceforth this Council will not consent such practices to be performed and prohibits those who take communion with excommunication and the artless with exclusion.

CHAPTER 5

Texts in West Slavic: Medieval Czech

Enrique Gutiérrez Rubio

5.1 *Chronicle of Dalimil*

The so-called *Chronicle of Dalimil* is an exceptional text, the paradigm of the first literature originally written in the Czech language. Its composition dates to the beginning of the 14th century, to around 1310. It is a considerably long work, written in simple verse, and is admired for both its historical and its literary value.[1]

Positioned within the cultural movement of the Czech nobility which was opposed to German political and cultural influences, its objective was eminently political as it sought, by means of a succession of pictures from Czech history, to influence the decisions of the sovereign, in this particular case John of Bohemia (in Czech, Jan Lucembursk**ý**), in such a way that he would see German influence as a potential danger and the Czech nobles as the loyal support which would enable him to govern with wisdom and strength.

Research has shown that the *Chronicle of Dalimil* drew on other, earlier sources written in Latin and, particularly up until the death of Vladislaus I (1125), Cosmas of Prague's *Chronica Boemorum* (text 2.13.). However, these sources reveal themselves more in the content and the anecdotes than at the ideological or stylistic level. What the experts do not agree on is the true author of this chronicle, as it has been a proven fact since the 18th century that Dalimil was not the name of the poet who composed it, and that the supposed authorship of the chronicle on the part of Dalimil is due to a misunderstanding which persisted for approximately one and a half centuries.

The *Chronicle of Dalimil* had a major impact right from the time it was created, as demonstrated by the fact that as many as fourteen fragments and manuscripts are preserved in the present day, the composition of which is situated between practically the date of the original composition of the *Chronicle* and the middle of the 15th century. There is a reason for this, because those

1 As we are dealing with a work written in verse, and given the lack of unanimity regarding the title of the chronicle, one of the many names it has been given is that of *Nejstarší česká rýmovaná kronika tak řečeného Dalimila* "The oldest rhyming Czech chronicle of the so-called Dalimil".

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dates coincide with the period when the conditions which gave rise to the creation of the *Chronicle* remained the same and its meaning and intentions were still relevant. Two translations from the same period into German and one into Latin, discovered recently in Paris, have also been preserved.

In the period immediately prior to the Czech catastrophe at White Mountain and given the *Chronicle*'s condition as an agitator of national awareness, the first printed edition appeared, produced in the context of the humanist movement by Pavel Ješín z Bezdězce (1620). With the Czech national revival at the end of the 18th century, the work aroused fresh interest and regained its previous importance at the hands of František Faustin Prochazka, who re-edited the *Chronicle of Dalimil* in the year 1786, thereby promoting the consolidation of national awareness and the process of the formation of the modern Czech nation.

Although the traditional form of citing the *Chronicle of Dalimil* is precisely that of its first printed edition, the most in-depth study carried out to date, the result of the collaboration of Daňhelka, Hádek, Havránek and Kvítková (1988), inclines towards that of the so-called *Vienna Manuscript* as this is the one which is closest to the original form of the *Chronicle of Dalimil*.

Edition used: Daňhelka-Hádek-Havránek-Kvítková (1988).
Other editions: Bláhová (1977), Havránek-Daňhelka (1958), Ježková-Uhlíř (2006).
References: Jančáková (1985), Šťastný (1991).

5.1.1 Chronicle of Dalimil *2.43–60*

After an introduction where the author clarifies, in the first person, the reasons which led him to write the chronicle and where he appraises the other Czech chronicles which had passed through his hands up until then, the narration of Czech history goes back as far as the episode of the Tower of Babel as the origin of the different languages and peoples. As early as Chapter 2 the Czechs are described as a Slav people led by Čech which had settled next to the Říp Mountain in the territory of Bohemia.

Ti lidé věrni biechu
a své sbožie obecno jmiechu.
Komuž sě co nedostanieše,
ten u druha jako své vezmieše.
Jeden obyčěj zlý jmějiechu,
že manželstva nedržiechu.
Tehdy ijedna žena mužem jísta nebieše

a jeden muž žén mnoho jmějieše.
Právě skotsky přěbýváchu,
na každý večer nového manželstva hledáchu.
Súdcě nejmějiechu,
nebo sobě nekradiechu.
Pakli sě kdy stala která sváda,
u staršějšieho budieše rada,
aby právo učinili,
pravému škody polepšili.
Minu let velmi mnoho,
že sě držiechu ten lid obyčějě toho.

This people[2] was loyal
and they shared their possessions.
If one of them had need of something,
he took it from another as if it were his own.
One bad habit they had,
that they respected not matrimony.
Thus, there was no wife who was safe with a man
and a man had many wives.
They lived just like the beasts of the field,
searching each night for a new matrimony.
They had no judge,
as they did not rob from each other.
When a dispute arose,
they asked the eldest for council,
So that they could impart justice,
and any loss to the just man could be made good.
Many years passed,
and this people maintained this custom.

5.1.2 Chronicle of Dalimil *3.11–12*

Years after the disappearance of Čech it is another man, Krok, who wisely judges the Czech people. One of his three daughters, Lubossa (Libuše), will hold the power left by her father, as well as having the ability to see into the future, cf. text 2.13.2.

2 The Czechs.

Libušě prorokyni bieše,
ta vščecku zemi súdieše.

Lubossa was a prophetess,
She judged the entire land.

5.1.3 Chronicle of Dalimil *9.10–15*

After the death of Lubossa, her acolyte Vlasta creates an army of women which fights against the tyranny they suffer on the part of men, which provides us with some interesting data about the latter.

Dievky hradu Děvín vzděchu
a Vlastu za knieni vzěchu.
Ta po všie zemi dievkám posla posły
řkúc: "Podbímy pod sě ty bradaté kozły!".
Neb sě tehdy pohansky jmiechu,
mužie dlúhé brady nosiechu.

The girls called the castle Děvín
and took Vlasta as their princess.
She sent a messenger to the girls throughout the land
saying: "We shall place these bearded goats at our feet!".
As they behaved at that time like pagans,
the men wore long beards.

5.1.4 Chronicle of Dalimil *19.30–31; 20.3–12*

Styr, Czech warrior and hero, foresees his death in the imminent battle against the Lučané[3] and informs his prince, Neklan, of this. However, on his way to the battlefield a witch tells the hero how to defeat the enemy army;[4] cf. the same anecdote in text 2.13.4.

Vece Styr: "Učiň mi tak velký rov,
jenž by uzřěl veš Chýnov".
A když bieše u jednoho dola,
jedna baba na Pražany vzvola
řkúc: "Nebude-li mezi vámi má rada,

3 The Lučané are another Slav people who had settled in Bohemia, in this case on the banks of the River Ohře.

4 Cf. the passge by Cosmas of Prague in 2.13.4.

stane sě všemu vašemu lidu váda.
Náhle jděte nad onu studnici,
obětujte bohóm oslici
a každý jie nětco sněz.
A Styře, to ty dobřě věz,
že knězě Vladislava pobieš
a jeho lidi všecky zbieš".

Says Styr: "Build me a burial mound so big
That I can see all Chýnov".[5]
And when they[6] were close to a valley,
a witch called to the people of Prague
saying: "If my council is not heeded amongst you,
a misfortune shall befall all your people.
Hurry to that well,
sacrifice a donkey to the gods
and let each man eat a piece of it.
And Styr, be aware,
that you shall defeat Vladislaus
and kill all of his men".

5.1.5 Chronicle of Dalimil *25.8–14*

The Czech prince Bořivoj[7] visits the King of Moravia, Svatopluk (870–894), who had already converted to Christianity. The conversation they have at the court of the Great Moravian Empire results in the Christianization of Bořivoj and, to a large extent, of his people.

"Slušie tobě věděti,
že neslušie pohanu
rovnu býti křěstanu.
Seď se psy, to tvé právo,
ne kněže, ale nemúdrá krávo,
že netbáš na tvorcě svého,
za buoh jmajě výra ušatého".

5 The village where Styr was born.
6 The Czech army.
7 Unlike the other Czech princes and leaders named so far, Bořivoj does not form part of Czech mythology, but of its history. Although his date of birth is not certain, it does appear to be documented that he died in the year 894.

"You should know
That the pagan is not given that
which is given to the Christian.
Sit with the dogs,[8] that is your right,
not a prince, but a foolish cow,
who care not for your creator,
for a god you have a long-eared owl".

8 This anecdote may have its origin in the anecdote recounted in *Conuersio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* 7 (ed. Wattenbach 1854: 9), when the Christian Slav noble Ingo tells the pagan Slavs that they cannot eat with him but must remain outside with the dogs. Likewise, in Fredegar's *Chronicle*, 48 (ed. Krusch 1888), when he narrates the interview between Sicarius, Dagobert's ambassador, and Samo, the first independent governor of Moravia, still a pagan, Sicarius says: "It is not possible for Christians, servants of God, to make friends with dogs".

CHAPTER 6

Texts in Old Icelandic

Pilar Mª Fernández Álvarez and Teodoro Manrique Antón

6.1 *Knýtlingasaga*, "Saga of Cnut's Descendants"

The noun "saga" is a derivative of the Old Icelandic verb *segja* "to say" and refers to the epic legendary narratives which recount the origins of the Nordic countries, especially those of Norway and Iceland. They are works in prose written mainly during the 13th and 14th centuries which, depending on their subject matter, have been divided into Kings' Sagas (*Konungasǫgur*), Bishops' Sagas (*Biskupasǫgur*), Icelandic Sagas (*Íslendingasǫgur*), Contemporary Sagas (*Samtíðarsǫgur*) and Sagas of Ancient Times (*Fornaldarsǫgur*).

The *Knýtlingasaga*, an anonymous work written in Iceland in the middle of the 13th century, possibly in the literary milieu of the Sturluson family, belongs to the literary subgenre of the *Konungasǫgur* which was productive in Norway, but particularly in Iceland. These tend to be divided into two categories on the basis of the language in which they were written, either Latin or Old Norwegian-Icelandic. Of the first group we would highlight *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium* (c. 1180) by Theodoric the Monk, while the key work from the second group is the *Heimskringla* (c. 1230), a collection of sagas about Scandinavian kings written by the Icelandic politician and scholar Snorri Sturluson.

The *Konungasǫgur* must be interpreted in the context of historiography, theology and medieval European literature and in the importance which those fields attach to the figure of the king. In this respect, it is worth highlighting the paradox that the majority of these works originated in one of the few countries in Europe which, at that time, could be considered a republic.

The *Knýtlingasaga* is about the kings of Denmark from Harald Bluetooth (reigned 940–986) to Valdemar II "the Victorious" (reigned 1202–1241). The content of the saga has traditionally been divided into three parts, with the reign of the King Cnut IV the Holy (1080–1086) constituting the central part. It is not known for certain, however, which king gave his name to the saga, as both Canute I the Great and King Cnut the Holy had some of the most powerful men in Denmark among their descendants.

The sources on which the author of the *Knýtlingasaga* based his work are, with all certainty, the *Heimskringla* by Snorri Sturluson, the *Jómsvíkingasaga*

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and over fifty Skaldic poems. The chapters which deal with Valdemar's expeditions coincide, even in specific details, with those recounted in *Gesta Danorum* by the Danish historian Saxo Grammaticus (1150?–1218?).[1] This, however, does not prevent the author of the *Knýtlingasaga* from endowing the narrative with a wealth of nuances and a style far removed from Saxo's Latin sobriety, as well as offering us a vision of politics which is considerably different from that of the latter.

The *Knýtlingasaga* is preserved in a good number of manuscripts of which AM 18, fol. is the most complete example of the main version named *A*. It is a copy on paper made by the Icelandic antiquarian and scholar Árni Magnússon (1663–1730) in around 1690 and contains 39 pages. The original leather manuscript, the *Codex Academicus*, from the beginning of the 14th century, was lost in the fire at the University Copenhagen library in 1728. Although it is incomplete today, it served as the basis for the first bilingual edition of the saga in 1740, *Æfi Dana-Konunga eda Knytlinga Saga* with its corresponding translation in Latin, *Historia Cnutidarum regum Daniæ*, which in turn has served to produce later editions.

The extracts we have chosen for our translation are taken from the edition prepared by Bjarni Guðnason in 1982 for the Íslenzk Fornrit which, in addition to the above-mentioned manuscript, takes into account AM 180 b, fol. (15th century) and AM 20 b II, fol. (14th century), the main manuscripts of the incomplete version *B* of the *Knýtlingasaga*.

Edition used: Guðnason (1982).
Other editions and translations: Ægidius—Bekker-Nielsen—Widding (1977), Diederichs (1924), Gram-Mølman (1740), Johnstone (1786), Meyer (1931) Petersen-Olson (1921), Pálsson-Edwards (1986).
References: Campbell (1946–1953), Hallberg (1963), Hallberg (1978–1979), Halldórsson (1990), Heller (1967), Jónsson (1900), Weibull (1976).

6.1.1 Saga of Cnut's Descendants, *Chapter 101*

This text is set in the brief reign of Erik II the Memorable of Denmark (1134–1137) and describes his first political/religious expedition to the land of the

1 Saxo having based his work on the accounts of historians such as Helmold of Bosau (c. 1125–1177?) in his *Chronica Slavorum* or the first-hand histories of Archbishop Absalon (1128–1201), one of King Valdemar's champions in his expeditions to the territory of the Wends, it would not be strange to find accounts of a similar origin, i.e. from the ecclesiastical environment, among the sources of the Icelandic author of the saga. Cf. the introductions to texts 2.22., 2.26. and 2.28.

Wends, specifically to the Island of Rügen. The vicissitudes of his domestic policy and two failed military expeditions to Norway and the land of the Wends led to his premature death and earned him a place in the memory of the Danes, though it is not known whether this was due to his kindness or his cruelty.

[…] *En vetri síðar fór Eiríkr konungr til Vinðlands með her sinn ok herjaði þar víða ok vann þar mikit hervirki; hann vann þar stað þann, er Arkún heitir; þat fólk var heiðit, er þann stað bygði. Eiríkr konungr fór svá þaðan, at þeir tóku áðr við kristni, er eigi váru drepnir af heiðnum mönnum, ok lét konungr kristna alt fólk í staðinum; fór hann síðan heim til Danmerkr. En þegar konungr var í brottu þaðan, þá köstuðu þeir aptr kristni ok efldu síðan blót ok heiðinn sið.*

The following summer[2] King Erik[3] set out for the land of the Wends with his army and sacked it thoroughly and obtained a large booty. He took a town called Arcona. The people who lived there were pagan. King Erik left there on the condition that those pagans who were still alive converted to Christianity and for that reason he ordered that all of them be baptised in that place. He then sailed for Denmark. When the king had gone, they renounced Christianity and returned to their sacrifices and pagan customs.

6.1.2 Saga of Cnut's Descendants, *Chapter 121*

Chapters 121 and 122 are about Valdemar I "the Great" (reigned 1157–1182) and his desire to ensure Danish sovereignty over the land of the Wends and to impose on them the Christian faith. These chapters are especially important for this work because they mention some of the religious customs of that people as well as their main gods.

En er vetrinn leið af, bauð Valdimarr enn út leiðangri ok fór til Réinga ok lögðu upp á Strælu við blótlund einn, er heitir Böku, ok brendu þar alt ok bældu, en tóku fólk ok fé ok fóru til skipa með. […].

Once winter[4] had passed, Valdemar[5] raised the levy once again and sailed for Rügen and moored at Stral next to a sacred grotto called Böku, and they set fire to everything and captured people and livestock and put them on their ships […].

2 In around 1136.
3 Erik II (the Memorable).
4 In around 1165.
5 Valdemar I.

6.1.3 Saga of Cnut's Descendants, *Chapter 122*

Chapter 122, like the previous one, is about Valdemar I "The Great".

[...] *Eptir þetta stóð kyrrt III vetr, áðr Réingar rufu enn þá sætt, sem fyrr var gör. Þá bauð Valdimarr konungr enn út leiðangri ok fór til Réinga ok kom þar at hvíta sunnudegi ok vann borgina Arkún, er fyrr var nefnd. Þá kom til Valdimars konungs Tétizláfr, er var konungr þeirra, ok Jarmarr, bróðir hans, ok allir enir beztu menn af Réingum ok gáfu þá landit ok sjálfa sik í vald Valdimars konungs ok báðu hann gera af slíkt, er hann vildi. Þá bauð konungr þeim at taka við kristni, þvíat þar var jafnan heiðit, síðan þeir köstuðu aptr kristni, þá er Eiríkr konungr eymuni lét skíra þá, þá er hann vann borgina Arkún, sem fyrr var sagt; þeir sögðuz nú gera vildu, sem konungr beiddi ok Absalón biskup. Þá kvaddi konungr til Sóna Ebbason ok menn með honum at ganga í borgina Arkún ok til hofs þess, er þar var, ok bað hann höggva niðr goðit, er Svanraviz hét, ok draga þat út af borginni, en rœna hofit öllu, því er fémætt er; en þeir, er fyrir váru í borginni, þorðu eigi at draga hann út, ok hrædduz þeir mjök reiði hans. Þá gekk til Sveinn biskup ok Sóni Ebbason ok hjoggu niðr goðit; síðan lögðu þeir reip um háls honum ok neyddu Réinga sjálfa at draga hann út; en er hann kom út, undruðuz allir heiðingjar, er hann mátti þá ekki hjálpa sjálfum sér, ok trúðu minnr á hann en fyrr. Þá gengu menn til ok klufu hann í sundr ok brendu hann undir kötlum sínum. Sá þá Réingar, at þeir váru sviknir, ok trúðu ekki á hann síðan. En Absalón biskup ok allir lærðir menn kristnuðu fólkit ok skírðu XIII hundruð einn dag, ok fóru svá þaðan, at þeir játuðu konungi hlýðni ok svá biskupi. En um morgininn eptir fóru þeir konungr til þess staðar, er Karenz heitir, ok lét hann þar höggva niðr þrjú skurðgoð, er svá hétu: Rinvit, Turupið ok Puruvit; en skurðgoð þessi gerðu svá mikil undr, at þegar, ef nökkurr maðr átti samlag við konu innan borgar, þá loddu þau saman sem hundar, ok eigi losnuðu þau, fyrr en þau kómu út af borginni. En þann dag, er þessi skurðgoð váru brend, þá kristnuðu þeir IX hundruð ok vígðu XI kirkjugarða. Þar tóku þeir mikit fé af goðunum, bæði gull og silfr, silki og pell ok guðvef, hjálma ok sverð, brynjur ok allskonar vápn. Et fimmta goð hét Pizamarr; hann var á Ásund, svá heitir einn staðr; hann var ok brendr. Þá hét ok Tjarnaglófi, hann var sigrgoð þeirra, ok fór hann í herfarar með þeim; hann hafði kanpa af silfri; hann helz lengst við, en þó fengu þeir hann á þriðja vetri þar eptir; en þeir kristnuðu alls á landinu V þúsundir í þeirri ferð. Eptir þat fór Valdimarr konungr heim ok Absalón biskup ok allr herrinn.*

After this, peace reigned for three winters, but the Rani once again broke the treaty which had been agreed. Therefore, King Valdemar once again raised the levy and sailed for Rügen and landed on the day of Pentecost and reconquered

the city of Arcona, mentioned previously. King Tetislaf,[6] who was its king, went to meet Valdemar together with his brother Jarmar[7] and all the most important men in Rügen and they offered King Valdemar their persons and their lands and entreated him to do with them as he wished. The king asked them to accept Christianity, for they were still pagans after renouncing it, when King Erik the Memorable ordered them baptised, after taking the city of Arcona, as narrated previously. They said they would do as the king and Bishop Absalon ordered.

The king then asked Soni Ebbason[8] and his men to go to the city of Arcona and to the temple that was there and to destroy the statue of the god, which was called Svantevit, and drag it out of the city, and to sack the temple, as it contained many riches. But those who were in the city dared not do it for they greatly feared his [Svantevit's] wrath.

Bishop Sweyn and Soni Ebbason then went to the temple and tore down the statue.[9] They then placed a rope around its neck and forced the Rani to drag it out of the city themselves. And when they took the god out, all the pagans marvelled that he could not defend himself and believed in him less than before. Then some men approached, split [the statue] in half and burned it below their cauldrons. Then the Rani realised they had been betrayed and from that time on no longer trusted in him. And Bishop Absalon and the other priests Christianized the people and baptised three hundred[10] in one day, and after that they swore obedience to the king and also to the bishop.

On the following morning the king and his men headed to a place called Charenza and there he ordered that the statues of three gods, called Rinvit, Turupið and Puruvit,[11] be destroyed. These gods made the following prophecy, that when one of the inhabitants lay with a woman within the city limits, then they would join together like dogs and would not separate until the lovers had left the city. On that day, when the images of the gods were burned, they Christianized nine hundred and they consecrated eleven cemeteries. They carried away the riches of the gods, in gold, silver, silk, pelts, precious embroidery, helms and swords, armour and all types of weapons. The fifth god was called Pizamar. He was in Asund, such was the name of the place. This god was also

6 Chief of the Rani from 1162 until his death in 1170.

7 Jarmar I (1141–1218). In 1170 he became the chief of his people until his death.

8 He belonged to the important Hvítungar family, originally from Sjaelland, and died in 1186.

9 Cf. text 2.28.7.

10 The duodecimal system, in which "one hundred" was equivalent to "one hundred and twenty" was used in the Nordic countries until the end of the Middle Ages.

11 On Rügen, in the fortress of Charenza (Korenika, modern-day Garz), there were, accrding to Saxo (text 2.28.8.), another three temples dedicated to the gods Rugiaevit, Porevit and Porenutius, which the *Knýtlingasaga* refers to as Rinvit, Turupið and Puruvit, respectively.

burned. There was also a god called Tjarnaglofi,[12] he was their god of victory, and he went with them into battle. He had a silver moustache. It was he who resisted longest, but on the third winter they captured him. And on that journey they Christianized five thousand. King Valdemar then returned home together with Bishop Absalon and the whole army.

6.2 *Saga Óláfs Konungs Tryggvasonar en mesta*, "Great Saga of Óláf Tryggvason"

The *Great Saga of Óláf Tryggvason* belongs to the literary genre of the *Konungasǫgur* or "Sagas of Kings". This anonymous work is the most recent of the sagas which deal with the figure of the Norwegian King Óláf Tryggvason (960–1000), one of the main advocates of the Christian cause in his country. The *Great Saga of Óláf Tryggvason*, called thus because it is the longest one to be written about that person, was composed in around 1300 and is based on the biographies of the king written, respectively, by Odd Snorrason[13] and Gunnlaug Leifsson,[14] and on Snorri Sturluson's *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*. A good number of manuscripts have been preserved of which AM 53 fol., AM 54 fol. and AM 61 fol. are the oldest. A second group of manuscripts, AM 62 fol. and *Flateyjarbók* contain a more recent version of the saga.

The extract we have chosen is taken from the first volume of *Saga Óláfs Konungs Tryggvasonar* from the 1825 edition of the collection *Fornmanna sögur*: *Eptir gömlum handritum*.

Edition used: *Saga Óláfs Konungs Tryggvasonar* (1825).
Other editions and translations: Halldórsson (1958–1961).
References: Halldórsson (2001), Helgason (1960), Jørgensen (1994), Morgenstern (1892).

12 Tjarnaglofi is reinterpreted in Slavic as Černiglav "he of the black head". The gods Pizamar and Tjarnaglofi do not appear in Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum*. The temple of Tjarnaglofi fell in 1172.

13 Odd Snorrason, a Benedictine monk of the Icelandic monastery of Þingeyrar, wrote at the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century a biography in Latin about Óláf Tryggvason. Only a few fragments of this work are preserved, as well as a translation into Old Norwegian.

14 Gunnlaug Leifsson, a contemporary of Odd Snorrason, also wrote a biography in Latin about Óláf Tryggvason of which, sadly, no copies have survived. Possibly based on Odd's work, it was also used by Snorri Sturluson to compose the saga about that king which he included in his *Heimskringla*.

6.2.1 Great Saga of Óláf Tryggvason, *Chapter 57*

The chapter we have selected begins with the prophecy about the arrival of the young Óláf at the court of King Volodímer (Old Icelandic = Valdemar) I of Kiev. At the early age of nine and after several years of captivity in which Óláf was captured by pirates, separated from his mother Astrið and sold on various occasions, Óláf arrives in the kingdom of Garðaríki in the company of his maternal uncle Sigurð. There he is chosen by the queen to remain at the court where he soon proves himself worthy of affection and honour, until the jealousy of the courtesans and his refusal to sacrifice to the pagan gods precipitate his departure.

Spásögur þeirra í Garðaríki um Óláf Tryggvason

Í þann tíma er Ólafr kom í Garðaríki, voro í Hólmgarði margir þeir menn, er spáðo fyrir marga óvorðna luti; þeir sögðo allir eitt af sínum vísdómi, at fylgjur eins útlends mans, úngs at aldri, sè komnar í landit, svâ hamíngjusamligar, at þeir höfðu engis mans fylgjur seeð dýrðligri, en eigi vissu þeir, hverr eða hvaðan hann var, ok þó sönnuðu þeir at með mörgum orðum, at þat hit bjarta ljós, er yfir honum skínn, dreifist um alt Garðaríki ok víða um austrhálfu heims. En með því at drotníngin Allogía var allra kvenna vitrost, þá skildi hún þegar á yfirbragði Ólafs, sem hún leit hann hit fursta sinn, at þessi sveinn mundi vera þeirrar háleitrar giptu, sem forspárnar vísaðu til, at hann mundi vinna mikla sæmð Garðaríki; þar fyrir fèkk hann hit mesta yfirlæti af konúngi ok drotníngu, ok góða virþíng af vitrum mönnum ok góðgjörnum; vâx Ólafr þar upp í Garðaríki, ok varð furr algörr at viti ok afli ok öllum þroska enn vetra tali. Valdamarr konúngr elskaði Ólaf svâ sem hann væri hans eigin sonr, ok lèt læra hann á vígfimi ok riddaraskap ok alsháttar íþróttir, ok höfðíngliga hæfversku; hann fèkk ok skjótari skilníng á allri atgervi enn flestir menn aðrir; en einn var sá lutr at konúngi mislíkaði við hann, at hann vildi aldri dýrðka heiðin skurðgoð, ok setti hug sinn mjök í mót öllum blótskap; jafnan fór hann með konúngi til hofs, en aldri gekk hann inn, stóð hann úti hjá hofsdurum, meþan konúngr fórnfærði goðonum; konúngr ræddi um opt, at hann skyldi eigi svâ gera, at hann fengi reiði guðanna, ok týndi þar fur blóma æsku sinnar, ok því bið ek þik, segir konúngr, at þú vegsamir guðin ok mýkir þik til þeirra með lítillæti, þvíat ella er ek hræddr um, at þau steypi yfir þik nökkurri ógn sinnar stormsamligrar ógnar ok grimðar, svâ mikit sem þú átt í hættu. Ólafr svarar: aldri hræðumst ek þau guð, er þú göfgar, þvíat þau hafa ekki mál, enga sýn nè heyrn, ok þau kunna enga skynsemdar grein; en af því þikkjumst ek helzt mega skilja, hverrar náttúru þau munu vera, at mér sýnist jafnan þín konúnglig tign, fóstri minn! ok áseá með blíðu ok björtu yfirbragði, utan þá er þú ferr í hofit ok færir fórnir guðunum, þá sýnist mèr þú með dökku yfirbragði ok úhamíngjusamligu, ok þaðan af veit ek, at þessi guðin, er þú þjónar, mânu

eiga myrkrunum at stýra, ok því skal ek þau aldri tigna, en ek geri þeim fyrir þat enga úsœmð, at ek vil [*þik*] *eigi styggva.*

Prophecies of the people of Garðaríki about Óláf Tryggvason
"In the time in which Óláf arrived in Garðaríki[15] there were in Holmgarð[16] many men who prophesized events which had not yet come to pass. In their wisdom all of them concurred in stating that the protective spirit of a young foreign man had arrived in the country. [His spirit] was so powerful that they had never seen anything so extraordinary and they knew not who he was or from whence he came. And they revealed with many words that the radiant light which shone over him spread to all Garðaríki and over the eastern half of the world. And because Queen Allogia[17] was the wisest of women, she no sooner saw Óláf than she deduced from his appearance that the boy would be as blessed by fortune as the prophecies said and that he would win much honour for Garðaríki. For this reason, he received the highest honours from the king and the queen and the favour of wise and hospitable men. Óláf grew in Garðaríki and was well developed for his age, both in wisdom and in strength and maturity. King Valdemar loved Óláf as if he were his son and ordered that he be trained as a knight and instructed in the handling of weapons, in all kinds of physical exercises and in the customs of the main personages. He soon exceeded the majority of men in his mastery of these skills. But there was one thing in which the king was not satisfied, and it was that he [Óláf] never wished to worship the pagan idols and that he always opposed any sacrifice. On occasions he accompanied the sovereign to the temple, but he never entered, and he stayed by the gates while the king presented his offerings to the gods. Valdemar urged him frequently not to risk angering the gods and losing the strength of his youth. And that is why I ask you, says the king, to praise the gods and submit to them with humility, otherwise I am afraid that they will hurl some sign of their fearsome violence and fury at you which may place you in danger. Óláf answers: I have never feared the gods which you worship, for they neither talk nor see nor listen and understand not the dictates of reason. That is why I believe that I understand what their nature must be, for sometimes I consider that your royal condition, my godfather, and your desire to protect [me] appear to be friendly and noble. But on the occasions on which you go to the temple and bear offer-

15 Garðaríki is the Old Norse name for the Kingdom of Rus' (Raffensperger 2017).
16 Name of the present-day city of Novgorod which was under the authority of Kaenugarð (Kíev), capital of the former kingdom of Garðaríki.
17 According to some Icelandic sagas, Allogia or Olavia was the wife of Volodímer I of Kiev (958–1015). Other sources claim that Allogia was his governess.

ings to the gods, then your appearance is dark and sinister, and that is how I know that the gods you serve must rule the darkness and that is why I shall never worship them. And I cause them no dishonour thereby, nor do I wish to offend you."

CHAPTER 7

Texts in Arabic

Aránzazu Minguet Burgos

7.1 Abū ʿAli Aḥmed b. ʿUmar b. Rusta, *Kitāb al-aʿlāq an-nafīsa* "Book of Precious Gems"

Little is known about his life except that he was from Isfahan and that he travelled to Ḥiğāz in the year 903 A.D. He is known to be the author of the *Kitāb al-aʿlāq an-nafīsa*, of which only seven volumes have survived, and which he must have written between the years 903 and 913. The original work must have been much larger. From the arrangement and contents of his book, it could be described as a historical-geographical encyclopaedia, but he also explores astronomical and mathematical topics. In the first chapters he talks about the celestial sphere, the signs of the zodiac, the planets, Earth's position in the universe, its shape, size and sphere.

After the introduction, he goes on to describe Mecca and Medina, the wonders of the world, the seas, the rivers and the seven climates; after this, he describes Constantinople, the Khazars, Bulgarians, Slavs, Rus' and other peoples. The author then gives us the itineraries of a number of places and ends with a description of several categories of Muslim names, religious groups and schisms, and the names of the peoples with special physical characteristics.

Edition used: de Goeje (1967: 143–148).
Other editions: de Goeje (1892), Meyer (1931), Wiet (1955).
References: Göckenjan—Zimonyi (2001), Maqbul (1979).

7.1.1 Book of Precious Gems*: The land of the Slavs*

The passage appears after the author's description of the Magyars.

الصَّقْلَبِيَّة

وبين بلاد البجاناكيَّة وبين بلاد الصقلبيَّة مسيرة عشرة ايّام الصقالبة في اوائل حدّها مدينة تسمَّى كويابه تسير اليها في مفاوز وارضين غير مسلوكة وعيون مياه واشجار ملتفَّة حتّى تأتى بلادهم وبلاد الصقالبة بلاد سهلة ومشاجر وهم نزول فيها وليس لهم كروم ولا مزارع ولهم مثل الحباب من خشب

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معمول فيها كور لنحلهم وعسلهم ويسمُّونها أُليشج يخرج من الحُبّ الواحد مقدار عشرة اباريق وهم قوم يرعون الخنازير مثل الغنم، واذا مات منهم ميّت احرقوه بالنار ونساؤهم اذا مات لهنّ ميّت قطعن ايديهن ووجوههن بالسكّين واذا احرق ذلك الميّت صاروا الية من الغد فأخذوا الرماد من ذلك الموضع فجعلوه في برنيَّة وجعلوه على تلّ فاذا انقضى للميّت سنة عمدوا الى مقدار عشرين حُبّ من العسل او اقلّ او اكثر فذهبوا بها الى ذلك التلّ واجتمع اهل الميّت فأكلوا هناك وشربوا ثم انصرفوا واذا كان الميّت ثلاث نسوة وزعمت واحدة منهن انها محبَّة له عمدت عند ميّتها الى خشبتين فاقامتهما في وجه الارض ثم وضعت خشبة اخرى معترضة على رأسهما وعلّقت من وسطها حبلا شُدَّ احد طرفيه في عنقها وهي قائمة على كرسيّ فاذا فعلت ذلك أُخذ الكرسيّ من تحتها فبقيت معلّقة حتّى تختنق وتموت فاذا ماتت أُلقيت في النار وأُحرقت، وهم كلُّهم عبدة نيران واكثر زروعهم الدخن فاذا كان ايّام حصادهم اخذوا من حبّ الدخن في مغرفة ثم رفعوها الى السماء ويقولون يا ربّ انت الذي رزقتنا فآتممه علينا، ولهم ضروب من العيدان والطنابير والمزامير وطول مزمارهم ذراعان وعلى عودهم ثمانية اوتار وانبذتهم من العسل ويطربون عند احراق الميّت يزعمون انهم يفرحون لرحمة ربّه ايّاه ...

The land of the Slavs

Between the country of the *bağānākiyya* and that of the Slavs there is a distance of ten days. The first city after the border of the Slavs is Kiev. It is reached across a desert, through trackless lands, empty of wells and forests until you reach their country.

The country in which the Slavs have settled is flat and wooded. There are no vineyards or agriculture. They have something similar to wooden urns in which they make hives for their bees and their honey, which they call *ulyšaj*. From an urn they extract the equivalent of ten pitchers. They are a people which graze their pigs as if they were sheep.

When one of them dies they burn him with fire and the women, when someone close to them dies, cut their hands and their face with a knife. When they cremate the deceased, they return to where he is in the morning, collect the ashes, put them in an urn and place them in a burial mound. When the person has been dead for a year, they place the amount of approximately twenty wooden urns of honey. They carry this to the mound, gather together the family of the deceased, and eat and drink there. Afterwards they retire and if the deceased had three wives and one of them considers herself to be his favourite, she stands before the deceased with two posts and erects them in the surface of

the ground. She then places another post across the top of the other two, hangs a rope in the middle which she ties around her neck and stands on the chair. When she has done this, the chair which is under her is removed and she hangs their until she strangles herself and dies. When she is dead, she is thrown onto the fire and burned.

They are all fire worshippers and the majority sow millet. When harvest time arrives, they collect the millet grain onto a shovel, raise it towards the sky and say: "Oh Lord, you are the one who provides for us and we have none left".

They have a variety of lutes, guitarros and flutes. The flutes are two elbows long, their lutes have eight strings, their wine is made from honey and they sing when they cremate the dead, thinking that they will rejoice in the mercy of the Lord.

7.1.2 Book of Precious Gems, *Rus'*

This passage appears after the author's description of the Slavs.

الرُّسيَّة

... واذا وُلد لرجل منهم مولود قدَّم الى المولود سيفا مسلولا فألقاه بين يديه وقال له لا اورثك مالا وليس لك الا ما تكسبه لنفسك بسيفك هذا ...

... لهم من الغرباء وكلٌّ من ينتابُهم ولم يسوّغوا احدا منهم اهتضامَهم ولا الجور عليهم وكلٌّ من اقدم عليهم بمكروه او ظلم اعانوهم ودفعوا عنهم ...

... ولهم اطبّاءُ منهم يحكمون على ملكهم شبه ارباب لهم يأمرونهم ان يتقرَّبوا بما يريدون الى خالقهم من النساءِ والرجال والكراع واذا حكمت الاطبّاءُ لم يجدوا بدًّا من الانتهاءِ الى امرهم فيأخذ الطبيب الانسان والبهيمة منهم فيطرح الحبل في عنقه فيعلّقه في خشبة حتّى تفيض نفسه ويقول ان هذا قربان لله ...

... واذا مات الجليل منهم حفروا له قبرا مثل بيت واسع جعلوه فيه وأدخلوا معه ثياب بدنه وسواره الذي كان يلبسه من ذهب وطعاما كثيرا واباريق شراب ومالا صامتا ايضا ويجعلون معه في القبر امرأته التي كان يحبُّها وهي بعدُ حيَّة ويُسَدُّ عليها باب القبر فتموت هناك.

Rus':

When a son is born to a man among them, they present the newly born with an unsheathed sword, cast it down in front of him and say to him: "I shall not leave you any fortune and you shall have only that which you win for yourself with this sword of yours" (...).

They are generous with strangers who stay with them overnight and with all who visit them. They will not allow any of these people to harm each other, nor that they be harassed in any way. All who come to them with a wrong or a transgression and implore their assistance, are given relief (…).

They have priests who council their kings as if they were their masters and order them to sacrifice women, men and cattle because their creator so wishes. When the priest has passed sentence, there is no possibility of his decree not being carried out. The priest takes people and their beasts, ties a rope around their necks and hangs them from a post until they deliver up their soul. He says this is an offering to God (…).

When one of their eminent men dies, they dig a tomb which looks like a large house and leave him inside. They place with him pieces of his armour, the golden armlets that he used to wear, much food, flagons of drink and also goods in cash. With him, in the tomb, they place his wife, whom he loved, and they close the door of the tomb on her while she is still alive and there she dies.

7.2 Aḥmed Ibn Faḍlān, *Muʿǧam al-Buldān* "Dictionary of Countries"

There is very little information about his life. In the year 921AD he was sent with the embassy of the Caliph al-Muqtadir to the king of the Bulgarians on the Volga. Ibn Faḍlān's mission was to read the letter which the caliph had written to the king of the Ṣaqâliba, which we can translate as "Slavs", although it refers to peoples with a variety of ethnic origins. The diplomatic mission also entailed presenting the gifts sent by the caliph and supervising the teachers he had sent at the request of the king of the Bulgarians to teach the Law of Islam.

Ibn Faḍlān wrote his Kitāb ("Book") based on his experiences during this journey. Yāqūt refers to this work incorrectly as Risāla ("Letter"). For a long time, only the incomplete version passed on by Yāqūt in his *Geographical Dictionary* was known, but in 1923 Ahmet Zeki Validi Togan discovered, in Mechhed, Iran, a manuscript which contained a more complete version of Ibn Faḍlān's *Kitāb*. However, it seems that the version found in Iran does not constitute the original work either, but is an abridged redaction, probably commissioned by the Vizier of Bukhara not long after the publication of Ibn Faḍlān's original *Kitāb* as a result of the success which the work enjoyed.

It is one of the most interesting texts in the genre of Arabic travel literature. One of the greatest controversies which this text has given risen to concerns whether the information it contains, above all with regard to funerary customs, refers to the Slavs or to the Scandinavian or Varangian traders installed on the

commercial routes of the large rivers. Be that as it may, the religious practices which Ibn Faḍlān recounts occur in the Slav sphere and form part of the cultural context of Rus' in that era.

Edition used: Wüstenfeld (1957: 79 and 83).
Other editions: Canard (1958), Charles-Dominique (1995), Crichton (1976), (1994), Czegledy (1950–1951), Czpkiewicz-Kmietowiczy-Kmietowicz (1977–1985), al-Dahhan (1993), Fraehn (1823), (1832), Frye (2005), Kovalevskiy (1956), Kračkovskiy (1939), Lu'abi (2003), Meyer (1931), Ritter (1942), Seippel (1896–1928), (2005), Smyser (1965), Togan-Zeki (1939).
References: Blake-Frye (1949), Canard (1979), Kračkovskiy (1957), Marquart (1904), Montgomery (2000), Zajackowski (1957).

7.2.1 Mu'ğam al-Buldān, *The land of Rus'*

The passage appears after the author's description of *rūstuqbāḏ*, i.e. Rus'. During his journey, Ibn Faḍlān met a group of people from Rus' who were travelling down the River Atil and who stopped to trade at the port of the Bulgarian capital. The author provides us with a brief description of the physical appearance of the Rus', both men and women, and of their social customs, of which he was most struck by their dirtiness. He tells us that when the Rus' or people from elsewhere traded with slaves, the king of the Bulgarians had the right to choose one in ten for himself.

... و ساعة موافاة سفُنهم إلى هذا المرسى يخرج كل واحد منهم ومعه خبز ولحم ولبن وبصل ونبيذ حتى يوافي خشبة طويلة منصوبة لها وجه يشبه وجه الإنسان وحولها صور صغار وخلف تلك الصور خشب طوال قد نصبت في الأرض فيوافي إلى الصورة الكبيرة ويسجد لها ثمّ يقول: يا ربّ قد جئت من بُعد ومعي من الجواري كذا وكذا رأساً ومن السمّور كذا وكذا جلداً، حتى يذكر جميع ما قدم معه من يجارته ثمّ يقول: وقد جئتك بهذه الهدية، ثمّ يترك ما معه بين يدي الخشبة ويقول: أُريد أن ترزقني تاجراً معه دنانير ودراهم فيشتري مني كلّ ما أُريد ولا يخالفني في جميع ما أقول، ثمّ ينصرف، فإن تعسر عليه بيعه وطالت أيّامه عاد بهدية أُخرى ثانية وثالثة، فإن تعذّر عليه ما يريد حمل إلى صورة من تلك الصور الصغار هدية وسألها الشفاعة وقال: هؤلاء نساء ربنا وبناته، ولا يزال إلى صورة صورة يسألها ويستشفع بها ويتضرّع بين يديها فربّما تسهّل له البيع فباع فيقول: قد قضى ربي حاجتي وأحتاج أن أكافئه، فيعمد إلى عِدّة من البقر والغنم على ذلك ويقتلها ويتصدّق ببعض اللحم ويحمل الباقي فيطرحه بين يدي تلك الخشبة الكبيرة والصغار التي حولها ويعلق رؤوس البقر

والغنم على ذلك الخشب المنصوب في الأرض، فإذا كان اللّيل وافت الكلاب فأكلت ذلك فيقول الذي فعله: قد رضي عني ربي وأكل هديتي، وإذا مرض منهم الواحد ضربوا له خيمة ناحية عنهم وطرحوه فيها وجعلوا معه شيئاً من الخبز والماء ولا يقربونه ولا يكلّمونه بل لا يتعاهدونه في كل أيّامه لا سيَّما إن كان ضعيفاً أو كان مملوكاً، فإن برأ وقام رجع إليهم وإن مات أحرقوه وإن كان مملوكاً تركوه على حاله تأكله الكلاب وجوارح الطير، وإذا أصابوا سارقاً أو لصّاً جاؤوا به إلى شجرة طويلة غليظة وشدوا في عنقه حبلاً وثيقاً وعلّقوه فيها ويبقى معلّقاً حتى يتقطّع من المكث إمّا بالرياح أو الأمطار، وكان يقال لي: إنّهم كانوا يفعلون برؤسائهم عند الموت أموراً أقلّها الحرق، فكنت أحب أن أقف على ذلك حتى بلغني موت رجل منهم جليل فجعلوه في قبره وسقّفوا عليه عشرة أيّام حتى فرغوا من قطع ثيابه وخياطتها، وذلك أن الرجل الفقير منهم يعملون له سفينة صغيرة ويجعلونه فيها ويحرقونها، والغَنِيّ يجمعون ماله ويجعلونه ثلاثة أثلاث: فثلث لأهله وثلث يقطعون له به ثياباً وثلث يشترون به نبيذاً يشربونه يوم تَقْتُل جاريته نفسها وتُحرق مع مولاها، وهم مستهترون بالخمر يشربونها ليلاً ونهاراً، وربّما مات الواحد منهم والقدح في يده، وإذا مات الرئيس منهم قال أهله لجوارية وغلمانه: من منكم يموت معه؟ فيقول بعضهم: أنا، فإذا قال ذلك فقد وجب عليه لا يستوي له أن يرجع أبداً، ولو أراد ذلك ما تُرك، وأكثر ما يفعل هذا الجواري، فلمّا مات ذلك الرجل الذي قدمت ذكره قالوا لجواريه: من يموت معه؟ فقالت إحداهن: أنا، فوكلوا بها جاريتين تحفظانها وتكونان معها حيث ما سلكت حتى إنّهما ربّما غسلتا رجليها بأيديهما، وأخذوا في شأنه وقطع الثياب له وإصلاح ما يحتاج إليه والجارية في كل يوم تشرب وتغنّي فارحة مستبشرة، فلمّا كان اليوم الذي يحرق فيه هو والجارية حضرت إلى النهر الذى فيه سفينته فإذا هي قد أُخرجت وجعل لها أربعة أركان من خشب الخلنج وغيره وجعل حولها أيضاً مثل الأناس الكبار من الخشب ثمّ مدّت حتى جعلت على ذلك الخشب وأقبلوا يذهبون ويجيئون ويتكلّمون بكلام لا أفهمه وهو بعد في قبره لم يخرجوه ثمّ جاؤوا بسرير فجعلوه على السفينة وغشّوه بالمضرّبات الديباج الرومي والمساند الديباج الرومي ثمّ جاءت امرأة عجوز يقولون لها ملك الموت ففرشت على السرير الذى ذكرناه، وهي وليت خياطته وإصلاحه، وهي تقتل الجواري، ورأيتها حوّاء نيّرة ضخمة مُكْفَهِرّة، فلمّا وافوا قبرة نحّو االتراب عن الخشب ونحّوا الخشب واستخرجوه في الإزار الذي مات فيه فرأيته قد اسودّ لبرد البلد، وقد كانوا جعلوا معه في قبره نبيذاً وفاكهة وطنبوراً فأخرجوا جميع ذلك وإذا هو لم يتغير منه شيء غير لونه، فألبسوه سراويل وراناً وخفّاً وقرطقاً وخَفتانَ ديباجٍ له أزرار ذهب وجعلوا على رأسه قلنسوة من ديباج سمّور

وحملوه حتى أدخلوه القبة التي على السفينة وأجلسوه على المضرّبة وأسندوه بالمساند وجاؤوا بالنبيذ والفواكه والريحان فجعلوه معه وجاؤوا بخبز ولحم وبصل فطرحوه بين يديه وجاؤوا بكلب فقطعوه نصفين وألقوه في السفينة ثمّ جاؤوا بجميع سلاحه فجعلوه إلى جانبه ثمّ أخذوا دابّتين فأجروهما حتى عرقتا ثمّ قطعوهما بالسيوف وألقوا لحمهما في السفينة ثمّ جاؤوا ببقرتين فقطعوهما أيضاً وألقوهما في السفينة ثمّ أحضروا ديكاً ودجاجة فقتلوهما وطرحوهما فيها والجارية التي تُقتل ذاهبة وجائية تدخل قبّةً قبة من قبابهم فيجامعها واحد واحد، وكلّ واحد يقول لها: قولي لمولاكِ إنّما فعلت هذا من محبتك، فلمّا كان وقت العصر من يوم الجمعة جاؤوا بالجارية إلى شيء عملوه مثل ملبن الباب فوضعت رجلها على أكفّ الرجال وأشرفت على ذلك الملبن وتكلّمت بكلم لها، فأنزلوها ثمّ أصعدوها ثانية ففعلت كفعلها في المرّة الأولى ثمّ أنزلوها وأصعدوها ثالثة ففعلت فعلها في المرّتين ثمّ دفعوا لها دجاجة فقطعت رأسها ورمت به فأخذوا الدجاجة وألقوها في السفينة، فسألت الترجمان عن فعلها فقال: قالت في المرّة الأولى هوذا أرى أبي وأمّي، وقالت في المرّة الثانية: هوذا أرى جميع قرابتي الموتى قعوداً، وقالت في المرّة الثالثة: هوذا أرى مولاي قاعداً في الجنة والجنة حسنة خضراء ومعه الرجال والغلمان وهو يدعوني فاذهبوا بي إلية، فمرّوا بها نحو السفينة فنزعت سوارَين كانا معها فدفعتهما إلى المرأة العجوز التي تسمى ملك الموت وهي التي تقتلها، ونزعت خلخالين كانا عليها ودفعتهما إلى الجاريتين اللتين كانتا تخدمانهم وهما ابنتا المعروفة بملك الموت، ثمّ أصعدوها إلى السفينة ولم يدخلوها إلى القبة وجاء الرجال ومعهم التراس والخشب ودفعوا إليها قدحاً من نبيذ فغنّت عليه وشربته، فقال لي الترجمان: إنّها تودّع صواحباتها بذلك، ثمّ دفع إليها قدح آخر فأخذته وطولت الغناء والعجوز تستحثها على شربه والدخول إلى القبة التي فيها مولاها، فرأيتها وقد تبلّدت وأرادت الدخول إلى القبة فأدخلت رأسها بين القبة والسفينة فأخذت العجوز رأسها وأدخلتها القبة ودخلت معها العجوز وأخذ الرجال يضربون بالخشب على التراس لئلا يسمع صوت صياحها فيجزع غيرها من الجواري فلا يطلبن الموت مع مواليهنّ، ثمّ دخل القبّة ستة رجال فجامعوا بأسرهم الجارية ثمّ أضجعوها إلى جنب مولاها الميت وأمسك اثنان رجليها واثنان يديها وجعلت العجوز التي تسمى ملك الموت في عنقها حبلاً مخالفاً ودفعته إلى اثنين ليجذباه وأقبلت ومعها خنجر عظيم عريض النصل فأقبلت تدخله بين أضلاعها موضعاً موضعاً وتخرجه والرجلان يخنقانها بالحبل حتى ماتت، ثمّ وافَى أقرب الناس إلى ذلك الميت فأخذ خشبة فأشعلها بالنار ثمّ مشى القهقرى نحو قفاه إلى السفينة والخشبة في يده الواحدة ويده الأخرى على استه وهو عريان حتى أحرق ذلك الخشب الذي قد عبوه تحت السفينة من بعد ما وضعوا الجارية التي قتلوها في جنب مولاها، ثمّ

وافَى الناس بالخشب والحطب ومع كلّ واحد خشبة وقد ألهب رأسها فيلقيها في ذلك الخشب فتأخذ النار في الحطب ثمّ في السفينة ثمّ في القبّة والرجل والجارية وجميع ما فيها، ثمّ هبت ريح عظيمة هائلة فاشتدّ لهب النار واضطرم تسعّرها، وكان إلى جانبي رجل من الروسية فسمعته يكلم الترجمان الذي معه، فسألته عمّا قال له، فقال: إنّه يقول أنتم معاشر العرب حَمقى لأنكم تعمدون إلى أحبّ الناس إليكم وأكرمهم عليكم فتطرحونه في التراب فتأكله الهوامّ والدود ونحن نحرقه بالنار في لحظة فيدخل الجنة من وقته وساعته، ثمّ ضحك ضحكاً مفرطاً وقال: من محبة ربّة له قد بعث الريح حتى تأخذه في ساعته، فما مضت على الحقيقة ساعة حتى صارت السفينة والحطب والرجل الميت والجارية رماداً رِمْدِداً، ثمّ بنوا على موضع السفينة، وكانوا أخرجوها من النهر، شبيهاً بالتل المدوّر ونصبوا في وسطه خشبة كبيرة وكتبوا عليها اسم الرجل واسم ملك الروس وانصرفوا، قال: ومن رسم ملوك الروس أن يكون معه في قصره أربعمائة رجل من صناديد أصحابه وأهل الثقة عنده فهم يموتون بموته ويقتلون دونه، ومع كلّ واحد منهم جارية تخدمه وتغسل رأسه وتصنع له ما يأكل ويشرب وجارية أخرى يطؤها، وهؤلاء الأربعمائة يجلسون تحت سريره، وسريره عظيم مرصّع بنفيس الجواهر، ويجلس معه على السرير أربعون جارية لفراشه، وربّما وطئ الواحدة منهن بحضرة أصحابه الذين ذكانا، ولا ينزل عن سريره، فإذا أراد قضاء حاجة قضاها في طشت، وإذا أراد الركوب قدموا دابته إلى السرير فركبها منه، وإذا أراد النزول قدم دابّته حتى يكون نزوله عليه ...

When their ships arrive at this port, each of them is carrying bread, meat, milk, onion and mead. Then a long pole arrives which has a face carved onto it similar to the human face and is surrounded by figurines; these are on long pieces of wood which are set into the ground. One of them approaches the large figure, kneels before it and says: "Oh Lord, I come from afar, and with me I have so many heads of female slaves and so many pelts of sable" until he has listed everything he has brought with him to trade. Then he says: "I have brought you this offering". Then he sets down what he has brought with him in front of the pole and says: "I wish you to provide me with traders with money and dirhams, who will buy everything I wish them to and not contradict me I anything I say". He then retires. If he finds it difficult to sell, with the passing of the days he returns with another offering, a second or a third. If what he wishes still proves impossible, he takes an offering to an image, from among those figurines, and asks it to intercede: "those are the wives, daughters and sons of our lord". He moves from one figure to another, asking each, hoping that it will intercede for him, imploring it, so that it will ease the sale. If he sells, he says: "My lord has satisfied my request and now it is necessary for me to reciprocate". And for that

reason, he approaches several heads of cattle and slits their throats. He gives half of the meat to the poor and throws the remainder before the long pole and the figurines which surround it and hangs the heads of the cows on that post. When night falls the dogs come and eat it. Then the person who has done this says: "My lord is satisfied with me and has eaten my offering".

When one of them falls sick, they prepare a hut for him at some distance from the rest, place him in it and provide him with bread and water. They do not approach him nor talk to him nor even look after him throughout his affliction, especially in the case of poor people or slaves. If he recovers and gets up, he goes back to them; but if he dies, they cremate him. In the case of a slave they leave him where he is for the dogs and the carrion birds to eat.

When they catch a robber or a bandit, they take him to a tall sturdy tree. They tie a thick rope around his neck and they hang him from it and leave him hanging there till he rots from neglect or because of the wind and rain.

They have told me that when their superiors die they do things, one of which is to cremate them.

I wished to know more about this. They told me that one of their eminent men had died. They placed him in his tomb and kept him under a roof over for ten days while they finished cutting and sewing his clothes.

When it is one of the poor people, they make a small boat, put him in it and burn it.

When it is a rich man, they gather his possessions and divide them into three parts: a third for his family, a third to make his funeral attire and a third to buy mead to drink when his female slave commits suicide and is cremated together with her lord. They give themselves up to depravation with the wine, drinking it day and night, and on occasion one of them dies with his cup in his hand.

When one of their chiefs dies, his family says to the female slaves: "Which of you will die with him?" and one of them answers: "I". Once he or she has said this, there is no possibility of turning back, and even if he or she wished to, it would not be permitted. In general, those who offer to do this are female slaves.

When the man mentioned above died, they say to the servants: "Who will die with him?" and one of them says: "I". Then they provided this servant with two female slaves to attend her and to accompany her wherever she went, even washing her feet with their hands. They commenced the tasks; they cut his clothes and prepared everything they needed. Throughout the whole process, the slave girl drank and sang joyfully.

When the day of his cremation and that of the female slave arrived, I went down to the river where his boat was. When they took the boat out, they placed four columns of briar and other wood, and they also placed large wooden human figures around it. A while passed and then they placed that pole in

position. Then they began to come and go pronouncing words which I could not understand. Meanwhile, he [the deceased] remained in his tomb without being taken out. Afterwards they arrived with a litter and they placed it on the boat and they covered it with quilts of Byzantine silk and cushions of Byzantine silk. Then the old lady whom they called Angel of Death arrived and covered the above-mentioned coffin.

It is she who supervises the care and preparations of the female slave and then kills her. I considered her to be a radiant, beautiful, voluminous and tough Eve.

When they reached the tomb, they took away the earth from around the pole and removed the pole. They the removed the deceased from the linen he was wrapped in and I saw that he had turned black due to the cold of the country. They had placed mead, fruit and a drum in the tomb with him and they took all this out. With regard to the deceased, he had not changed in any way except his colour. They dressed him with breeches, leggings, slippers, a kind of tunic and a brocade caftan with gold buttons. On his head they placed a brocade marten headdress and they carried him to the structure they had prepared on the boat; they sat him on the quilt and made him comfortable with the cushions. Then they came with mead, fruits and the myrtle and they placed them with him. They came with bread, meat and onion and placed them before him. They came with a dog, they cut it in two and they threw it on the boat. Then they brought all his weapons and placed them by his side. Then they took two mules and skinned them, cut them up with their swords and threw the flesh onto the boat. Then they came with two cows and these too they cut up and threw onto the boat, then they brought a cock and a hen, slit their throats and threw them on.

The female slave who was going to die came and entered each of their tents, and each of them copulated with her, and each said to her: "Tell your lord that I have done this for your love".

When the time came, on Friday evening, they came with the female slave towards an object which they had made, similar to a doorframe. She placed her feet on the bottom of the frame and raised herself up. She said a few words to herself and they made her descend. Then they raised her up again and she did as she had done the first time. Then they made her descend for the third time and she did what she had done the two previous times. Next, they gave her a hen and she cut off its head and kept it with her. They then took the hen and threw it onto the boat. I asked the interpreter why she had done this and he answered: The first time she said: "Here I saw my father and my mother", the second time she said: "Here I have seen all my dead relatives sitting". The third time she said: "Here I saw my lord sitting in a beautiful green garden. The men and youths are with him. He calls me and they lead me to him."

They walked with her to the boat and she took off the armlets she was wearing and handed them to the old woman whom they called Angel of Death, who was the one who was going to kill her. She took off the two bracelets she was wearing and handed them to the two female slaves who had been serving her, who were daughters of the one known as Angel of Death. Then the men raised her onto the boat but did not put her inside the litter. Two men arrived with the shields and the pole, gave her a cup of mead, she sang for him and drank it. Then the interpreter said to me: "Thus does she bid farewell to her companions." Afterwards she was given another cup, she took it and continued singing while the old woman urged her to drink it and enter the litter where her lord was. I saw that she hesitated when she was about to enter. She placed her head between the litter and the boat, the old woman pushed her on the head and made her enter the litter. The old woman entered with her and the men began to bang on the shields with the poles so that her cries would not be heard, in case the rest of the female slaves became distressed and would not ask to die along with their lord. Then six men entered the room and all copulated with the female slave and laid her down on one side of her dead lord. Two held her feet, [another] two her hands, and the old woman called Angel of Death placed a noose made of several ropes around her neck and gave it to two of the men to pull on. She advanced with an enormous knife with a wide blade and began to stick it between [the slave woman's] ribs one by one and while the two men strangled her with the rope until she died. Afterwards, those closest to the deceased arrived, took the pole and burned it with fire. They walked backwards with the back of their necks facing the boat, holding the wood in one of their hands and with the other on their backs. Both were naked while they burned the wood beneath the boat, after placing the female slave they had killed next to her lord. Then the people arrived with the wood, the firewood and each with a stick. They lit the end and threw it onto the wood. The fire burned the firewood, the boat, the litter, the man, the female slave and everything in it. Then came a strong wind which whipped up the flames of the fire till all was burned.

By my side there was a man of the Rus' whom I heard talking to the interpreter and I asked him what he had said. He replied: "Verily he told me that you, the Arabian community, are crazy because of what you do to the people you most love and for whom you feel most affection. You throw them into the ground to be eaten by insects and worms. While we burn them with fire in an instant and they enter paradise when it is their time and hour". Then he laughed scornfully and continued: "For the love he has for his lord, a wind has been sent which has taken him at his time". It is true that not an hour passed before the boat, the firewood, the deceased and the female slave were reduced to ashes.

They then built over the place of the boat they had taken from the river something akin to a circular mound. In the centre they erected a large post on which they wrote the name of the man and that of the Rus' king, and they left.

He said: It is a prescription of the kings of Rus', may they place with him in his citadel four hundred chieftains from among his friends and the people he trusts. All of them would die for him and would let themselves be killed for him. Each of them is waited on by a female slave who washes his head and serves him food and drink but he fornicates with another female slave. These four hundred sit beneath his throne. His throne is enormous and is adorned with precious stones. With him, on his throne, sit forty female slaves of those of his bed and he may lie with one of them in the presence of his companions, whom we have mentioned.

He does not come down from his throne. When he wishes to take a decision, he does so with a shaving bowl. When he wishes to ride, they take his beast to the throne and he mounts from there, and when he wishes to dismount, they lead his horse forward so that he can descend directly onto his throne.

He has a lieutenant who commands the army in his name and charges against the enemy.

This is what I have transmitted from the epistle of Ibn Faḍlān literally and the account has a guarantee, and God reveals that it is true.

7.3 Masʿūdī, *Murūǧ aḏ-ḏahab wa maʿādin al-ǧawhar* "The Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems"

He was born in Baghdad, date unknown (ca. 890), to a family from Kufa. He died in Fusṭāṭ in September 956. He spent his youth in Bagdad; he does not provide us with any information about his education but from the works he composed we can deduce that he received religious, legal and literary training from the best teachers of the time. He was endowed with great intellectual curiosity, teaching himself from books and enriching his knowledge during his long journeys in and beyond the Muslim world. He does not make any mention of his profession, but it is likely that he was an emissary of the Ismāʿīlies.

He travelled widely from 912 to 941 when he began to reside in Egypt, where he composed his first edition of the *Murūǧ aḏ-ḏahab* "The Meadows of Gold" in 943 and which he later revised in 947 and 956. It is calculated that to write this text he must have read more than a hundred works, including Arabic text, translations of Plato, Aristotle and Ptolemy, and Arabic versions of Pahlavi literature.

The *Murūǧ aḍ-ḍahab* has two main parts: the first offers us general information about the Universe and tells us about the history of non-Muslims, contains the sacred history prior to the Prophet, an analysis of India, geographical data about seas and rivers, China, the tribes of Turkey, a list of the kings of Mesopotamia, Persia, Greece, Rome, Byzantium and Egypt, and chapters about black people, Slavs, Gauls and Celts. He then goes on to address the ancient history of Arabia, the various calendars, the monuments of India, Persia and the Slavs, etc. and provides a summary of universal chronology. The second part deals with the history of Islam and only refers to non-Islamic peoples on an exceptional basis.

Edition used: al-Rifāʿī (1989).
Other editions: Barbier de Meynard-Pavet de Courteille (1961–1877), Meyer (1931), Seippel (2005).
References: Dunlop (1971), Hrbek (1957), Lewicki (1951, 1988), Pellat (1999).

7.3.1 The Meadows of Gold *I, p. 172*

This passage comes after the description of the *Jīdān* in the chapter devoted to the description of the Caucasus Mountains and their peoples and kingdoms: the Avars and Khazars and the Turkish and Bulgarian peoples. This chapter follows on from the information provided by the author about the seas.

... وأما مَنْ في بلاده من الجاهلية فأجناس: منهم الصقالبة، والروس، وهم في أحد جانبي هذه المدينة، وَيحرقون موتاهم ودواب ميتهم وآلاته والحلي، وإذا مات الرجل أحرقت معه امرأته وهي في الحياة.

عادة حرق الموتى وسائر حوائجهم

وإن ماتت المرأة لم يحرق الرجل، وإذا مات [منهم] أعزب زوج بعد وفاته، والنساء يرغبن في تحريق أنفسهم لدخولهم عند أنفسهم الجنة ...

This infidel land is inhabited by ethnic groups, among them the Slavs and the Rus'. These are in one of the two parts of the city. They cremate their dead, the beasts of the deceased, his accoutrements and his jewels. When a man dies, they cremate him with his wife and she is alive.

When a woman dies, they do not cremate the man. When a bachelor dies, they marry him to someone after his death. Women beg to be burned alive in order to enter paradise on their own merits.

7.3.2 The Meadows of Gold *II, p. 31 et seq*

This passage appears in the chapter devoted to the Slavs, after the author's description of Sudan.

... وهم أجناس مختلفة وبينهم حروب، ولهم ملوك، ومنهم من ينقاد إلى دين النصرانية إلى رأي اليعقوبية، ومنهم من لا كتاب له ولا ينقاد إلى شريعة، وهم جاهلية لا يعرفون شيئاً من الشرائع ... وجنس يدعى منابن، وملكهم يدعى زنبير، ثم جنس [يقال له سرتين وهو جنس] عند الصقالبة مهيب لعلل يطول ذكرها وأوصاف يكثر شرحها، ونُفْرتهم من ملة ينقادون إليها، ثم جنس يقال له صاصين، ثم جنس يقال له جروانيق، ثم جنس يقال له خشانين، ثم جنس يقال له برانجابين، وما سميناه من أسماء بعض ملوك هذه الأجناس فَسِمَةٌ معروفة لملوكهم، والجنس الذي سميناه المعروف بسرتين يحرقون أنفسهم بالنار إذا مات فيهم الملك والرئس، ويحرقون دوابه، ولهم أفعال مثل أفعال الهند، وقد قدمنا فيما سلف من هذا الكتاب طرفاً من ذكرهم عند ذكرنا لجبل القبخ، والخزر، وأن في بلاد الخزر [من الخزر] خلقاً من الصقالبة والروس، وأنهم يحرقون أنفسهم بالنيران، وهذا الجنس من الصقالبة وغيرهم متصلون بالمشرق، ويعبرون من المغرب.

They are different ethnic groups who are at war and have kings. Among them are those who practise the Christianity of the Jacobite tendency and there are those who have not the book, and do not observe religious law; they are pagans for they know not any aspects of religious laws (...).

There is a tribe called *Manābin* and its king *Zanīr*. There is a tribe which is called *Sartīn* and it is a tribe of the Slavs which is worthy of mention at some length with a rich and detailed explanation and the religious sects which they practice.

There is a tribe called *Sāsīn*, another tribe called *Ǧarwānīq*, another called *Ḫašānīn* and another called *Brānǧābīn*. We have not cited the names of some of the kings of these tribes because their kings have unrecognisable names. The famous tribe which I have mentioned, the *Sartīn*, cremate themselves with fire when the king and the chief die, and burn their beasts. These practices are similar to those of India.

We have already mentioned it previously in this book in passing, when we talked about Mount *Qabaḫ* and the Khazars, that in the land of the *al-ḫazar*, there are Slav and Rus' people, who cremate themselves with fire, and this is the ethnic group of the Slavs. Some arrived from the east and others have crossed from the west.

7.3.3 The Meadows of Gold *II, p. 249ss.*

This passage appears in the chapter devoted to the sacred temples of the Slavs, after the description provided by the author of other temples.

ذكر البيوت المعظمة عند الصقالبة

البيت الأول

كانت في ديار الصقالبة بيوت تعظمها: منها بيت كان لهم في الجبل الذي ذكرت الفلاسفة أنه أحد جبال العلام العالية، وهذا البيت له خبر في كيفية بنائه، وترتيب [أنواع] أحجاره، واختلاف ألوانه، والمخاريق المصنوعة له، [فيه على أعلاه، وما من مطلع الشمس في تلك المخاريق المصنوعة] وما أودع فيه من الجواهر والآثار المرسومة فيه الدالة على الكائنات المستقبلة، وما تُنْذِر به تلك الجواهر من الأحداث قبل كونها، وظهور أصوات من أعاليه لهم، وما كان يلحقهم عند سماع ذلك.

البيت الثاني

وبيت اتخذه بعض ملوكهم على الجبل الأسود، تحيط به مياه عجيبة ذوات ألوان وطعوم مختلفة عامة المنافع، وكان لهم فيه صنم عظيم على صورة رجل قد انحنى على نفسه، وهو شيخ بيده عصا يحرك به عظام الموتى من النواويس، وتحت رجله اليمنى صُوَر أنواع من النمل، وتحت الأخرى غرابيب سود من صور الغُدَاف وغيرها، وصور عجيبة لأنواع من الأحابيش والزنج.

البيت الثالث

وبيت آخر على جبل لهم يحيط به خليج من البحر قد بني بأحجار المرجان الأحمر، وأحجار الزمرد الأخضر، وفي وسطه قبة عظيمة، تحتها صنم [عظيم] أعضاؤه من جواهر أربعة: زمرد أخضر، وياقوت أحمر، وعقيق أصفر، وبلور أبيض، ورأسه من الذهب الأحمر، بإزائه صنم آخر على صورة جارية، وكان يقرب له قرابين ودخن، وكان ينسب هذا البيت إلى حكيم كان لهم في قديم الزمان، وقد أتينا على خبره، وما كان من أمره بأرض الصقالبة، وما أحدث فيهم من الدكوك والحيل والمخاريق المصطنعة التي اجتذب بها قُلُوبهمْ وملك نفوسهم واسترقَّ بها عقولهم مع شراسة أخلاق الصقالبة واختلاف طبائعهم، فيما سلف من كتبنا، والله تعالى ولي التوفيق.

On the venerable temples of the Slavs

First temple
In the cities of the Slavs there are venerable temples. Among these they have a temple on the mountain which philosophy believes to be one of the highest mountains in the world. There is a legend about the construction of this temple, the arrangement of the different types of stone, the alternation of its colours, and the ingenious manufactures present in its highest part, about the conservation in its interior of precious stones and remains on which are engraved signs of future occurrences and about how these precious stones warn of events before they occur and the appearance of voices above them and about the effect produced by listening to these voices.

Second temple
Some of their kings above the Black Mountain took this temple for their own. It is surrounded by marvellous waters of different colours and a variety of foods for general benefit. In the temple they have an enormous idol representing the figure of a man bending over himself. It is an old man holding a sceptre in his hand with which he stirs the bones of the dead in the tombs. Under his right foot there are figures like a kind of ant, and under the other there are black crows represented by the figure of black wings and other surprising figures, like Abyssinians and blacks from East Africa.

Third temple
Another temple is on one of their mountains surrounded by a gulf. It is built of with stones of red coral and stones of green emerald. At the centre there is a venerable room, below which there is a venerable idol made with four different precious stones: green emeralds, red rubies, yellow carnelian and white crystal. Its head is of red gold. Opposite him there is another idol in the shape of a girl and they often bring offerings and mead to it. This temple is dedicated to a wise man of their (of the Slavs) whom they had long ago.

CHAPTER 8

Doubtful Texts

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8.1 Herodotus, *The Histories*

Herodotus is one of the most important Greek historians, considered in the ancient tradition as the father of this literary genre. We do not know too much about his life but we do know that he was born in Halicarnassus on the southwest coast of Asia Minor and that he later lived in Thurii, a Greek colony founded in 444/443 B.C., after undertaking several journeys which must have a major impact on him as a person and a historian. Indeed, he travelled to Egypt, and from there he set off for the region of Phoenicia and Mesopotamia. He was also in Olbia, a colony located on the coast of the Black Sea, from where he was able to visit the region occupied by the Scythians. He also spent some time in Athens, the Greek cultural centre par excellence of the era, as we must not forget that this was that city's moment of splendour under the government of Pericles.

Herodotus is the author of *The Histories*, a work in ten books, which focusses mainly on the Greco-Persian wars, i.e. the conflicts between the Persians and the Greeks which marked that point in history in the Eastern Mediterranean. However, Herodotus did not confine himself to narrating contemporary facts but, in order to understand the causes of the conflict between the two sides, he traced events back as far as the Trojan War and other mythical episodes which served as precursors to the war which he himself was a witness to. Throughout the work, Herodotus demonstrates great interest in the ethnography of the peoples he mentions, which frequently leads him to embark on long digressions in which he offers us an overview of the customs and character of the peoples in question, though often from a contemporany perspective reflecting an excessive taste for the anecdotic and the fabulous.

Edition used: Rosén (1987).
Other editions: Hudé (1908), Legrand (1949), Meyer (1931: 80).
References: Corcella-Medaglia-Fraschetti (1993), Holzer (2006: 25–26), How-Wells (1912).

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8.1.1 The Histories *4.105.1–2*

Book IV of *The Histories* focusses on the Scythians. These, in order to confront the Persian King Darius, elicit the help of their neighbours, which include the Neuri. It is difficult to reliably identify the Neuri as a Slav people. The passage is interesting, however, because if they are indeed a Slav people, this would be the earliest information we have about their religion.

Νευροὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν χρέωνται Σκυθικοῖσι, γενεῇ δὲ μιῇ πρότερον σφέας τῆς Δαρείου στρατηλασίης κατέλαβε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν χώρην πᾶσαν ὑπὸ ὀφίων· ὄφιας γάρ σφι πολλοὺς μὲν ἡ χώρη ἀνέφαινε, οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες ἄνωθέν σφι ἐκ τῶν ἐρήμων ἐπέπεσον, ἐς ὃ πιεζόμενοι οἴκησαν μετὰ Βουδίνων τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἐκλιπόντες. κινδυνεύουσι δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι γόητες εἶναι. λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ κατοικημένων ὡς ἔτεος ἑκάστου ἅπαξ τῶν Νευρῶν ἕκαστος λύκος γίνεται ἡμέρας ὀλίγας καὶ αὖτις ὀπίσω ἐς τὠυτὸ κατίσταται. ἐμὲ μέν νυν ταῦτα λέγοντες οὐ πείθουσι, λέγουσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἧσσον, καὶ ὀμνῦσι δὲ λέγοντες.

The Neuri[1] have Scythian customs and a generation before Darius' campaign they were obliged to abandon the entire country because of snakes. Indeed, the country produced many snakes, but the majority of them came to the Neuri from above, from the uninhabited regions,[2] which meant they had no choice but to live with the Budini[3] after abandoning their own land. These men may have been witches,[4] because the Scythians and the Greeks who live in Scythia say of them that once a year each of the Neuri is transformed into a wolf for several days before regaining their normal appearance.[5] Those

1 They were located along the upper course of the Dnieper and the Dniester.

2 It is interesting to note how beliefs related to snakes and which could be related to them are documented among the Slav peoples. The entry of the *PVL* corresponding to the year 1091 (see *supra* § 4.1.20.) talks about the prodigy of a great snake falling from the sky. Or, for example, among the Russians there is documented evidence of a belief that meteorites bring with them an abundance of dragons (cf. Reiter 1973: 181, *s.u. Hauskobolde*).

3 This people must have been located in the region of Saratov, between the Don and Volga rivers, and therefore not too near the Neuri. Herodotus talks about them a bit later on in the same book (4.8). Attempts have also been made to identify this people as Slav, but this is highly implausible (Gojda 1991: 8, Holzer 2006: 25–26).

4 The term used by Herodotus is γόης, which refers above all to the magic use of the word, i.e. the use of spells and enchantments.

5 The reference to the annual transformation of the men into wolves could be understood in relation to the festivities held in honour of the god Veles, on the so-called *Velja noc*, when the youths dress up and wear masks, and are called *koledari* or *vucari* i.e. 'wolfmen'. However, as Corcella (in Corcella-Medaglia-Fraschetti 1993: 317) rightly points out, even though it has been done traditionally, the argument of lycanthropy cannot be used to identify

who say this do not convince me, but that is what they say, no more and no less, and they swear it is true.

8.2 Theophanes Continuatus

The name *Theophanes Continuatus* or *Scriptores post Teophanem* encompasses a collection of Byzantine chronicles which have been preserved in a single manuscript from the 11th century: Vat. Gr. 167 (Kazhdan 1991 III: 2061–2062). This collection recounts the history of the Byzantine Empire between the years 813 and 961 and consists of four independent parts. The events narrated in the fragment in question belong to the first part, which deals with the period from 813 to 867. Its anonymous author considers himself to be continuing the work of Theophanes the Confessor (c. 760–817), a Byzantine historian and saint whose *Chronography* covers the period from 785 to 813 (Kazhdan 1991 III: 2063). However, it differs from the latter work in that *Chronography* is not a composed in an annals format but is a series of biographies of emperors. It was probably commissioned by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913–959), so it would have been written in the 10th century and thus reflects the ideology of the Macedonian dynasty, praising the generals and criticising the merchants. Furthermore, he proves to be especially hostile towards the figure of Leo V the Armenian (813–820), to whose reign the fragment studied corresponds, due to his restitution of Iconoclasm in 815 (Kazhdan 1991 II: 1209–1210). Leo V was the son of Bardas, a patrician of Armenian origin. He served the emperors Nikephoros I and Michael I, with the latter appointing him governor of the *thema Armeniakon*. He was acclaimed emperor in 813 after the revolt against his predecessor Michael I as a result of the defeat of the Byzantine forces by the troops of the Bulgarian Khan Krum at the Battle of Versinikia, in Thrace. The sudden death of Krum, who was succeeded by his son Omurtag (814–c. 831), permitted a cessation of hostilities and the signing of a 30-year peace treaty between Leo V and Omurtag, probably in the year 816 (Kazhdan 1991,3:1526). The fragment below refers to the said peace treaty.

Edition used: Bekker (1838: 31,10–19).

References: Dujčev (1950: 14, n. 49), Kazhdan (1991, 2: 1209–1210), (1991, 3: 1526, 2061–2063), Zlatarski (1918).

this people as Slav, because lycanthropy is equally attested to among the the Baltic and Germanic peoples, as well as other peoples of Antiquity.

8.2.1 *Theophanes Continuatus,* De Leone Armenio *1.20*

In the preceding lines, the chronicler criticises the laxity of Leo V's government, which led to the corruption of the faith and ungodliness. By way of example, he mentions the signing of the 30-year peace treaty with the Bulgarians, which, according to him, was ratified by the pagan custom of performing sacrifices with dogs instead of using Christian vows. This custom may have had a non-Slavic origin and could be attributed to the Proto-Bulgarians, a people of Turkish origin who constituted the dominant élite in the primitive Bulgarian state. For that reason, we have decided to include this fragment in the *Doubtful Texts* section. Furthermore, Dujčev (1950: 14, n. 49) considers part of this passage to be a biblical paraphrase,[6] but we do not agree with his assessment.

20. (…) καὶ γὰρ τὰς τριακοντούτας σπονδὰς τοῖς Οὔννοις δὴ τούτοις τοῖς καλουμένοις Βουλγάροις ἐνωμότως ποιῶν καὶ εἰρηνικὰς συμβάσεις καταπραττόμενος, ἐπεὶ δι' ὅρκων ταὐτας ἔμελλε βεβαιοῦν τε καὶ ἐμπεδοῦν, οὐ τούτοις δὴ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐχρῆτο, θεὸν καὶ οὐρανίους δυνάμεις ἢ τὴν κατὰ σάρκα γενομένην μητέρα Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν λεγομένων τε καὶ πραττομένων ἐφόρους καὶ μάρτυρας· ἀλλ' οἷά τις ψυχὴ βάρβαρος θεοσεβείας ἀπῳκισμένη, κύνας μέν, καὶ οἷς τὰ ἄνομα ἔθνη θύουσιν, ἐχρῆτο μάρτυσι τῶν πραττομένων καὶ ἀπέτεμνεν καὶ διὰ στόματος ἄγειν οὐκ ἐμυσάττετο εἰς βεβαίωσιν, (…)

For in the the thirty-year truce with the Huns, whom they call Bulgarians, when making the peace treaty under oath, when they were going to confirm it and ratify it under oath, our men did not make use of what inspectors and witnesses say, i.e. of God and the heavenly powers or of the Mother of Christ and God in the flesh, but in the same way as a Barbarian soul which lacks mercy and just like the ungodly heathens perform sacrifices, they made use of dogs as witnesses to what they did and they opened their mouths without being horrified at what they were confirming (…).

8.3 Theophylact of Ohrid, *Martyrdom of the Fifteen Saints and Illustrious Martyrs*

Theophylact was born around the middle of the 11th century, probably in Euripus (Euboea). He was educated in Constantinople and had the neo-Platonic

6 1 Cor. 10:20: "But I say, that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God".

Michael Psellos as a teacher. He was deacon of the Hagia Sophia, where he also taught classes in rhetoric. He acquired great prestige due to his intellectual training and became the tutor of Constantine Ducas, son of Emperor Michael VII. In around 1078 he was appointed Patriarch of Bulgaria with his seat in Ohrid.

After his appointment as Archbishop of Ohrid in around 1078, the Greek cleric Theophylact became the agent of the Byzantine policy of assimilating the peoples of the Balkans into the governmental and cultural structure of the Empire, although he strived to maintain the independence of his see with regard to that of Constantinople.

His voluminous correspondence constitutes the best-preserved source of information regarding the situation of the Bulgarian Church at that time and its relations with the Greek world. He is also attributed with the Greek lives of Saint Clement and Saint Naum of Ohrid.

In the work which interests us, he narrates the martyrdom of fifteen Christians in the region of Tiberiopolis, "which the Bulgarians call *Strumitza*", in the time of Julian the Apostate. He also refers to later episodes in the history of Bulgaria.

Edition used: Migne (1883: 189).

References: von Arnim (1933), Beševliev (1929, 1939), Dujčev (1950), Grumel (1937), Ivanov (1931), Mullett (1997), Zlatarski (1927).

8.3.1 Martyrdom of the Fifteen Saints and Illustrious Martyrs *28*

In this passage, Theophylact recounts how the Bulgarians, after crossing the River Danube, settled in the territory of the former Macedonia, reaching as far as Thessalonica, and in part of Thrace. He describes their religious practices but, although he identifies this people as Bulgarians, we cannot say with certainty that we are dealing with a reference to the religion of the Slav peoples, though it is quite possible.

Ἐκ ποδῶν δὲ γενομένου τούτου τοῦ ἔθνους, ἕτερον ἐπεισῆλθεν ἀνομώτατον καὶ ὠμότατον, οἱ λεγόμενοι Βούλγαροι ἐκ τῶν τῆς Σκυθίας μερῶν, ποταμὸν Ἴστρον οὕτω λεγόμενον διαπεράσαντες, καὶ βαρεῖα μάστιξ παρὰ Θεοῦ ἀφεθὲν τοῖς τῆς Δύσεως μέρεσιν. Οἳ Χριστοῦ μὲν ὄνομα οὐδ᾽ ἤδεσαν· Σκυθικῇ δὲ ἀφροσύνῃ δουλεύοντες, ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἄστροις· εἰσὶ δὲ, οἳ καὶ κυσὶ θυσίας προτέφερον. Οὕτως ἐπεσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδία, καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τὴν κτίσιν παρὰ τὸν Κτίσαντα.

Having got rid of that people,[7] another ungodly and cruel one arrived, those called Bulgarians, from the region of Scythia,[8] who crossed the river called Istro[9] and were a harsh scourge sent by God for the western regions. They knew not the name of Christ, but driven by Scythian folly they served the sun, the moon and the other heavenly bodies;[10] some of them even offered sacrifices to dogs. So blind were their foolish hearts and they worshipped creation instead of the Creator.[11]

8.4 Saxo Grammaticus

On the life and work of Saxo Grammaticus, see 2.28.

8.4.1 Deeds of the Danes *14.30.6*

The troops of Henry of Saxony, allied to those of King Valdemar I, are surprised on the battlefield due to the fact that they had not prepared their strategy sufficiently. The Duke, irritated by this, embarks on a fight without quarter, which so terrorises the people that they abandon their houses and burn their cities rather than surrender them to the enemy.

Walogastini quoque, finitimarum urbium, quarum excidio terrebantur, exemplum secuti, clandestino traiectu fluminis cum uxoribus ac liberis municipium deserunt, penates dumtaxat rebus uacuos hostili saeuitiae relicturi (…). *Oznenses quoque, plus ex aliarum urbium fortuna timoris quam ex suis moenibus fiduciae capientes, ut sibi uicinarum ciuitatum, quarum formidinem sequebantur, exemplo consulerent, urbem, ne ab hostibus coli posset, desertam incendunt, penates suos igni quam hosti relinquere praeoptantes.*

The people of Walgost[12] also followed the example of the neighbouring cities, whose destruction had terrified them and, crossing the river in secret, they

7 A reference to the Ὄμβροι, one of the names by which the Avars are known in Greek sources.

8 The region between the Volga and the Danube, whose name is related to that of the old Iranian settlers who lived there, the Scythians.

9 I.e. the Danube.

10 The information recalls the account in the *Opatovice Homiliary* (see *supra* § 2.14.1.), though the latter does not mention the cult of dogs.

11 Ro. 1:25.

12 Wolgast (Wologost, as it appears in the statutes of Pomerania, Wolugoszcz in Polish), situated on the main mouth of the the Gulf of Szczecin where it runs into the Baltic, on the banks of the River Peene, was a Pomeranian outpost facing the territory of the Lutici.

abandoned the city with their women and children, leaving only their empty homes[13] to the cruelty of the enemy (…) And also the inhabitants of Usedom,[14] more filled with fear due to the fate of the other cities than with confidence in their fortifications, and following the example of the neighbouring cities, whose terror they also shared, burned their abandoned city so that the enemies could not inhabit it, preferring to surrender their homes to the fire rather than to the enemy.

8.5 Jan Długosz

For an introduction to 8.5. Jan Długosz, see 2.46.

8.5.1 Annals or Chronicles of the Illustrious Kingdom of Poland, *1*

Długosz narrates the legendary origins of Poland. The following text has been included in the *Doubtful Texts* section due to the fact that the mythology presented by Długosz appears to be more an imitation of the humanistic taste for the Greek and Roman pantheon. The majority of names of the gods which he includes are invented.

Constat autem Polonos ab initio suae originis idololatras extitisse, et pluralitatem deorum et dearum, uidelicet Iouem, Martem, Venerem, Plutonem, Dianam et Cererem, caeterarum gentium et nationum errore lapsos credidisse, coluisseque. Appellabant autem Iouem Yeszam lingua sua; a quo uelut deorum summo, omnia temporalia bona, et omnes tan aduersos, quam felices successus sibi credebant praestari, cui et prae caeteris deitatibus amplior impendebatur honos, frequentioribusque colebatur sacris. Martem uocabant Lyadam, quem praesulem et deum belli poetarum figmenta pronuntiant. Triumphos de hostibus, et animos feroces ab illo sibi precabantur conferri, asperrima illum placantes cultura. Venerem nuncupabant Dzydzilelya, quam nuptiarum deam existimantes, prolis foecunditatem et filiorum atque filiarum ab ea sibi deposcebant numerositatem donari. Plutonem cognominabant Nya, quem inferorum deum et animarum, dum corpora linquunt, seruatorem et custodem opinabantur, postulabant se ab eo post mortem in meliores inferni sedes deduci, et illis delubrum primarium in

13 It appears that here *penates* does not have any religious connotations but is rather a synonym for "house, private house" even the second time it is mentioned, where *penates* could be interpreted as "household gods". It seems to be simply a metonymic use on the part of Saxo.

14 Situated on one of the islands which close the Gulf of Szczecin, it was the stronghold from which the garrison of the Prince of Pomerania governed the island.

Gnesnensi ciuitate, ad quod ex omnibus locis fiebat congresssus, fabricarunt. Dianae quoque, quea superstitione gentili femina et uirgo existimabatur, a matronis et uirginibus serta simulacro suo offerebantur. Ceres a colonis et agriculturam exercentibus, frumentorum grana sacris certatim ingerentibus colebatur. Habebatur et apud illos pro deo Temperies, quem sua lingua appellabant Pogoda, quasi bonae aurae largitor; item deus uitae, quam uocabant Zywye. Et quoniam imperium Lechitarum in regione uastissimas siluas et nemora continente fundari contigerat, quos Dianam a ueteribus inhabitare et illorum nactam esse imperium proditum fuerat, Ceres autem mater et dea frugum, quarum satione regio indigebat, fingebatur: Diana lingua eorum Dzewana, et Ceres Marzyana uocatae, apud illos in praecipuo cultu et ueneratione habitae sunt. His autem diis, deabusque a Polonis delubra, simulacra, flamines et sacra instituta, atque luci et in praecipuis frequentioribusque locis sacra et ueneratio habita, solennitates cum sacrificiis institutae, ad quas mares et feminae cum paruulis conuentientes, diis suis uictimas et hostias de pecoribus et pecudibus, nonnunquam de hominibus in praelio captis offerebant, qui confusam ac popularem deorum placandam multitudinem libaminibus credebant; in eorumque honorem ludi certis anni temporibus decreti et instaurati, ad quos peragendos multitudo utriusque sexus ex uicis et coloniis in urbes conuenire pro diebus institutis iussa, ludos huiusmodi impudicis, lasciuisque decantationibus et gestibus, manuumque plausu et delicata fractura, caeterisque uenereis cantibus, plausibus et actibus, deos, deasque praefatas repetitis inuocando oberuationibus depromebat. Horum ludorum ritum et nonnullas eorum reliquias Polonos, quamuis ab annis quingentis Christianitatits cultum constat professos, usque in praesentia tempora annis singulis in Pentecostes diebus repetere, et ueterum superstitionum suarum gentilium annuali ludo, qui idiomate eorum Stado, id est grex appellatur, quod greges hominum ad illum peragendum conueniant, et in cuneos seu greges diuisi illum tumidi ingenii et seditiosi, in uoluptates, segnitiem et comessationes proni, peragunt, meminisse.

It is well known that the Poles were worshippers of idols since the origin of their race, and that they believed in numerous gods and goddesses, such as Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Pluto, Diana and Ceres, deceived by the error of other peoples and nations. Jupiter they called Yeszam in their tongue; they believed that he, as the most important god, was responsible for all favourable meteorological phenomena, and for everything which happened to them, both negative and fortunate. To him they also dedicated the highest honours compared with the other deities, and they performed sacrifices to him more frequently. Mars they called Lyadam, whom the fictions of the poets proclaim the patron and god of war. To him they prayed for victory over their enemies and a fierce heart, and they sought his favour with the cruellest of cults. Venus they called Dzy-

dzilelya, and, believing her to be the goddess of marriage, they prayed to her for fertile descendance and an abundance of sons and daughters. Pluto they called Nya, whom they considered to be the watcher and guardian of the gods of hell and of the souls after they had departed their bodies, and they hoped that, after dying, he would lead them to a better place in hell; and in honour of all of them they built a first-class temple in the city of Gniezno, where people from all over assembled. Married women and girls also offered garlands of flowers to the statue of Diana, who was considered a woman and a virgin by pagan superstition. Ceres was worshipped by the colonists and by those who lived from agriculture, and they offered her abundant wheat grain in their sacrifices. Amongst them they also considered Good Weather to be a god, which in their tongue they called Pogoda, with the pretext that he provided them with good wind; there was also the god of life, whom they called Zywye. And came to pass that the empire of the Lechici[15] had settled in a region which contained immense forests and woods. In these, according to what had been handed down by their ancestors, lived Diana, and she had obtained her power from them; they imagined Ceres as a mother and the goddess of cereals, the sowing of which was much needed by the region. Diana, called Dzewana in their tongue, and Ceres, or Marzyana, were especially worshipped by them. To these gods and goddesses, the Poles dedicated temples, statues, priests and offerings, and holy days with sacrifices, attended by men and women with their small children to offer them sacrificial and expiatory sacrifices of sheep and heads of cattle, and sometimes of men taken prisoner in battle, for they believed that such a bewildering multitude of gods would be placated with libations. Celebrations were decreed and established in their honour at certain times of the year, for which it was ordered that a multitude of both sexes from the villages and the colonies should assemble in the cities and deliver themselves over to the celebrations with singing and lewd and lascivious gestures, and other songs, praises and acts dedicated to Venus, invoking the above-mentioned gods and goddesses with repeated chanting. The Poles, although it is recorded that they have professed the Christian faith for five hundred years, still repeat the ritual of these celebrations and other relics every year on the day of Pentecost, and relive their old pagan superstitions in an annual festival, called *Stado* in their language, which means group, because groups of people come together to celebrate it and, divided into teams or groups, they celebrate it, with inflamed and seditious minds, given over to every kind of pleasure, vice and orgy.[16]

15 The descendants of Lekh, i.e. the Poles.

16 The celebration of pagan rituals on Pentecost has a clear parallel in the Rusalias, cf. texts 1.11.1., 4.1.14., 4.12.1., 4.18.1., 4.28.2. and 4.42.1.

8.6 *Life of Constantine the Philosopher*

For an introduction, see 3.1.

8.6.1 Vita Constantini *6.10–13*

This fragment corresponds to the passage which recounts Constantine's mission in the lands of the "Hagrites, called Saracens" (Angelov-Kodov 1973: 66, 93). This mission probably took place in the Arab Caliphate of Samarra in the year 851. In the preceding lines, Constantine's companions ask him about the images of devils which were painted on the doors of the houses of the Christians in those lands. According to Dvornik (1933:91), the placing of wooden devils on the doors of the Christians was one of a series of repressive measures implemented by Caliph Mutawakkil against Jews and Christians in his edicts of the years 849–850. Even so, we should not discard a possible connection with Slavic paganism, bearing in mind that the placing of the images of idols over doorways is also attested to among the Slavs.

fol. 725v.13–20 (…) бѣ́хоу бѡ ѡ҃бразъı бѣсо́вьскъıе напи́сали вънѹтрьнѭ҆ю на две-рехь въсѣ́ хрїстїа́нь, йгрѝ твóреще и҆ роу́гающе се и҆ въпрóсише же фїлосо́фа гл҃юще. Мóжеши ли фїлосо́фе ра́зоумѣти, что҆ сѣ҃ знаменїе се. Ѻнь же ре́че. бѣсо́вьскъıе ѡ҃бразъı ви́ждоу. и҆ мнѭ҆ ꙗ҆ко хрїстїа́ни тоу̀ въноу́трь жи́воуть. Ѻни же не мо́гоуще жи́ти съ ни́ми, бѣ́жеть вънѣ҆ ѿ҆ нихь. а҆ йде́же се́го знаме́нїа нѣ҆ вънѹтрьнѭ҆ю, съ тѣ́ми соу́ть въноу́трь·

On the outside, above the doors of all the Christians, they drew images of mocking devils. They asked the Philosopher: "Can you understand, Philosopher, that this is a sign?". He said: "I see images of devils and I think that Christians live here. They (the devil) cannot live with them (the Christians) and escape from them by going outside. But where these signs are not to be found on the outside, they are inside with them (the inhabitants)".

8.6.2 Vita Constantini *12*

This fragment (Angelov-Kodov 1973: 79–80, 103) narrates how, on his return from his mission in the land of the Khazars in 861, Constantine the Philosopher visits the people of *Ful'*, near Cherson. The Byzantine missionary manages to persuade them to chop down and burn the sacred tree which they worshipped and which, according to the *Vita*, they called *Aleksandr'*. This town has been identified with the *Phoulai* mentioned by Patriarch Nikolas I Mystikos in his *Notitiae Episcopatuum* and was located on the east of the Crimean Peninsula (Zuckerman 2006: 224–226). This same source situates the settlement

of the Khazar tribe of the *Khotziroi* next to *Phoulai* in around the year 800. It is therefore possible that the townspeople of *Phoulai* were also of Khazar origin. However, given that the ethnic origin of that town is not clear, and bearing in mind that the cult of trees is widely attested to among the Slavs, we have decided to include this fragment of VC in the *Doubtful Texts* section.

fol. 732r.26–42 (...) Бѣше же въ фи́лїцѣ[17] ѣ҆зъ́ицѣ доу́бь веле́и, съра́сль же се съ ѵ҆рѣ́шнюю. и҆ по҃ ни́м҃же тр҃ѣ́вы тво́рахѫ. нари́цающе то́го и҆мене́ а҆леѯа́н҃дрь. же́н҃скомѫ по́лоу не да́юще пристоу́пити къ нє́мѫ, ни къ тр҃ѣ́ва҆ ѣ҆го҃. Слъ́ішав҃ же тѫ҃ фїлосо́фь. не лѣ́ни се потроу́дити се до ни҃. и҆ ста́вь по́сѣ҆ръ и҆хъ, гл҃а къ ни́мь. Ѣ҆ллини соу́ть вѣ́ѵнѫю моу́кѫ наслѣ́дили, кланя́вше се нб҃оу и҆ земли҆ а҆ко б҃оу. та́ко и҆ въса́кои тва́ри. и҆ въ҆ї҆ иже са кланя́ете се дрѣ́воу хоу́дѣи бе́ци. Ѣ҆же і҃е го́тово на съжеже́нїе, ка́ко и҆мате и҆зъ́быти вѣ́ѵнаго ѡ҆гня. Ѿвѣща́ше же о҆ни҃. мъ҆ї се́го нѣ́смъ҆ нау́е́ли ѿ нн҃а тво́рити, н҃ъ ѿ ѿц҃ь Ѣ҆смъ҆ї прѣ҆ѥ́ли. и҆ ѿ то́го о҆брѣ́та҆ѥ́ въ҆а҆ прошени҃ї на́ша. дѣ́жь наи҆па́че, и҆ и҆наа мънѡ́гаа. и҆ ка́ко сїѐ мъ҆ї съ҆тво́римь, Ѣ҆г҃о҃ н҃ѣ́ дрѣ́зновль никто́же съ҆тво́рити. а҆ще бѡ҆ дрѣ́знеть кт҃о сѐ съ҆тво́рити, тогда́ же съмры́ть оу҆зри́ть. и҆ не и҆мамъ кто́моу дѣ́жда ви́дѣти до ко́нѵинъ. Ѿвѣща, къ ни́мь фїлосо́фь. Бь҃ о҆вѣ́ва въ книгѣ҆ гл҃ѥть. а҆ въ҆ї ка́(fol. 732v.1–18)ко ѿмѣ́цете се ѣ҆го҃. и҆саї́а бѡ҆ ѿ ли́ца г҃нѣ въпїе́ть гл҃ѥ. Сѐ гре́дѫ а҆зъ събра́ти въсѐ ѣ҆зы́кы. и҆ прїи́дѫть и҆ ѯзре́ть сла́вѫ мою҃. и҆ ѡ҆ста́влю на ни҃ зна́менїе. и҆ послю҆ ѿ ни҃ спсе́мъ҆ы҆ѣ въ ѣ҆зы́кы. въ ѳа́р҃сь. и҆ въ фоу́дь,[18] и҆ лоу́дь, и҆ мосо́хъ. и҆ ѳове́ль. и҆ въ Ѣ҆лла́доу. и҆ въ остро́вы да́лнѥ, и҆же нѣ́соу҆ слы́шали и҆мени моего҃. и҆ въ҆звѣ́стеть сла́вѫ мою҃ въ ѣ҆зы́цѣхь, гл҃ѥть г҃ь въсѐдрь҆житель. и҆ пакы҆. Сѐ а҆зъ послю҆ риѳы́твы, и҆ ло́вце мнѡ́гы. и҆ ѿ хлѣ́мь, и҆ ѿ ска́ль ка́менны҆ї и҆зло́вет҃ въ҆ї҆. Позна́ите бра́тїе б҃а съ҆тво́ршаго въ҆ї҆. Сѐ ѐѵг҃лїе но́ваго за́вѣта б҃жїа, въ нь҆же се ѐсте и҆ кр҃тили. и҆ та́ко сла́дкъ҆ыими словесы҆ оу҆вѣща́вь и҆хъ, повел҆ѣ и҆мь дрѣ́во посѣ́ци и҆ съжѐци. покло́н҃ же се ста҆рѣ҆и́шина и҆хь. и҆ ш҃ь ло́бза с҃тое Ѐѵг҃лїе. та́кожѐ и҆ въсы҆. Свѣ́це же вѣ́ли прїе́мше ѿ фїлосо́фа. и҆ по́юще и҆доше къ дрѣ́воу. и҆ възы́мь сѣ́кыроу. и҆ три́десѐ и҆ трикра́ть оу҆да́ривь, повел҆ѣ въсѣ́мь сѣ́ци, и҆ иско́ренити ѣ҆го҃ и҆ съжѐци. въ тоу҆ же нѡ҆щь а҆вїе ѿ ба҃ дѣ҆жь бъ҆сть, и҆ оу҆по́и землю҃. и҆ съ ра́достїю ве́лїею похва́лише ба҃. и҆ весе́ли се о҆ се́мь бь҃ ѕ҆ѣлѡ҆.

17 фи́лїцѣ / фи́лїсцѣ / фи́льстѣ are the forms that can be found in most of the manuscripts (Angelov-Kodov 1973: 79, 116). The variants фоульсцѣ (Angelov-Kodov 1973: 103) and фул҆сцѣ (Grivec-Tomšić 1960: 126), closer to the Greek toponym Phoulai, appear only in some late copies of the VC.

18 Most of the manuscripts show the form фѣль (Angelov-Kodov 1973: 116). The variant фоудь of Vladislav the Grammarian's Sbornik seems to have been corrected following the form that is shown in the Septuagint (Kantor 1983: 92, n. 85).

In the town of Fil[19] there was a large holm oak[20] which had grown alongside a cherry tree, beneath which sacrifices were performed. They called it Aleksandr,[21] and they did not permit the feminine sex to approach either the tree or their sacrifices. On hearing this, the Philosopher did not hesitate to journey there and, standing among them, he spoke thus: "The Greeks went to eternal torment for worshipping the sky and earth like a God, and all creatures. Therefore you, who worship a tree, an insignificant creature which is easily burned, how will you be able to free yourselves from the eternal fire?". They answered him: "We have not begun to do this now but inherited it from our parents, and thanks to that all of our prayers are answered, especially that there be rain and many other things. And how can we do what none of our people dares to do? If anyone dared to do it, he would face death and furthermore we would never see the rain again". The Philosopher answered them: "God speaks to you in the Scriptures, and you, how can you reject him? For Isaiah exclaimed from the face of the Lord, and said: "I shall come to unite all the tribes and all the tongues, which shall come to see my glory, and I shall leave them a sign, and I shall send survivors from among them to all the nations, to Thars and to Fud,[22] Lud, Mosokh, Thovel, to Hellas and the distant islands, which have not heard my name, and they shall proclaim my glory to the nations",[23] says the Almighty Lord. And again: "Behold, I shall send many fishers and hunters, and

19 A textual variant of the toponym *Fulъ*, which would correspond with the town of Phoulai on the Crimean Peninsular, as attested to by historical sources; cf. Izmirlieva (2003: 330–332), Zuckerman (2006: 224–226).

20 The word *dǫbъ* in Old Slavonic and in the majority of modern Slavic languages, designates both the holm oak and the oak.

21 Dujčev (1951: 108–109, 1963a:103) believes that the name of the tree, *Aleksandr'*, comes from the hypothetical Greek writings of Cyril on which the author of the *Vita* based his work. To follow his rather complicated line of argument, those alleged writings employed the Greek adjective Ἀλέξανδρος "defending men". And a poor comprehension on the part of the author of the *Vita* led him to think this was a proper noun. In Dujčev's opinion, this explanation is also supported by the fact that this tree was prohibited to the female sex. However, other authors also point to a possible connection between the name of the tree and Alexander the Great (Angelov-Kodov 1973: 153, n. 3).

22 As we have already clarified in the previous footnote, the minority variant *Fudъ* corresponds to the Septuagint form *Fud*. For its part, the majority variant *Fulъ* would be a combination of this Septuagint from and the original Hebrew form *Pul*. This led Minns (1925: 94–95) to suggest that Constantine-Cyril had sufficient knowledge of Hebrew to use the most insignificant variants for his own purposes. In other words, Constantine cheated by making the inhabitants of *Phoulai* believe that their town was mentioned by the prophet Isaiah. It was, however, for a good cause: to persuade them to abandon their pagan practices.

23 Isa. 66:18–20.

they shall hunt you from every hill and out of the caves in the rocks".[24] Know, brother, the God who created you. Behold the Gospel of the New Testament of God, in which you too have been baptised". In this way, after convincing them with sweet words, he urged them to cut down the tree and burn it. Their chief leaned forward and went to kiss the Gospel, and all did the same. They were given white torches by the Philosopher and went towards the tree singing. He (the Philosopher) took an axe and, after striking it thirty-three times, ordered them all to cut it down, tear it up from the roots and burn it. That same night it rained straight away thanks to God, thereby watering the ground, and they praised God with great joy, and God was much pleased.

8.7 *Tale of Bygone Years* (*PVL*)

For an extensive introduction, see 4.1.

8.7.1 PVL *col. 164*

The chronicler is recounting the fights between the Rurikid princes. Suddenly, in the year 1065 (6573), he introduces several references to natural phenomena. In the selection of texts presented here we have chosen not to include the passage on portents related to natural phenomena as we consider that, strictly speaking, they do not provide information about pre-Christian beliefs. However, we have made an exception in the following passage, because it contains the first reference in the *PVL* (the next will be in 1115) to the popular explanation of the reasons for eclipses: the sun or the moon were devoured; the *PVL* does not specify by what or by whom. There was a belief among the Serbs attested to since the 13th century that the *vukodlak*, i.e. wolfman or vampire, devoured the moon or the sun.[25]

прѣ^A^ симь же временемь и сл҃нце премѣнисѧ. и не бы^ѣ^ свѣтло. но акы мц^ѣ^ь бы^ѣ^. егоже невгласи гл҃ютъ. снѣдаемꙋ сꙋщю.

Before this time the sun had been transformed, and did not shine,[26] but became like the moon,[27] and the ignorant said it had been devoured.

24 Jer. 16:16.

25 Cf. Perkowski (1989); Hubbs (1988) associates this with Baltic folkloric beliefs. Gura (1997) points out the relationship between the wolf and the creature which, in Eastern Slavi popular beliefs, devours the moon.

26 Modified phrase from the translation by García de la Puente (2006).

27 There was a solar eclipse on 19th April 1064 (Likhačëv 1950, 2: 395).

8.7.2 PVL *234–235*

In the year 1096 (6604) after recounting the Polovtsian attack in the area around Kiev and especially on the Kiev Monastery of the Caves, the author compares the Polovtsians with one of the peoples of the sons of Ismael, after which, according to what he says, at the end of times the unclean peoples trapped in the mountain by Alexander the Great shall emerge from their prison. Then comes the following passage, in which the chronicler tells a story which he heard from the mouth of Gjuriata Rogovič of a people who lived trapped in the mountains beyond the most northern and remote lands of Rus'. Referring to the authority of Methodius of Patara, the chronicler identifies the people of the mountains with the unclean peoples imprisoned in the north by Alexander the Great. The passage about the peoples imprisoned in the mountains, speakers of an unintelligible language, noisy and who exchange leather for weapons, is one of the most intriguing of the *PVL*.

Се же хощю сказати ѣже слышаˣ прежˇ сиˣ· д̄· лѣᵀ· ѣже сказа ми гюратꙗ рогоⷡ вичь· новгородець· гл̄а сице ѣко послаˣ wтрокъ свои в печеру люди ѣже суть дань дающе новугороду· и пришедшю отроку моему к нимᴹ· и w̃тудꙋ иде въ югру· югра же людье есть ѣзыкъ нѣмъ· и сѣдать с самоѣдью на полуночныхˣ странаˣ· югрᴬ же рекоша wтроку моему дивьно мы находихоᴹ чюдо· егоже нѣ есмы слышали прежˇ сиˣ лѣᵀ· се же третьее лѣᵀ почꙗ быти· суть горы заидуче лукꙋ моря· имже высота ако до нб̄се· и в горахˣ тѣˣ кличь великъ и говорѣ· и сѣкуть гору хотꙗще высѣчисꙗ· и в горѣ тои просѣчено wконце мало и тудꙋ молвать· и есть не разуⷡ мѣти ѣзыку ихъ· но кажють на желѣзо и помавають рукою просꙗще желѣза· и ꙗще кто дасть имъ ножь ли· ли секиру· дають скорою противу· есть же путь до горъ тѣхъ не проходиᴹ пропастьми· снѣгоᴹ и лѣсоᴹ· тѣм же не доходиᴹ ихъ всеⷡ гда· есть же и подаль на полуночии· мнѣ же рекшю к гюратѣ си суть людье заклепении алексанꙉроᴹ македоньскыᴹ црᴹь· ꙗкоᶰ сказаютъ о нихˣ медоди папа риᴹскыи·

Behold, I wish to tell you what I heard four years ago from Gjuriata Rogovič, he of Novgorod, saying: "I shall send my servant to the Pecherski,[28] a people which pays tribute to Novgorod. And after having gone to them, my servant travelled from there to the Ugrians". The Ugrians are a people who speak in an incomprehensible tongue, and they are neighbours of the Samoyeds in the northern lands. The Ugrians said to my servant: "We have discovered an amazing prodigy which we had never heard of before, and this is the third year since it began to

28 The Pecherski and Ugrians were Finno-Ugric tribes on the shores of the White Sea.

occur: there are some mountains which jut out into an inlet in the sea, tall as the sky, and in those mountains there is much shouting and voices. And they chip at the mountain wishing to open a path, and in that mountain a small widow has been opened, and there is talking there, but their tongue cannot be understood, but they make the sign for iron and make signs with their hands asking for iron, and if anyone gives them iron or a knife or an axe, they give him leather in exchange. The road to those mountains is impassable because of the precipices, the snow and the forest, so we do not always reach them, and they continue even further towards the north". And I said to Giuriata: "Those are the people who were imprisoned by the Emperor Alexander the Macedonian, as told by Methodius of Patara (…)."

8.7.3 PVL *282*

The chronicle tells how, in the year 1115 (6623), the relics of the martyrs and saints Princes Boris and Gleb are transferred to a church built in their honour. The author abruptly introduces the reference to the portent cited next. As we noted above, the concept of the devoured moon is associated in Slavic folklore with the wolfman or the vampire, which may be related to the chronicler's comment about the sun.

в се же лѣ҃т бы҃ знамение . погибе сл҃нце и бы҃ ꙗко м҃ць егоже гл҃ть невѣгл҃иси снѣдаемо сл҃нце .

In that same year there was a sign: the sun disappeared and became like a moon,[29] and the ignorant said it had been devoured.

8.8 Nikon of the Black Mountain, *Pandects*

The *Pandects of Nikon Černogorec* were composed by the monk Nikon of the Black Mountain (Syria) in the 11th century;[30] in them, the author draws up a compilation of texts by the Fathers of the Church, acts of council and other texts in 63 chapters, within the tradition of the *Pandects* of Antioch. In the second half of the 12th century they were translated into the Russian recen-

29 There was in fact an eclipse of the sun on the morning of 23rd July 1115 (*apud* Lichačëv 1950, 2: 482).

30 A *Taktikon* exists by the same author which constitutes one of the most outstanding Byzantine canonical collections on ecclesiastical discipline. It was also soon translated into Slavic.

sion of Church Slavonic in an abridged text known as the first redaction of the work. The oldest preserved copy of this edition of the *Pandects* in found in Ms N° 15583 at the Yaroslavl State Museum (early 13th century).[31]

Later, in the second half of the 14th century, another redaction of the *Pandects* emerged in Rus', in which, according to Gorskij-Nevostruev (1862), the text is extended and corrected by South Slavs in Bulgaria and later (14th century) in Serbia, though Pavlova (1978) considers that this revision took place in Bulgaria. This redaction had an enormous influence on the spiritual literature of medieval Rus', as proved by the enormous number of copies thereof in Russian manuscripts. Individual chapters of the *Pandects* were soon included in the Slavic Nomocanon and in collections of ecclesiastical texts such as the *Izmaragd* or the *Zlataja Cep'*. Continuous references to the *Pandects* of Nikon are found in 15th and 16th-century authors until they were corrected by the Metropolitan Daniel (1522–1539) for inclusion in his *Svodnaja Kormčaja*.

Nikon's work was edited in part in the year 1591 (Vilnius) and in its entirety in 1795 (Počaev). Other editions of the text were produced in the 19th century, the most notable of which was the one by Sreznevskij (1875) based on three manuscripts from the 12th and 13th centuries. However, the first critical edition of the text dates from 1998 (Maksimovič); it attempts to reconstruct the Russian edition of the *Pandects*. It worth mentioning the edition of the Slavic translation of the *Pandects* by Pavlova-Bogdanova (2000) based on the 14th-century Serbian manuscript Hil. 175.[32]

We considered it necessary to include in this corpus the fragments of the *Pandects* which contain references to paganism given that, although we are dealing with translations of Greek council rules, these have an undeniable importance in Russian ecclesiastical literature.

Edition used: Maksimovič (1998).
Other editions: Pavlova—Bogdanova (2000), Sreznevskij (1875: 250–288).
References: Bogdanova (1989), De Clercq (1942, 1949), Doens (1954), Giagkon (1991), Gorskij-Nevostruev (1862), Grumel (1963), Likhačëv (1905), Miklas (1981), Pavlova (1975a, 1975b, 1988), Popov (1875), Sreznevskij (1867, 1871, 1872), Thomson (1987), Tikhvinskij (1892, 1893, 1894a, 1894b, 1894c), Zagrebin-Kolesov (1975), Žužek (1964).

31 *Svodnyj katalog slavjano-russkikh rukopisnykh* (1984: 234–235). Edited by Sreznevskij (1847) and Maksimovič (1998).

32 Bogdanović (1978: 102); Pavlova (1988).

8.8.1 Pandects, *Chapter 54 of the Council of Laodicea*

This records the conclusions of the Council of Laodicea.

Сбора Лаѡдиискаго · канѡ̄н · г̄ · глав̄ · н̄д̄ · іако не подобаѣть хр̄сьіаномъ · на · бракы ходаще играти и плаасати · нъ ч̄стьно вечерѧти · ли wбѣдати іакоже достоитъ хр̄сьіаномъ ·

іако не додобаѣть сл̄нікомъ позоровати позоры на брацѣхъ · ли на вечерахъ · нъ прѣже входа пиѳалникъ · въстати имъ ·

Council of Laodicea, Third Ecumenical. Canon 54. Christians who attend weddings must not play music and dance but dine honestly or partake of lunch in the Christian manner.

Priests must not announce weddings or dinners but, before the arrival of the flutists [bards], get up [and leave].

8.8.2 Pandects, *Canon 61 of the VI Ecumenical Council.*[33]

This extract records a canon of the 4th Ecumenical Council (3rd Council of Constantinople).

· ѕ̄ · сбора · кан̄ · иже волхвомъ сѣбе предающіеи · или гл̄цмъ сотникомъ · ли ким̄ таковым̄ · іако се ѿ насъ наоучьше сѧ · іако аще себе покривати хотѧть · по прежнему ѿ wц̄ь о нихъ повелѣнаѧ · ѿ кануна да падуть сѧ · з̄ · лѣт̄наг̄ · туже епит̄мью възложити подобаѣть · иже медвѣди водящаѧ · ї ины животьны игры · на пакость слабымь · и часть имармению · и родословыа · ї таковыми рѣчми народъ по льсти благогласаще · гл̄цих̄ же облакогонител̄ · и чаровники · ї кобники · пребывающаѧ же в сихъ · и не преложаща сѧ · и ѿвѣгнуша вражебныхъ с ї̄х и елиньскыхъ научинании · отинудь ѿмѣтати ѿ цр̄кви повелѣваемъ · іакоже и ст̄іи канѡ̄н завѣщаютъ · кое бо wб{·}щенье свѣту къ тмѣ · іакоже рек̄ ап̄слъ · ли кое сложенье цр̄кви бӣ съ идолы · ли каѧ часть вѣрну с невѣрнымь · ли кое согласье х̄сѹ съ Велиаромь ·

Canon 61. Those who allow themselves to be misled by wizards or so-called *centurions* or by something similar, according to the canon they shall be counted for six years. And the same penance shall be imposed on those who tame bears and other animals for festivals and the corruption of simple folk, and those who maliciously deceive people with fortune-telling, chance, and the *genealogy* and with such words, and those who live side by side with those who call them-

33 Also known as the Quinisext Council or the Council in Trullo.

selves cloud chasers and charmers and diviners and do not distance themselves from and reject these harmful Hellenic practices, let them be completely cast out from the Church by mandate as the holy canons impose. "For, what union between the light and the darkness?", as the Apostle says, "Or what compliance between the Church of God and the idols? Or what participation between the faithful and the heathens? Or what harmony between Christ and Belial?".[34]

8.8.3 Pandects, *Canon 62 of the 4th Ecumenical Council*

The conclusions of the 4th Ecumenical Council continue.

Ѡ шестаго сбора· канонѣ· зи · сицѣ рекомы · каланда · и рекомыиа воты · и рекомаіа роусалиіа · и иеже въ · а · и днѣ · марта мцѣа · творимое тържьство · по иединомоу же къждо ѡ вѣрныхъ · житиіа ѡіати хощемъ · нъ и иеще и женъ градныхъ плсаниіа · іако вещьстьныхъ и многоу пагоубоу · т пакость творити могоушихъ · сии соръ всѣхъ сихъ · неже подобнаіа · игры творащаіа · и оубо аще клирици соуть · сихъ измешеть простьца же ѡлоуѹаѥть. Такоже иже вино въ бтаре лѣющаіа · смѣхъ наѹтнаютъ · ѹстоты вещь · ли сооуѥты · бѣсовьскыиа льсти съдѣваюше.

From the Sixth Ecumenical Council. Canon 62. We wish put an end to the so-called *calendas* and the so-called *vota* and the *Rusalias*[35] and the solemnized celebration of the first day of the month of March by any of the faithful. And also the dances of the women of the city as they are disgraceful and because they can cause great destruction and harm. All of these and their ilk, i.e. those who perform festivals, if they belong to the clergy, this council purges them and if they are lay people, this council expels them. And the same for those who pour wine from the barrel and laugh out of ignorance or idleness, thus engaging in devilish wickedness.

8.9 *Sermon of the Blessed Archbishop Eusebius about Sunday* (*on the Third Saturday of the Period of Fasting*)*; Sermon of the Holy Father Jacob, Brother of the Lord, Bishop of Jerusalem, about Easter Sunday*

In his selection, Gal'kovskij presents a series of sermons which feature variants of a fragment which describes festivals and games of a pagan nature. This fragment has its origin in the sermon by Eusebius of Alexandria (6th–7th century)

34 2 Cor. 6:4–15.

35 Cf. texts 1.11.1., 4.1.14., 4.12.1., 4.18.1., 4.28.2. and 4.42.1.

entitled *On Sunday* (6th–7th century) [PG 86, 1, 417] and appears to have been of real interest for the Russian ecclesiastical environment, as it is repeatedly included in sermons on a similar theme and has a major repercussion; we can see that it forms the seed for the inclusion in Russian texts of other references to pagan activities carried out at festivals.

The sermons in which the fragment is found are the *Sermon of the Blessed Archbishop Eusebius about Sunday* (*on the third Saturday of the period of Fasting*), and the *Sermon of the Holy Father Jacob, brother of the Lord, Bishop of Jerusalem, about Easter Sunday*. The *Sermon of the Blessed Archbishop Eusebius* presents the first evidence of the fragment in a *Sbornik* dated the 13th century, found among the "Finland Fragments" (Sreznevskij 1867, II), although the most important dissemination of both sermons would occur with the edition of the compendiums of a didactic nature such as the *Izmaragd*, the *Zlatoust* and the *Četii-Minei* by the Metropolitan Macarius (VMČ). The *Sermon of the Blessed Archbishop Eusebius* is also found in the *Zlatoust* of Pentecost,[36] in Izm2 (fol. 242r) and in *Četii-Minei* nov13–15; the *Sermon of the Holy Father Jacob* is found in Izm1 (fol. 140r) e Izm2 (247v) and was widely disseminated in other 16th-century manuscripts.

The fragments of the *Sermon of the Blessed Archbishop Eusebius* are reproduced according to the Sreznevskij edition (1867, 2: 34) of the "Finland Fragments". They are matched against the *Sermon of the Holy Father Jacob* using the two editions of the *Izmaragd*.

Edition used: Sreznevskij (1867: 14; 33).
Other editions: Gal'kovskij (1913, II: 204–209; 210–223), Ponomarev (1897: 66), PS (1859: 456), *VMČ* nov.13–15, col. 1965–1971.

8.9.1 Sermon of the Blessed Archbishop Eusebius about Sunday

With the intention of teaching people about Christian behaviour on Sundays, certain impious practices are mentioned which take place on precisely the day on which the Resurrection of Christ is commemorated.

[...] мнози во нд҃ли ꙗютъ. но не вси єдинемъ оумомъ мыслѧть. иже бо сѧ бг҃а боѧти то ти нд҃ели ꙗютъ. добре да мольбы своѧ безъ мѧтежа к бо҃у вослоуѧтъ и стѣмъ тѣлъ҃ и кровь хв҃и причестѧтѧ᷾ а ленивии безоумнии невѣглпси неᴬли ꙗютъ. да wставльше дело. на оулицаˣ и на игрицаˣ събираютсѧ не ложь бо

36 In Ms RGB Col. Tr. Nº 142, fol. 178r (16th century); this wording practically coincides with the *Zlatoust Pascual*.

ѥ̄ слово се егда въ иныа дни на игрища ишедъ wвращеци и праздa. и паки в недѣлю на таже изыде мѣста. то тоу wвращеци ины гоудоуща ины плещоуща. ины поюща поусташьнаꙗ. и плꙗшоуща. wвы борющеса. и помызающа дроугъ дроуга на зло. wню горе темъ боудетъ. [...]

For many await Easter Sunday, but not all think with the same mind, for those who fear God await Easter Sunday to say their good prayers to God and take communion with the Holy Body and the Blood of Christ; but the rioters and the lazy await Easter Sunday in order to put their work aside and join together in festivals for perdition. This word is no lie: "For go to the festivals on other days and you shall find them empty but go to the same places on Sunday and there you shall find some who plays the *gusli*, others who dance, others who are seated slandering others and others fight and other make signs and nod and wink at others with evil intent. Great affliction shall come to those who act thus [...]"

8.9.2 Sermon of the Holy Father Jacob *and* Sermon of the Blessed Archbishop Eusebius

Sermon of the Holy Father Jacob Izm1:

The end of the *Sermon of the Blessed Archbishop Eusebius* contains a further invective against festivals and dances, also recorded in *Sermon of the Holy Father Jacob*, and more faithful to the Greek text.

[...] въ стый оубо днь недля. достоитъ токмо въ цркви съвъкоуплятися на мтвоу о грѣсѣхъ своихъ. кождо каятися. и весь днь препроводити. къ цркvамъ. хотяще маломощьныя милоующа. гнѣва не имоуще, никакого же правовѣрнїи бо въ црковъ вшедше. радоуютсъ дшами а на игрища пришдше видятъ вся непри-язньская и диявольская тварения. плещоуща и гоудоуща. и сами яко беснїи ся творяще. такы соутъ позоры на проклятыхъ съборищех тѣмъ же мзда их есть зла [...]

For on the holy day of Sunday it is necessary only to assemble in church for prayer to repent each of your sins and spend all of the day in the churches, wishing to give alms to the poor, without anger, and the believers, on entering the church, are joyful in their souls, and when they go to the festivals, see all of the devilish enemy machinations, and clap, and play the *gusli*, and dance and they themselves, as if possessed, transforming themselves, thus are the spectacles in the accursed theatres, for which the recompense is evil.

Sermon of the Blessed Archbishop Eusebius, fol. Finland:

[...] а пришедыи на игрища видить вса неприяазнина. что бо творать плашюции не сами ли са бѣдать. а гоудоуции не акы ли и неприяазни древоу пакости творать. така ти дѣлеса бываютъ на зълыихъ тѣхъ съборищихъ. вса нерприяазнинаа льсть въ пагоубоу подобьна тѣмь же и мьзда ихъ отъ зла.

And he who goes to the festivals sees all the pernicious things, for what do those who dance? Are they not persuading themselves? And those who play the *gusli*, do they not commit a pernicious evil? Such activities are frequent in those accursed theatres, as pernicious is their evil for destruction, so shall be their punishment for such evil.

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